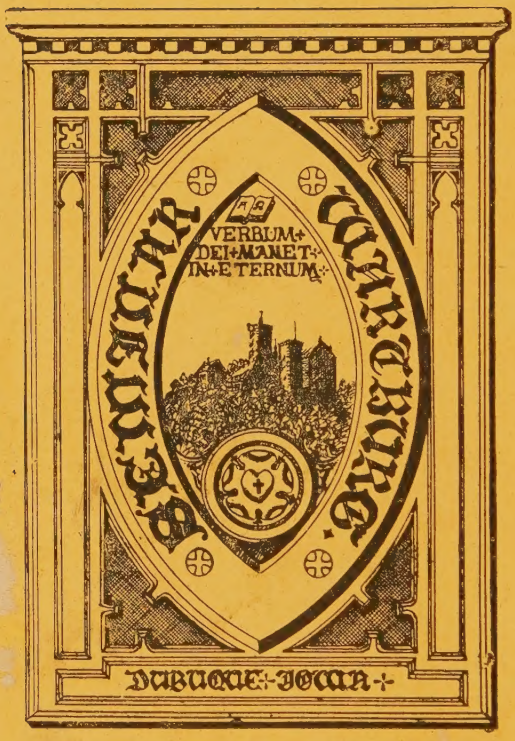

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXIX.

No. CXIII.

Article Page

I. THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF OUR SPIRITUAL LANGUAGE, ... 1

BY REV. W. M. THOMSON, D.D., MISSIONARY IN SYRIA, AUTHOR OF THE "LAND AND THE BOOK."

II. ENGLISH ELOQUENCE AND DEBATE, . . . 22

BY THE LATE GEORGE SHEPARD, D.D., PROFESSOR IN BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

III. REVELATION AND INSPIRATION, ... 39

BY REV. E. P. BARROWS, D.D., LATELY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW LITERATURE IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

No. IX. — INSPIRATION CONSIDERED IN ITS END.

The Inspiration of the Apostles, ... 42
The Inspiration of the Associates of the Apostles, . . 58
The Writings of Mark and Luke, ... 62
The Epistles of James and Jude, ... 66
The Epistle to the Hebrews, ... 68
General Remarks, ... 70

IV. THE WEEKLY SABBATH, ... 74

BY J. G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, BELFAST, IRELAND.

The Nature of the Sabbath, ... 74
The Change in the Economy of Grace, ... 90
The Christian Sabbath, ... 99

9341

Article Page

V. THE ORGANIC AND VISIBLE MANIFESTATION OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM, AND THE HUMAN AGENCY IN ITS ADVANCEMENT, ... 114

BY SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., DWIGHT PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF YALE COLLEGE.

The Church the Organic outgrowth of the Life-giving and Redeeming Grace of Christ penetrating Human History in the Holy Spirit, ... 114
The Spirit acts primarily on Individuals, and the Life manifests itself primarily in them, ... 117
A Church is an Organized Association of Persons renewed by the Holy Spirit, ... 118
The Church as an Organization is subordinate to the Life, 122
The Unity of the Churches is the Unity or Fellowship of the Spirit, ... 127
The Continuity of Christ's Kingdom in History is the Continuity of the Spirit and Life, rather than of the Organization, ... 132
The Necessity and Characteristics of the Human Agency in Advancing Christ's Kingdom, ... 138

VI. THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING.—THE PUBLIC READING OF SERMONS, AND THE PREACHING OF THEM MEMORITER, ... 157

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

VII. NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . 196

A. German Works, ... 196
B. English and American Works, ... 200

No. CXIV.

I. LECKY ON MORALS, ... 209

BY REV. DR. J. R. HERRICK, PROFESSOR IN BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

II. DARWINISM, ... 240

BY FREDERIC GARDINER, D.D., PROFESSOR IN THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL, MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

Article Page

III. WHAT IS TRUTH? 289

BY J. C. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, BELFAST, IRELAND.

What Reason may gather from Intuition and Experience without Revelation, ... 291
What more Reason may learn from Revelation, beyond what Intuition and Experience disclose, . . . 301

IV. THE CHRISTIAN LAW OF SERVICE, . . . 310

BY SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., DWIGHT PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF YALE COLLEGE.

The Significance of the Law, ... 311
Reasons for the Christian Law of Service, ... 318
The Dividing Line between Selfishness and Christian Benevolence determined, ... 327

V. THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING. — PREACHING EXTEMPORE, . . 339

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

I. The Extemporaneous Element in Sermons, and its varying Degrees, ... 341
II. Qualifications in their varying Degrees for Preaching Extempore, ... 343
III. Rules for Extemporary Preaching, ... 345

VI. NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . 384

A. German Works, ... 384
B. English and American Works, ... 392

No. CXV.

I. THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS, ... 401

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

II. DESTRUCTIVE ANALYSIS IN THEOLOGY, . . 419

BY PROF. LEMUEL S. POTWIN, WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE, OHIO.

Article Page

III. REVELATION AND INSPIRATION, ... 427

BY REV. E. P. BARROWS, D.D., LATELY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW LITERATURE IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

No. X. — INSPIRATION CONSIDERED IN ITS MODE.

Different forms of Revelation, ... 428
Proper Application of the Term Inspiration, ... 430
Meaning of the Term Plenary Inspiration, ... 437
The Question of Verbal Inspiration, ... 438
Inspiration in its Relation to Versions, ... 455
General Remarks, ... 456
Appendix, ... 456

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROWTH OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM, ... 459

BY SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., DWIGHT PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN YALE COLLEGE.

It is Spiritual, ... 459
The Progress of the Kingdom is by the Instrumentality of the Gospel, ... 460
The Progress of Christ's Kingdom is not to be promoted by Force, ... 464
The Progress of Christ's Kingdom is without Observation, . 464
The Progress of the Kingdom is Providential, ... 465
The Progress of Christ's Kingdom is by Epochs, ... 469
The Progress of the Kingdom is Cumulative, ... 476

V. LYELL'S STUDENT'S ELEMENTS OF GEOLOGY, . 479

BY JOHN B. PERRY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

VI. CHRIST AS A PRACTICAL OBSERVER OF NATURE, PERSONS, AND EVENTS, ... 510

BY REV. SELAH MERRILL, SALMON FALL, N.H.

VII. Ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι. — JOHN I. 26, ... 523

BY REV. JOSEPH TRACY, D.D., BOSTON.

VIII. CHURCH CREEDS, ... 538

BY REV. ENOCH POND, D.D., PROFESSOR IN BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Article Page
IX. HEBREW GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY, . . 547

BY REV. GEORGE H. WHITTEMORE, A.M., ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

X. DR. HODGE'S SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY, . . . 553

XI. NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . 561

No. CXVI.

I. PATRISTIC VIEWS OF THE TWO GENEALOGIES OF OUR LORD, ... 593

BY FREDERIC GARDINER, D.D., PROFESSOR IN THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL, MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

II. THE PROGRESS OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM IN ITS RELATION TO CIVILIZATION, ... 602

BY SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., DWIGHT PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN YALE COLLEGE.

Civilization is not a Product of Christianity, but has an Independent Existence, ... 602
Christianity imparts to Civilization and makes effective in it the Spiritual Forces necessary to its Purity, Completeness, and Perpetuity, ... 604
Christianity, by the Spiritual Forces which it introduces and makes effective, gradually creates a Christian Civilization, 608
The Progress of Christ's Kingdom in Successive Ages will be modified by the Existing Civilization, ... 608
Christianity, even while subject to Modification by the Civilization and Spirit of the Age, creates a Higher Civilization and a Purer and more Christian Spirit, . . 616
In the Progress of Christ's Kingdom the Present is always the Outgrowth of the Past, ... 618
The Progress of Christ's Kingdom tends to produce a Homogeneous Civilization throughout the World, . . 620
Applications of these Principles in determining what is the Duty of the Modern Missionary in respect to teaching Civilization, ... 620

Article Page

III. ON "THE MAN OF SIN," 2 Thess. ii. 3–9, . . . 623

BY PROF. HENRY COWLES, OBERLIN, OHIO.

IV. REVELATION AND INSPIRATION, ... 640

BY REV. E. P. BARROWS, D. D., LATELY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW LITERATURE IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

No. XI. — INSPIRATION CONSIDERED IN ITS SPHERE.

Limitation in this Sphere:

As to the Phenomena of Nature, ... 641
As to the Natural Endowment of the Sacred Writers, 645
In respect to unessential Circumstances, . . . 652
As respects the Amount of Light given in the Scriptures, 658
Appendix, ... 661

V. INFANT BAPTISM AND A REGENERATED CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP IRRECONCILABLE, ... 665

BY REV. W. H. H. MARSH, WILMINGTON, DEL.

VI. THE INFLUENCE OF THE PULPIT, ... 698

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, D.D., PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

VII. THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING — PREACHING EXTEMPORE, . . 720

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

IV. Reasons for Preaching Extempore, ... 720
V. Objections against it, ... 754

VIII NOTES ON EGYPTOLOGY, ... 771

BY REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL.D., BERLIN, GERMANY.

IX. NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS, . . . 774

A. German Works, ... 774
B. English and American Works, ... 780

INDEX, ... 791

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF OUR SPIRITUAL LANGUAGE.

BY REV. W. M. THOMSON, D.D., MISSIONARY IN SYRIA, AUTHOR OF THE "LAND AND THE BOOK."

NO. I.—INTRODUCTION.

"THE kingdom of heaven is at hand," was the startling cry of the voice in the wilderness of Judea. What it meant we do not now stop to consider. It coincides, however, with our general purpose to remark that the "voice" could only have been uttered in Palestine. Elsewhere the very terms of the proclamation would have been incomprehensible. There the solemn announcement was not only understood, but it arrested the attention of the whole community. It was not the first time the thing had been heard of. This is implied in the abrupt form in which the proclamation was published. The Baptist knew that the idea was quite familiar to those he addressed; that it, in fact, embodied the hope of Israel. From the very beginning the promise had gone forth, and in manifold forms had been repeated, that God would in his own time set up a peculiar kingdom on earth. Under figure and shadow and symbol and type, this promise had been renewed from age to age; and towards the fulfilment of it prophets and kings and holy men had directed their longing eyes, "but died without the sight." The delay had indeed been long, and trying to the faith of the saints;

but no longer than was necessary. A vast and complicated system of preparation was essential for the establishment of such a kingdom among men, and this could not be hastened. The kingdom was to be diverse from all others — moral, spiritual, and not of this world. To reveal and permanently establish such an empire demanded, amongst other things, as an indispensable prerequisite, an adequate means of communication between the creature and his Creator; in a word, a peculiar spiritual language, by which the thoughts of God could be made known to man. Without this no such kingdom was possible, and the attempt to establish it must have proved a failure.

The main object of this and of some ensuing essays is to investigate the methods adopted by divine wisdom to evolve, enrich, and perfect this language of the kingdom. It is satisfactory to find at the outset that, numerous and complicated as were the instrumentalities employed, and extending over so many generations of marvellous history, they may for the purpose of study and illustration all be ranged under two fundamental expedients; the selection, training, and governing of a peculiar people; and the creating and fitting up for them an appropriate home. Abraham and Canaan; the Hebrew nation, and the land of promise; these are the pivots on which the entire scheme, so far as our present inquiry is concerned, is made to revolve. By and through the Hebrew people, their marvellous history, and the long ongoing and outworking of the Mosaic economy, in conjunction with the physical phenomena of their earthly inheritance, did the Spirit of inspiration evolve and perfect man's religious language. Palestine, fashioned and furnished by the Creator's hand, was the theatre, and the people of Israel were the actors brought upon it, and made to perform their part of the work by the Divine Master.

To find or form a nomenclature for the thoughts of God and the spiritual wants of man: this was the problem; and a little reflection will convince any one that it was a work quite beyond the unaided skill of man to achieve. As matter

of history, it took Infinite Wisdom and Almighty Power fifteen centuries of time, with the aid of an endless number and variety of providential arrangements, co-operating with human and superhuman agents, to bring this language of the kingdom to the needed perfection. Palestine was the theatre where all these subordinate agencies and influences were gathered. They included the entire range of natural and historical phenomena of that country, its geological structure and physical features, its natural productions, its social, civil, and religious institutions and customs, in fact, every external element from which moral and spiritual terms and phrases have been introduced into our religious nomenclature. When the end and aim of all had been reached, the King himself appeared, the theatre was closed, the scenery taken down, the actors dispersed, and the gospel of the kingdom sent forth on its high mission among the nations of the earth.

But, as in the resurrection, that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual; so has it been in the process of developing man's religious language. It was preceded by the natural and the mundane. From the material and the human was evolved the spiritual and the divine. To witness this transfiguration of language we must resort to Palestine. Here it was that the dialect of the kingdom was first learned and spoken. Like other books the Bible has a home, a birthplace, but beyond all other examples, this birthplace of revelation has given form and color to its language. It was taught by a marvellous combination of physical phenomena and human history, brought together in this land, and miraculously guided and controlled so as to work out the intended result. The land has had an all-pervading influence upon the costume of the book. Without the former, the latter as we now enjoy it could not have been produced. Palestine is therefore, and was intended to be, an integral element of divine revelation, and not merely an accidental associate with it. To ascertain this fact, and to show how

our spiritual nomenclature has been made to grow up from and out of this fertile soil, is the main purpose of the writer in preparing these essays. For nearly forty years he has resided in this land, in daily communion with its scenes and scenery, and in personal contact with those external and physical influences which suggested so large a part of our religious language. In this way, and to this extent only, can he pretend to any special qualification for the task he has undertaken. The more recondite, but rich field of philological research he leaves to the lexicographer, the grammarian, and the professional critic, and deals mainly with biblical language in its secondary and popular sense. His aim is to show by what process of analogy, of contrast, or otherwise, things physical and mundane come to signify and illustrate things spiritual and heavenly. That the essays are very imperfect the writer is painfully conscious, but he ventures to give them to the public, in the hope that with all their deficiencies they may impart fresh interest to the devotional study of the word of God.

An additional thought or two may not be out of place in these introductory remarks. It is possible that the fundamental idea which underlies this whole discussion may be questioned, or even denied. There may be some who still believe that from the very beginning man was miraculously endowed with a rich and largely developed spiritual language. The author of "Paradise Lost" represents Adam and Eve even in the garden, as holding high converse not only with each other, but also with angelic visitants, and with the Infinite Creator himself, whom no man hath seen, or can see. But, although this may be cheerfully granted to the poet, as a necessary part of the machinery of his magnificent poem, it cannot be accepted as historic truth on this subject. Relegating therefore this theory to the domain of romance, to which alone it belongs, and reverently assigning to superhuman aid whatever of linguistic endowment was required to enable our first parents to meet the exigencies of their unique condition, we may be allowed to prosecute, undis-

turbed, our inquiries on the lower level of human history and experience.

Philologists with one consent teach us that human language, even in its primary and mundane sphere, is of very slow growth. Some of them demand many thousand years for its development. But upon this debatable ground we need not enter. Sufficient for our purpose is the admitted fact that, in the infancy of society, human language is quite limited in its range, and material in character — of the earth earthly. As in other matters, so here, necessity is the mother of invention. At first men seek only names for things with which their physical senses and wants are conversant. Hence any primitive language is material, rather than spiritual; physical, not metaphysical. This fact presented one of the greatest difficulties to be encountered and overcome before a divine revelation, such as man needed, was possible. The invisible and immaterial had to be made known through a clumsy and material vehicle. Holy men of God, though moved and guided by the Holy Ghost, were nevertheless compelled to employ the common language of mankind, and to describe the world within by the world without, the soul by the body, heaven by earth, and even the invisible God by frail man. Examples of this occur in the very beginning of the Bible: "God *said* let there be light"; and again, "God *saw* the light that it was good"; thus endowing the Almighty with our vocal organs and optic apparatus. And, so from the commencement to the close of the sacred volume, we read of his head, his hands, his feet, his arm, his finger, his eye, his ear, his heart, etc.; and emotions, words, and works appropriate to these various members of the human body are fearlessly ascribed to him. This is not only natural, but inevitable. *We* see with the eye, hear with the ear, work with the hand, and speak with the tongue; and, as action without these instruments is to us impossible, we transfer the same to God, forgetting, or seeming to forget, that he needs no such instrumentalities; that he can and does act wholly independent of them. But with

the mind fully aware of the tendency of such language to materialize the Deity in our conceptions of him, we nevertheless find it impossible to adopt any other. We can scarcely think of, and still less speak about, God without using these physical, corporeal terms. Hence it is that children must make a long advance in mental culture ere they can escape from this physical image of God. And, as in the infancy of society all men are children in this respect, their God will be merely a *very great man*. He sees vastly farther than we do, but yet he does really see. His sense of hearing may be infinitely more acute than ours, yet is it a real sense; and so of all other human attributes and faculties ascribed to him in the Bible. And it may not be amiss for each one, however intellectually cultivated, to inquire whether there may not still be some image of God floating in the imagination, vastly refined it may be, and endowed with atributes co-extensive with the universe, but still a real, substantive image. If so, our Jehovah is only a most marvellous man. This is not a matter of minor importance, God himself being judge. On no other point are his admonitions and warnings so minute and emphatic.

"Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth; and lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven" (Deut. iv. 15). This comprehensive and most earnest admonition is by no means superfluous at the present time, and never will be. We learn from history that idolatry is the religious heresy which man-

kind has ever been most prone to embrace; and from the Bible that this is the one thing which the Lord most intensely abhors. Take good heed; we are always in danger of this kind of pollution.

A similar caution is equally applicable and needful in regard to our ideas about the kingdom of heaven and the nature of true religion in the soul of man. The same difficulty in human language meets us. It has a mundane, physical basis, easily misunderstood, which has in fact been very generally perverted so as to teach ruinous error. Thus the Jews could not divest the Messiah's kingdom of those external worldly elements with which the earth-born language of the prophets seemed to invest it. Even the apostles, under the immediate instruction of the King himself, learned slowly and with difficulty, that this kingdom was spiritual, not temporal; not of this world, but of heaven. Nor have succeeding ages been essentially wiser in this fundamental matter. To this hour the vast majority of nominal Christians do not understand the peculiar language of the kingdom any better than did the ancient Jews. It is of the utmost concernment, therefore, that we so study the holy oracles as to escape these seductive but fatal errors. The Bible is a rich storehouse of histories, parables, prophecies, proverbs, precepts, prayers, psalms, and hymns. It contains an endless variety of figure and metaphor and symbol, selected and set forth with superhuman skill, to reveal and illustrate the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. To the obvious and the literal, there is a hidden and higher meaning; and if we cannot discover this, we do not truly comprehend the book. Our present essays may, it is hoped, afford some aid in this important study.[1]

[1] Max Müller in one of his Lectures on the Science of Religion, has some profound remarks on this general subject. "Ancient language," he says, "is a difficult instrument to handle, particularly for religious purposes. It is impossible in human language to express abstract ideas except by metaphor, and it is not too much to say that the whole dictionary of ancient religion is made up of metaphor. With us these metaphors are all forgotten. We speak of spirit without thinking of breath; of heaven, without thinking of the sky, etc. But

There is one aspect of this general subject of such vital importance that the writer desires to present it with special distinctness and emphasis. Properly treated it will form a valid and cumulative argument for the reality of divine revelation. The testimony which this study gives to this fundamental problem is, to a certain extent, the complement of that which the material universe bears to a Creator. The numberless evidences of design in the visible creation necessarily imply the hand of an all-wise Designer, and they constitute the basis of our natural theology. So, likewise, do the countless arrangements devised and carried into effect through long ages for this specific purpose testify to the reality of a higher and a heaven-taught theology. Nor does the fact that there are unexpected obscurities, and to us even inexplicable difficulties, in the outworking of the scheme of divine revelation, disturb our faith; for similar perplexities abound in the material creation. But in neither case should they be allowed to unsettle our confidence that all has been devised and guided by him whose thoughts and ways are high above ours as the heavens are above the earth, and infinitely more wise. We cannot, of course, discuss in this place, or even allude to, the entire list of these divine arrangements. Indeed, our programme restricts us mainly to one class of them — to those, namely, by which an adequate spiritual language has been provided. On this limited field of inquiry the following propositions will indi-

in ancient languages every one of these words, nay every word that does not refer to sensuous objects, is in a chrysalis stage, half material and half spiritual, rising and falling in its character according to the varying capacities of the speakers and hearers." Max Müller illustrates, at considerable length, the processes through which ancient religious teachers had to grope their way in painful search for adequate names for their ideas about God and spiritual things; and adds: "The language of antiquity is the language of childhood; and we, ourselves, when we try to reach the Infinite and the Divine by means of mere abstract terms, are but like children trying to place a ladder against the sky. The '*parler infantine*,' in religion is not extinct; it never will be..... In all our religion, and in the language of the New Testament, there are many things which disclose their true meaning to those only who know what language is made of; who have not only ears to hear, but a heart to understand the real meaning of parables."

cate with sufficient precision the nature and force of this argument:

1. The invention of a spiritual language adequate to meet the demands of divine revelation transcends the unaided powers of the human mind, and yet it has been actually accomplished.

2. The special providence of God can be traced throughout the whole process by which this language has been originated and developed; in creating and fitting up this terrestrial home of the Bible in a peculiar and exceptional manner for this purpose; more distinctly, in establishing and controlling the condition of the human actors and agents; in bringing to pass suitable historic incidents and miraculous interpositions, and causing them to be recorded by prophets, poets, and apostles, whose birth and education in Palestine admirably fitted them for their special office; and finally, by the constant and fearless use of this spiritual nomenclature by God himself and by men inspired, whereby we are enabled to understand and rightly to employ it.

3. This heaven-taught language, having received all the development needed at the time of Christ and his apostles, there was no further occasion for the historic and peculiar economies and providential interferences from which it sprang and by which it had been so largely enriched, and they were accordingly allowed to pass away.

We do not, of course, maintain that our present study will furnish a systematic argument for any particular theory of inspiration. It takes a wider range, and aims to show that from the very "beginning, or ever the earth was," the Creator designed to hold intelligent spiritual converse with his creature man, and made provision for it. And since, to render such intercourse possible, an adequate medium of communication was indispensable, he adopted a definite plan to secure this medium, and carried it out during a long series of ages. The execution of this plan was commenced far back in time, even before man himself was created and brought into co-operation with it. In

working out the scheme, God was in no sense restricted to the conscious co-operation of men technically inspired. They had their place, a most important one in the work, but an endless variety of other agents and agencies, natural and supernatural, was also employed. Physical phenomena, human history, and superhuman interference, meet and cross each other on this immense arena in numberless lines, of infinite, and to us inextricable, complexity. Good men and bad, and even wicked spirits, willingly or against their will, are made to do service in this matter. Through and by all these subordinate agents and agencies, has God — the sole Author of inspiration — chosen to make known his will to man. To this extent they are all channels of divine revelation. And, to confine our view to the specific study in hand, each was made to contribute something towards the development and perfection of that spiritual language through which God has chosen to communicate his will to man.

The theatre where these manifold agents and agencies were to meet and co-operate in effecting the contemplated result was Palestine. Infinite wisdom selected and so fitted up this land as to render it in all respects admirably adapted to become the birthplace and home of revelation, in the sense in which we are now considering the subject. Even the geographical location was divinely chosen. "When the Most High divided the nations; when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel" (Deut. xxxii. 8). At the head of this greatest of inland seas, with Mesopotamia and Chaldea on the east; Egypt and Sinai southward, the wilderness and the desert all around, and the vast Mediterranean, holding in its bosom the isles of Chittim, towards the setting sun, Palestine formed the connecting link between the three continents of the Old World. It was thus the best geographical point on the globe upon which to erect the moral light-house of the world, especially so long as there was but one, which continued to be substantially the case during the long centuries,

while the language of revelation was growing up to needed perfection, and, in fact, until the volume itself was closed and sealed. Then, as to physical constitution and character, Palestine contained within itself all that the purpose in view required. It is neither fiction nor extravagance to call this land a microcosm — a little world in itself, embracing everything which in the thought of the Creator would be needed in developing this language of the kingdom of heaven. Nor is it easy to see how the end sought could have been reached at all without just such a land, furnished and fitted up as this was by the overruling providence of God. All were needed — mountain and valley, hill and plain, lake and river, sea and sky, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, trees, shrubs, and flowers, beasts and birds, men and women, tribes and nations, governments and religions, false and true, and other things innumerable; none of which could be spared.[1]

Think, if you can, of a Bible with all these left out, or others essentially different substituted in their place — a Bible without patriarch or pilgrimage, with no bondage in Egypt, or deliverance therefrom, no Red Sea, no Sinai with its miracles, no wilderness of wandering with all the included scenes and associated incidents; without a Jordan with Canaan over against it, or a Dead Sea with Sodom beneath it; no Moriah with its temple, no Zion with palaces, nor Hinnom below, with the fire and worm that never die. Whence could have come our divine songs and psalms, if the sacred poets had lived in a land without mountain or valley, where were no plains covered over with corn, no fields clothed with green, no hills planted with the olive, the fig, and the vine? All are needed, and all do good service, from the oaks of Bashan and the cedars of Lebanon, to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. We can

[1] The writer must not be understood to assert, or imply, that it would have been impossible for Infinite Wisdom to hold spiritual converse with man at all, without these Palestinian appliances. It is very far from his thought thus to limit the Almighty. Nothing more is intended, here or elsewhere, than that, without these, or some other equivalent external and physical arrangements, no *such* revelation as that which we now have was practicable.

dispense with none of them. The tiny mustard-seed has its moral, and lilies their lessons. Thorns and thistles utter admonitions, and revive sad memories. These, and thousands of other things, like or unlike them, furnish the stuff out of which our spiritual language is manufactured. The sheep and the fold, the shepherd and his dog, the ass and his owner, the ox and his goad, the camel and his burden, the horse with neck clothed with thunder; lions that roar, wolves that raven, foxes that destroy, harts panting for water-brooks, and roes feeding among lilies, doves in their windows, sparrows on the house-top, storks in the heavens, eagles hasting to the prey; things great and small; the busy bee improving each shining hour, and the careful ant laying up store in harvest — nothing too large to serve, too small to aid. These are merely random specimens out of a world of rich materials; but we must not forget that they are all found in this land where the dialect of God's spiritual kingdom was to be taught and spoken.

Again, if the social, civil, and religious condition of the people who were associated with these external phenomena had been essentially different from that of the Hebrews and their neighbors, the result required could not have been worked out, at least not in the form in which we now have it. Not to multiply examples unduly, suppose there had been no heathen in their borders with idols to corrupt, no enemies to fear and resist, no Philistines, no Midianites, nor Canaanites in the land; or, to vary the inquiry, if there had been no temple, altar, priest, sacrifice, fast, or feast, or solemn assembly, or if the customs and occupations of the people had been other than they were, and there had been no shepherd on the mountains, no plowing and no sowing, no seed-time nor harvest, no reaper with his sickle, and no summer threshing-floor with useless chaff; no vineyard, nor vine-dresser with pruning-hook, no vintage, no wine-press; if there had sailed over Galilee no boat, and no fisherman had cast net into that lovely sea; if there had been no weaver with his shuttle and loom, no refiner with his furnace,

no smith with his forge, no potter with his wheel; or — to change the inquiry once more — had there been no warrior with bow and battle-axe, sword and shield, no fierce horseman, no jumping chariot, no bloody battles, no slaughtered victims, no prisons, chains, or captive slaves — nothing, in short, in all the land to mar and destroy — no floods to drown, no famine to consume, no earthquake to terrify and overwhelm, no pestilence to desolate, no rust to corrupt, moth to eat, locusts to lay waste, scorpion to sting, serpent to bite, — and it is supposable that the biblical writers might have been born and bred in some such peaceful Arcadia; but then would it not have been utterly impossible for them to have either invented, understood, or used such a religious language as we now actually possess? Enough has been said to establish our position that there have been designedly gathered into this land of Palestine all the manifold agents and agencies which divine wisdom foresaw would be needed for the development of man's spiritual language. Let us deal reverently, therefore, with it. Thoughtless traveller! walk softly over those acres once trodden by the feet of patriarchs, prophets, and sacred poets, and, most of all, by the Son of God himself. Put off the soiled sandal of worldliness and sin as you enter this consecrated domain. There is design in this grouping of mountains and plains and deserts, lakes and rivers, with all their vegetable and animal inhabitants, and their marvellous and miraculous incidents and phenomena. These things were not the result of blind chance — were not merely natural, but beyond and above that, we see in them the supernatural and the divine. Do you doubt? Then take your Bible, and make the following simple experiment. Erase from its narratives, its prophecies, its parables and proverbs, sermons and songs, all that has a manifest connection with, and necessary basis in, this land, and then see how much of a revelation will remain. Or, attempt to fill up these erasures by other names, narratives, and symbols, and see what it will come to. Take the Psalter, and, after striking out all the thoughts, words, imagery, and

poetic phrases whose natural basis is in this land, produce, if you are able to do it, "a book of praise for the service of song in the house of the Lord." The mere idea is absurd.

One other remark of a general nature may be needed to avoid mistake. It may be objected to this line of argument, that, if the dialect of the kingdom of heaven is so largely dependent upon, and derived from, things found only or chiefly in Palestine, then the ability to comprehend it will be in exact proportion to the individual's acquaintance with this country and its phenomena. To place all on a fair equality in this respect it would seem to be necessary that this microcosm should be transported, as a sort of hand-specimen, to all other countries.

We may admit, and do at once, that this objection is not altogether imaginary, but still the difficulty is not insurmountable in any case, and will be found quite limited in actual experience. It had been foreseen and provided for by divine wisdom. The collections and grouping together of all the natural elements necessary for the end required were so marvellously numerous and diversified, and of such a peculiar character, that this hand-specimen can in reality, for all practical purposes, be transferred to any country and studied by all people. The apparent exceptions are so few that they need not enter into the account; and therefore we do not hesitate to repeat the declaration that a spiritual nomenclature has been actually developed, in this home of the Bible, adequate to the wants of the whole human race, and available to all.

In claiming for Palestine the high distinction of being the divinely chosen centre and home of revelation, we of course do not exclude from all participation in this work, the neighboring countries. Indeed the student is often obliged to resort to them for explanation and illustration of words, phrases, and things, whose origin was outside of Palestine. Moreover, it is of essential importance to ascertain and keep in mind the peculiar history and circumstances of the writers and actors whose works we are studying. Thus Moses, for

example, was born and bred in Egypt, and yet spent a large part of his life in the desert, and hence in the valley of the Nile, and in the wilderness of wandering, is to be found the explanation of many of the thoughts, figures, and allusions in the Pentateuch, and, perhaps, of a few even of his sacred symbols and typical institutions. And so too, the marvellous machinery, and gorgeous imagery of Ezekiel's visions may have been borrowed from or suggested by the architectural and artistic creations which the prophet had seen on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The same considerations apply to the author of the Apocalypse, and to nearly all the biblical writers. Familiarity with such things would inevitably influence their language, and hence the necessity of becoming acquainted with them.

But, lest we be led too far away from our specific study, and into fields of questionable speculation, we must return at once to the book itself whose language we are seeking to illustrate.

In carrying forward our study from general considerations to particular examples, taken for the present from the poetry of the Bible, more is demanded than merely to show that our spiritual vocabulary has been largely enriched from this source. This is too obvious to need either proof or illustration. The church has, in fact, transferred the entire Psalter bodily into her bosom; and without it her children would scarcely know how to conduct the devotions either of the closet, the family altar, or the public worship of the sanctuary. But this of itself does not establish our proposition. It must be further shown that this poetic dialect is essentially Palestinian, having its natural basis in this land of the Bible. This is the exact point to be made and illustrated. It is not at all necessary, however, to maintain that the elements of poetry, the phenomena upon which its existence and culture depend, are confined to this country. The raw material out of which it is woven exists in all lands, and for certain varieties of poetry it may be found elsewhere more abundant, and in higher perfection than here. But what we attempt

to show is that in Palestine those phenomena, both natural and moral, which inspire *spiritual* poetry, are more numerous, beautiful, and suggestive than elsewhere; and further, that they are all found concentrated in this very small territory. Palestine contains within itself specimens, hand-specimens if you choose, of all which elsewhere lies scattered and dispersed over regions vast and widely separated. Here all are grouped together, and arranged, as in a cabinet, for the hand of the artist, or the eye of the poet. Sufficient for our purpose, however, is the historic fact, that Palestine is the true birthplace of the sacred psalm, the devout hymn. For this and no more we here contend. For this we believe the Divine Author of our religious life and language made special provision when creating, furnishing, and adorning this home of the Bible.

No elaborate description of the physical features of the country is needed, and we merely remark in passing that there is something eminently poetic in much of the natural scenery of the holy land. Though visited a hundred times it always awakens the same emotions. By some subtile and mysterious influence many of these scenes diffuse over the soul a delicious mental repose, or a dreamy spiritual exaltation, ever and irresistibly inclining the heart to adore and worship, to break forth in songs of praise, and even to shout out aloud, as did the poets and worshippers of old. And this devout and poetic inspiration is clearly traceable to the direct influence of these external influences. In a word, God made both the holy land and the sacred poet, the one for the other. Both were necessary. Neither could realize the divine intention alone. They must be brought together and act and react upon each other. Without this grand Palestinian orchestra, built by the Creator, no poet, however gifted, could have called forth the heavenly harmonies that lie slumbering in the bosom of nature's vast organ. But this external and physical machinery was not enough. It needed, and it was actually associated with, an endless array of moral influences and historic incidents of transcendent interest.

In no other country have these been so numerous, so impressive, or so admirably adapted to the wants of the sacred poet. Nowhere else have the alternations in human experience been so extreme and violent, from the utmost prosperity and the highest material happiness to the deepest abyss of poverty and wretchedness. Every chord in the human harp has here been struck in turn by the great Performer — now evoking sweetest symphony, now crushing down its thousand strings in harshest discord. There is not an emotion, desire, fear or hope possible to man's heart, but has here been awakened and expressed. In this field there is nothing left for him that cometh after the king to know or make experiment upon. Between these wide extremes, and all along the vast domain that lies within them, there can be no new regions to explore and possess. There is no untrodden height to which the poet can soar, no depths unfathomable in which to sink, no unknown joy to gladden, no untasted cup of sorrow to drain. The entire material out of which poets build their lofty verse has been gathered up and appropriated. Love more fervent and delicious, hatred more intense, jealousy more cruel and consuming, ambition more intoxicating, piety purer and more godlike, wickedness more satanic, ingratitude and treachery more base, affection more constant and reliable, benevolence more comprehensive and self-sacrificing, no other land has either known or shown. Choicer specimens the poet himself can neither find nor fancy. On the other hand, does he ask for scenic beauty? The hills and valleys of Palestine are baptized with it. The magnificent and the sublime? Lebanon with his cedars, and Hermon with his head among the stars, overpower and captivate the imagination. He need not wander far nor toil hard to find or fashion an appropriate theatre, or suitable machinery. The whole are furnished ready made, and need only to be worked up by the plastic power of his muse. The land of the Bible contains, or did contain, in itself all the machinery, all the natural and moral elements requisite for the very highest style of poetry.

It may be objected: If this be so, how comes it that Palestine has never produced any great poet, or grand epic? The answer is, that biblical poets had a different and far higher mission than Homer or Virgil, Milton or Shakespeare, or any other name among these sons of song. They were commissioned and inspired to reveal to man the thoughts of God, to be his interpreters and messengers to a benighted world. On this high plane they stand unrivalled and alone. In the lofty region of sacred song the prophet-poets of the Bible have no peers and no parallels. But it is no part of our present task to substantiate this high claim. We must leave this to others, and turn at once to the specific aim and purpose of this inquiry, which is not to establish the superiority of Hebrew poets or poetry, but to show in what ways and to what extent our religious vocabulary has been enriched from this poetic source. For this purpose we may begin with the beginning, that is, with the very first Psalm, as well as anywhere else. A very simple process of analysis and comment will show, that in these sacred lyrics not only the illustrative comparisons, metaphors, and figures — the entire ornamental drapery and costume — are specifically Palestinian, but that the very thoughts themselves were commonly suggested by things and conditions in this land. Let any one take the first verse in the collection, and carefully analyse it with this idea in view. To walk in the counsel of a person, to stand in the way, to sit in the seat, are forms of expression so familiar that one can scarcely realize the fact that he is not using words and phrases in their original prosaic sense; and yet they are, one and all, employed in this verse figuratively, transferred by easy and obvious analogy from things natural to those which are moral and spiritual. Nor is this the whole truth in the case. There is a distinct Palestinian air about these and such like analogical transferences from the visible and natural to the moral and spiritual. In many such examples it may be difficult to put this fact into verbal expression sufficiently definite and tangible to enable one not familiar with this country to ap-

preciate it, yet it is none the less real and important. The author of this first Psalm — no matter who he was, or when he wrote — must have been an inhabitant of this country. The figures, phrases, and comparisons would not have occured to any one residing in climes essentially different from this; in a country, for example, cold and stormy, with ways wet and muddy, used merely to pass from one place to another. Along such uncomfortable ways men do not saunter in converse and counsel; neither do they stand idly plotting mischief in such paths, nor are seats placed there for the accommodation of scorners, or any body else. One may wander for hours even in ornamental parks, in such lands without finding so much as a stone upon which to sit and rest. Very different is the case and the custom in such mild and seductive climates as this of Palestine. Here people pass a great portion of their time in the open air. They ramble at leisure along their pleasant and picturesque paths, stand in groups gathered under cool shade-trees planted by the wayside, and there prepare they their seats, and pass away the time in mirth or mischief. Now, no poet of frigid Siberia for example, or in the burning desert of Sahara, could or would have written this first verse of the first Psalm. Neither the thoughts nor the figures would have occurred to him. Nor, on the other hand, could one born and bred on the banks of the Mississippi, or the shores of Lake Superior, have composed the third verse: "He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season, his leaf also shall not wither." Where the writer of this essay passed his early life, the greatest trouble and toil of the inhabitants were to cut down, burn and destroy the trees; and no body would have thought of comparing the man that was blessed to one of these formidable giants of the forest. Then, this tree of the Psalm was *planted*, and by the rivers, or rather, by the water canals, made for irrigation; all very appropriate to this country, but not to lands overshadowed by dark primeval woods, or where the chief anxiety is to get safely rid of a

9341

superabundance of water. In such regions trees grow without being planted, anywhere and everywhere, quite as well as "by the rivers of water." Again, this was a fruit tree, an incident eminently natural here, where, as the Arab proverb tells us, many trees are planted, but only that is preserved which bears fruit. Few things in this country struck the writer more forcibly when he first came to it, than this high estimate of trees founded simply upon their fruit. The reason for this, however, is obvious enough. A large part of the daily food of the people is derived from the various kinds of fruit which these planted trees produce. In many parts of the country it is the chief dependence. No explanation is needed of the additional fact mentioned by the poet, that the leaf of a tree thus planted by the water-courses would not wither, or of the implied fact, that in this burning climate the case would be very different with trees standing in the parched deserts of Southern Palestine.

Finally, no one can read, in this country, the fourth verse of the Psalm, without having instantly presented to his imagination the summer threshing-floor, in the open air, upon some exposed hill-top, with the vehement wind catching up in its wings the useless chaff, and whisking it away amongst the ragged rocks. This doom is in vivid contrast to the green tree by the water-channels, with fadeless leaf and branches bending beneath their burden of delicious fruit.

Here, as well as anywhere, we may dwell for a moment on the ever-recurring use of the word "fruit." Whatever results from a person's course of conduct, whether good or bad, is said to be the fruit of it. The transfer from the natural to the moral and the spiritual idea is made without the least conscious effort. The Great Teacher, therefore, did not need to explain his language, when he said: "Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into

the fire. Wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them." Nor did he explain the words: "Herein is my father glorified, that ye bear much fruit." Nor did the apostle explain himself, when writing to the Galatians, that "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace," and all the other spiritual graces. They did not pause to explain, neither shall we. It is sufficient for our purpose to notice, in passing, that our spiritual nomenclature has been abundantly enriched from this source, as will be apparent to all who call to mind the many passages where these and cognate words and phrases are employed.

Something more may be said about this chaff chased by the wind — driven away by the whirlwind, as Hosea has it. Chaff is the metaphorical symbol of the ungodly and their doom. John Baptist expands the allusion by mentioning the fan by which the floor was purged — the chaff separated from the wheat, and then burned up with unquenchable fire. This final portion of their doom was probably suggested by a custom which the writer has noticed more than once, and the Baptist had no doubt noticed the same. In "purging" the floor the following results occur. As the mixed contents are tossed up to the wind, the wheat falls nearest the operator, the *tibn* or ground-up straw next, and the light dust and useless chaff are carried further off — quite outside the floor, if the wind be strong. This useless chaff is often burnt on the spot. A farmer once told the writer that he thus burnt it, not merely because it was of no use, but also because there were mingled with it the seeds of tares and noxious weeds, which would be dispersed over his fields by the wind, or carried thither by the first autumn rains. It was not merely valueless, but positively mischievous; and so are the ungodly, who shall perish like the chaff.

We have not yet exhausted the contributions to our religious language which this short Psalm has made. The two last verses introduce us to an Oriental court, with the litigants or the accused standing before the judge, just as they do still, and the resultant condition and behavior of the good and the evil. But it would be tedious to notice

all those incidental, and yet accurate, touches which an unconscious reference to the customs and incidents of an Oriental "judgment-seat," have added to this picture. Nor will time or space permit us to enter into such minuteness of analysis and illustration in dealing with other Psalms; though they may be equally suggestive, and even more appropriate to our general purpose. We can only glance at a few examples taken at random from the vast poetical storehouse of the Bible. These specimens will be selected with sole reference to the matter in hand. Our search is after the natural, physical basis of our spiritual language, and wherever that leads we will follow.

ARTICLE II.

ENGLISH ELOQUENCE AND DEBATE.

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I PROPOSE in this Lecture to speak of eloquence as it has appeared in connection with the English tongue. The Grecian and Roman eloquence is often treated, and greatly praised. The question presents itself, Is there not something in the records of our own language and race which, at least, approaches these renowned specimens of antiquity? I think we can show that there is. Something, at least, worthy our study, our admiration, and imitation.

I shall confine myself very much to the eloquence of debate, and shall, in the first place, attempt a very rapid sketch of eloquence in the English field, giving prominence to the conflicts and progress of debate on the parliamentary arena; giving also certain facts in the history of leading speakers, and deriving from the whole certain principles and lessons such as may be profitable to those who aspire to anything in the same line.

In glancing over the field of English eloquence, as I propose to do first, we find but little that is satisfactory in parlia-

mentary speaking only a century back of the present time; and at two centuries, all is exceedingly dim and uncertain. How fittingly and well the learned Coke was accustomed to speak, whom Bacon reproaches with speaking too much; how Selden talked in Parliament who talked so well at the table; how Elliott uttered the intensity of his conviction, or Phillips poured forth the boiling fervor of his passion; what the force and point Waller, so skilled in verse, gave to his prose when he pleaded for his own head; what the spirit and structure of Stafford's final words, when he stood before his inexorable judges; how Cromwell could wield the weapon of argument, who could cut his way to conclusions with the sword; we know, indeed, something, but only in general. We know enough, however, to satisfy us that these, and other men of their times, uttered themselves with great strength and effectiveness.

The first considerable cluster of eloquent men under the British constitution we find in the vicinity of 1640. There gathered here a great conflict and crisis. Men's liberties were touched, and their passions were stirred, and their energies profoundly roused and tasked. Pym and Hampden stood forth at this time as the great leaders, and the master spirits of debate. The eloquence of the period, doubtless, resembled its literature. The latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, are justly regarded as the great creative period of English literature. The mind was then in its productive freshness; the field of thought and imagery all untouched before it. Men of wonderful powers came forward to occupy the field — gigantic men. They went to work somewhat rudely, indeed, but they delved deep, and brought up the gold and the silver and the iron in masses; and without stopping to polish, or even knowing how, they threw out the bare material with a boundless profusion. The language, too, was like the mind that spoke through it. It had just become settled into English, and had not been refined out of its majesty and strength. It was rough and massive; precisely the medium

wanted for great and original sentiments. As the writers, so the speakers, of this period were somewhat unfinished and coarse, often delivering themselves with great bluntness as well as power. Many there were who, in the phrase of one of them, "knew how to give a lick with the rough side of their tongue," and now and then it proved to be exceedingly rough.

Immediately subsequent to this period we find more accuracy, more refinement, but a sad decline in all the higher attributes of speech. All the writing and much of the speaking went for a season into a condition of tameness. The heavy and coarse things of more vigorous days were not endured. A fastidious delicacy prevailed. A nice precision was attempted. The even flow was loved. The cold substance was shaped and smoothed with the file. The time of Queen Anne, in which this abatement of manly vigor first took place, was distinguished, however, by the effective oratory of Lords Somers and Bolingbroke. The former, coming earlier upon the stage, the leading speaker and statesman of the period, was at once masculine and persuasive in the style and tone of his discourse.

We pass on now to the time of George the first and his great minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who extended his office and influence far into the subsequent reign. Around this minister we find the next remarkable cluster of great and eloquent men. The minister himself must have possessed no ordinary powers of debate in order to retain so long his power of place against the voices so terribly assailing him. Bolingbroke stood forth at this time in the solid strength of his maturity; in whom, according to Chesterfield's description, there met nearly all the qualities of a splendid and successful eloquence. So eager was the curiosity of Pitt to see some specimens of what was so admired and so potent in its time, that he is reported to have desired a speech of Bolingbroke, more than the recovery of all that has perished of ancient literature. William Pulteney was another leading mind in the opposing array — one of the great orators

of England. He had strong, inbred sense, and he was thoroughly disciplined — spoke with a classical finish, and with a large measure of the true ancient fire. He united beauty and force, wit and argument. The blade was polished, it was also keen; the weapon was pleasant to the sight, but often dreadful in its stroke. There were others in that array, but there is not time to speak of them individually. They were all lost in the strong blaze of a luminary, which suddenly rose upon the minister's declining age and influence. The voice of William Pitt was commanding and terrible in its first accents. The minister feared it the moment it broke upon his ear, and he said: "We must, at all events, muzzle that terrible Cornet of Horse." But the mouth of William Pitt was not made to be muzzled. There was a spirit within which would compel that mouth to speak so long as his head should stand upon his shoulders. Pitt is remarkable as, on the whole, England's greatest orator, and also as a connecting link between two great periods of English eloquence. Rising before the splendid galaxy we have just referred to passed away, he shone on till the appearance of that still more splendid galaxy which marked the close of the last century. In this last-named period we are brought to the true freedom and fire of debate; the skill at attack and retort, the wit, the sarcasm, the invective of minds heated by collision and struggling for victory. This, beyond all question, was the Augustan period. No eloquence before or since, in the English language, has equalled in all the masterly qualities, the eloquence which distinguished the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The leading speakers of this period were Chatham, Murray, Lord North, Burke, Barre, Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, Grattan, Erskine, Dundas, Dunning, Windham, and Wilberforce.

Lord Chatham's fire had nearly gone out; but there were some gleamings of his greatness, as he uttered his indignant sentiments upon the subject of the hostilities against the American colonies. He was, at this time of his life, imperious in his bearing, dealing more in authority than in argument.

By impassioned bursts, by overwhelming invectives, "by the terrors of his beak, and the lightning of his eye," he would make those who were far his superiors cower before him.

William Murray, then Lord Mansfield, was also in his decline at the opening of this distinguished period. He was great only in reply, as Chatham was great only in attack. His was the connected argument, given with some of the best graces of style and manner. He is represented as having all the Ciceronian accomplishments, — handsome in person, melodious in voice; in the phrase of Pope, "the silver-tongued Murray."

Lord North, who for many years stood the shock of that most formidable of all oppositions that have ever arisen in the British Parliament, possessed very considerable powers of debate. He showed great facility and command of language; being always clear in statement, often powerful in argument, but never rising to the impassioned. He is represented as a rather corpulent man, of imperturbable equanimity, of easy good nature, abounding in wit and humor. It is said that the thrusts of his mighty antagonists "seemed to sink into him like a cannon-ball into a wool-sack." He was favored with another shield in a constitutional somnolency, which would overtake him even on the Treasury bench; so that it would sometimes happen that while the opposition were stabbing, the minister would be snoring. The only man who could really succeed in stinging the minister was the waspish, sarcastic Colonel Barre. With a huge, rough voice, a savage countenance, one eye gone and the other going, he drove at his object with a directness and personality which it was sometimes hard to bear.

Burke spoke with rapidity and vehemence, with a strong Irish accent, and an undulating motion of the head, in splendid language, with apt classical allusions, with pathos, with humor sometimes, with caustic severity when provoked, with burning indignation; but not at the time with any marked effect, because he spoke so multifariously. He was oppressed and embarrassed by the profusion and variety

of his resources; he was enticed away from the point by the opening visions of his imagination. Hence his comparative failure in his place.

Charles James Fox has been called the greatest debater the world has ever see . He was always prepared, because he could speak without any preparation; at once mighty in argument and slovenly in arrangement; rude often in style, because too quick in the delivery of his thoughts for their proper clothing, so that they jostled, struggled, crowded, almost quarrelled, to get forth, while he rushed forward in his track of vehement reasoning and appeal, trampling down as he went all mere flowers of fancy.

Mr. Pitt, the illustrious rival of Fox, affords an example of altogether another sort. He kept more to the subject, and was sooner through, disposing of an attack in two hours which Fox stood three hours in making. In him the closeness of the argument, all to the point; the perfection of the style, every word as it should be; the smooth, beautiful flow, harmonizing with the melody of a deep, sonorous voice, set off by a trained and dignified action, together, held the attention and produced a fine, sometimes powerful, effect.

Sheridan was the great declaimer of that arena. He was flowery, gorgeous, overwrought in many of his passages. Yet he could paint scenes; could work argument in passion, and give to his speech a dramatic turn and brilliancy; at one time amuse his hearers by strokes of humor, and then overwhelm them with the torrents of his heated, high-wrought declamation.

Grattan, another of the great orators of the time, was simple, though an Irishman; vituperative, antithetic, at times terribly effective. He sought point in every thing — in his thought and expression, in his argument, his ornament, and his passion. Point was at once his power and his blemish.

Erskine was pre-eminent particularly as an advocate. A peculiarly fascinating eye which held to itself every other eye; a singular lightness and grace of motion and action;

matter and argument precisely adapted to the minds and hearts before him, clothed in a diction of almost unequalled harmony and beauty; these formed a combination often well-nigh irresistible.

With Dundas, the main supporter of Pitt, from the same country, — Scotland, it was plain, sterling sense without embellishments of style; and with Dunning it was close, rapid argument, and little else; yet both were heard and felt in their place. Windham and Wilberforce were both prominent speakers in the latter part of the period in question; the one opposing the abolition of the slave-trade, the other the leading advocate of the measure; the former destroying his power by his violence and extravagance, the latter wonderfully aiding his by purity and goodness. This most remarkable period of British eloquence pretty much closed up with the eighteenth century; though Pitt and Fox, Windham and Wilberforce, and one or two others, lived a few years into the present.

There were great speakers in America at this period — John Adams, with his short, direct, business-like urgency; James Otis, fitly termed a flame of fire; at once intensely heated and severely logical; Patrick Henry, who uttered his plain, common-sense views in such tones of passion, and significance of manner, with a force throughout so rousing and astringent, that the nation was braced up by it to the desperate purpose of resistance, to the stern alternative, "liberty or death"; Fisher Ames, who, in 1796, on the subject of the British treaty, so moved and agitated the house, that objection was made to taking the vote under the excitement of such appeals.

We find three periods rather decisively marked in the history of British parliamentary debate. First, in Walpole and Bolingbroke's time, the eloquence of diplomacy, "partaking," as one remarks, "a good deal of a state-paper detail." Secondly, the great period, the eloquence of passion, the conflict of excited and gigantic talent, when great torrents were poured forth and were seen fiercely dashing

against each other. The third, that which we have witnessed since, the more sober period, the eloquence of argument and business. This last has been a dull period as compared with the preceding. But few speakers have appeared who, probably, could have succeeded highly on the great arena. Of these, we think, Canning and Brougham could have figured then. Canning reached after the Ciceronian roundness and elegance. He was a struggling, ambitious speaker, a speaker for rhetorical effect. It is said he would huddle up and hasten by the business part of his speech, and expand where there was room for show and passion and appeal. Brougham was the opposite, both in politics and taste. The latter took to the Grecian, as the former to the Roman models. Brougham steeped his mind in the great Grecian master, and caught his fire, but not a particle of his simplicity of structure and movement. He was a coarse, harsh, involved speaker; in frequent instances keeping the sense suspended through long and complex paragraphs; and in some of which, it is not known to have fallen even to this day. He was an uncivil speaker. If addressing an enemy, he knocked him down with a huge and knotted club of mingled argument and invective. If a friend, he seized him by the collar, and dragged him along in the way he chose to have him go.

It would be interesting to trace the leading speakers to the countries where they originated, and ascertain whence came the most and the greatest; and whether different sections have imparted any peculiar characteristics. Murray, Erskine, Dundas, came from Scotland; the two former taking their place in the first rank; none provincially marked, except Dundas, who to the last held on upon the broad Scotch accent.

Burke, Sheridan, Grattan, Barre, Plunkett, came from Ireland. The two first fall into the first rank. The Irish eloquence, as most know, has a very distinct character. It is impassioned and poetical, often extravagant, in the attempted loftiness of its conceptions, in the swell and pomp of its language, and the crowded and dazzling brilliancy of

its figures. The foundation of this school was unquestionably laid in the splendid and prolific genius of Burke. He went in this direction to the very outer limits of propriety, sometimes overstepping those limits. Curran, with his vigorous but often rioting imagination, went further than Burke. Charles Phillips exceeded Curran, and with some really good, gave some of the very worst specimens of this style and school.

Pulteney, Chatham, Fox, Pitt, Canning are distinctively English; and in the English line, I suppose, we are to look for the standard specimens. Here, probably, it should be acknowledged, is to be found, on the whole, the highest order of eloquence.

America, also, has furnished many illustrious names in this line. Otis, Henry, Rutledge, Ames, Adams, Pinckney, Wirt, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, — these are specimens. If the comparison had been made within the last twenty years, the American eloquence, I think, would not suffer much as placed by the side of the English. We should have felt safe in placing Webster against Brougham; Clay against Peel; Choate against Macaulay; Calhoun against O'Connel. Certainly a real encounter between those social and moral antipodes; Calhoun and O'Connel, would have been a sight worth witnessing, — the proud uncompromising conservative on the one hand; the unsparing denouncer and agitator on the other; both at home in hurling the hot and scathing bolts.

The American eloquence has unquestionably great strength and excellence. The leading fault chargeable upon it is that there is apt to be too much of it. Sometimes it seems as though it would never come to an end. There is some truth in the caricature which one of our own countrymen gives. He says, "We will take nothing for granted. We must commence at the very commencement. An ejectment for ten acres reproduces the whole discovery of America. A discussion about a tariff, or a turnpike, summons from their remotest caves the adverse blasts of windy rhetoric; and on those great Serbonian bogs, known in political geog-

raphy as "constitutional questions" our ambitious fluency begins with the general deluge and ends with its own." Wordiness, floweriness, magniloquence, great swelling structures with very little in them, have often been charged upon us as the leading peculiarity of our speakers. This allegation was made sometime since, in one of the prominent literary and political Reviews of the mother country. Were the charge made with just limitations and discriminations we might stand corrected. But, in fact, it is indiscriminately made. Even Daniel Webster comes in by name as one in the offence, — Daniel Webster who once remarked that he had been employed twenty years in casting off words; who as the result of this process became chaste and severe almost to excess. Yet he is called a wordy, flowery speaker. No man could say this, knowing whereof he affirmed. After this, in such matters, the critic may say what else he pleases; we care not what he says.

Whilst in the business of comparing, let us compare for a moment the merits of the ancient and the modern eloquence. Do we find the qualities of the ancient reproduced in the modern? Do we find as great, or greater qualities? It is admitted there is no exact reproduction of Demosthenes on the one hand, and of Cicero on the other; perhaps no one, in all respects and in all rhetorical powers, equal to the great Grecian master. We find, however, in no small measure, the Demosthenic rigor and intensity. Fox is Demosthenic. He has the fire, the rapidity, the running together of argument and declamation which characterize the Grecian. But he was not the Grecian. Burke is Ciceronian. He has something of the flow, the divergency, the diffuseness, the spreading amplitude of the Roman. But, though in many things he far exceeded him, he was not the Roman. In great thought, in permanent and noble sentiment, in extent and wealth of imagery, the Briton is far before the Roman. I believe there is more of the material that feeds the mind and stirs its energy, making it wiser and stronger, in Edmund Burke than in all the ancient orators put together. There

is more intense, at the same time close, silencing reasoning in some of the secondary efforts of Fox than appears in the most labored orations of Demosthenes himself. There is more melting pathos, more genuine, pungent wit, not useless but aiding the argument, and more convulsing humor in some of the speeches of Sheridan, as he delivered them, than can be found in the most skilfully picked specimens of Grecian oratory. There is incomparably more gigantic grappling and settling of great principles in the addresses of Webster than appears in the profoundest of the ancient advocates. For these qualities, the English eloquence is clearly pre-eminent. In its thought, its sentiment, its argument, its wit, and its pathos it surpasses the ancient. It abounds, more than the ancient, even in terrible invective; more, because eloquence in modern times has taken the form of debate, of which the ancients knew little or nothing. This fact has given a personal character to the speaking. The leading orators have all along been pitted against each other. Walpole and Pulteney, Chatham and Murray, Burke and North, Fox and Pitt, Grattan and Flood, Brougham and Canning, Webster and Calhoun. Hence it is that all the leading orators have been greatest in invective. The fire has been the hottest when it has been the fire of emulation or hate. The torrent has been the strongest and most majestic when embittered waters have been running. These master spirits, possessing the withering power in question, have ever been ready and eager to flash and thunder and rive the antagonist object in moments of excitement and conflict. This is a humiliating fact, that so many of the greatest passages in our eloquence are the malignant passages; that the mind has proved the strongest under the influence of feelings which it ought not to have entertained at all.

It is owing in part to the peculiar character of parliamentary assemblies and this terrible form and encounter of debate, which have been described, that so many who have distinguished themselves in other fields, as advocates and as writers, have failed on the floor of the senate. William

Murray, so eloquent at the bar, and sometimes in the house, quailed and held his peace before the look and tone of Chatham. Erskine could do but little in Parliament. He could do what he pleased with a jury; but in the house the sarcasm and the overshadowing reputation of Pitt kept him completely under. Jeffrey even, the great Northern critic and advocate, who spake through his Quarterly with an authority which almost sealed the destiny of authors, found that he had no authority and but little influence in the turbulent commons. He could hew men down with his pen, but in the storm of debate his tongue was a mere feather.

It would be interesting and profitable if, in looking over the field of English speakers, we could derive some principles to guide us in the training and developing of the orator. But little of this sort can be found, there having been no uniformity in this particular. Every man seems to have come forward in his own way; almost every one pretty much as it happened. We find that some of the distinguished speakers have been distinguished classics, — by no means all. Pulteney, Murray, Burke, Pitt, Fox, McIntosh, were; Walpole, Chatham, Windham, Sheridan, Erskine, Patrick Henry, were decidedly wanting in this respect. McIntosh took to the Roman models; Murray, Fox, Burke, to the Grecian. Fox, notwithstanding his reeking dissipation, surpassed almost all orators of his time in keeping up an intercourse with the ancient, particularly the Greek, models. Lord Chatham's reading, we are told, was very much in Bailey's Dictionary, the sermons of Barrow, and the poems of Spenser. Burke, it is said, made great use of the prose of Dryden, and especially the poetry of Milton, as suggesting the noblest images. Sheridan formed his taste and manner almost wholly by intimacy with the English poets and dramatists. Lord Erskine, too, dwelt almost excusively among English writers. Few men of his time were more familiar with Shakespeare than he; Milton he had nearly by heart; and from Burke, also, he could quote all but indefinitely.

Not many English orators seem to have followed very

sedulously Cicero's direction in the frequent use of the pen. It is, indeed, singular how very few of the powerful speakers have been powerful as writers. Chatham, Fox, Sheridan, the three pre-eminent orators, were not writers. On the other hand, nearly all the masterly writers have utterly failed, particularly as extemporaneous speakers. It may well be doubted whether that quality of mind which makes the words hard got, but the right ones when they come; that closeness, that stringency, that condensed structure, which gives the force and precision to the style,—whether that vivid, compact quality is not wholly irreconcilable with the easy fluency which gives a man power when he thinks upon his legs, and speaks what he thinks.

As to manner, in the line of great English speakers, it is obvious that it has received comparatively little attention. There are some who excelled in manner; but it came spontaneously to them. Lord Chatham, we know, cultivated manner most assiduously, if not excessively — speaking before a glass, often, with a view to perfect both his enunciation and his action; and he, doubtless, greatly surpassed all modern parliamentary men in the externals of oratory. It must be acknowledged that manner will achieve wonders, and few can altogether neglect it with impunity. Yet it is true that some have succeeded in being eloquent without the arts and accomplishments of manner. Of these it may be said, what quaint Thomas Fuller says of Hooker, that "he seems to have made good musick with his fiddle and stick alone, without any rosin; having neither pronunciation nor gesture to grace his matter." Indeed, men have been eloquent in a high degree, in spite of decided physical obstructions or defects — as Demosthenes, who was born a stammerer; as Cicero, who had a slender, squeaking utterance; as Fox, who had a clumsy, unwieldy frame; Curran, who went among his schoolmates by the name of "stuttering Jack Curran"; Dunning, whose person was ugly and mean in the extreme — short, thick, stumpy, his voice husky and often clogged; Lord North, who had a

tongue too large for his mouth; or as the duke of Lauderdale, who, from a defective conformation of the mouth that made him unable to hold in all its proper contents, was said "to bedew his hearers while he addressed them."

Almost all the great speakers have acquired their power in speaking by the practice of speaking. Most began their practice early in the debating clubs. The practice was then transferred to the bar, the senate, the popular assembly. Windham began a bad speaker, and became a good one simply by practice. Fox began clumsily, and rose to his astonishing power by persistent practice. He determined, on entering parliament, to speak every night; and he says that for five whole sessions he did speak every night but one, and regretted only that he did not speak on that night too. Sheridan commenced his career with an utter failure, and by practice stood up even with the first debaters of that unequalled period. Curran, one of the most brilliantly fluent in the whole line of orators, at first so disgracefully slumped in the outset of his speech that he had to leave the place, wearing the cognomen of "Orator Mum." To these Pitt is an exception. He broke forth upon the house at the early age of twenty-two with all the strength and maturity of a veteran orator. Beyond question, practice, persevering, obstinate practice; inflicting its words and wind and stammering and nonsense, as well as sense, upon others; practice whenever and wherever there is any decent chance to speak — in the caucus or the temperance gathering or the debating-club, will ultimately surmount all ordinary obstacles and inaptitudes, and lead to a reasonable readiness and ability.

And, let me say here, the power to reach and sway men by argument and appeal is an admirable power. And the attainment of it is within the reach of more than ever realize it; of many more, if they would only come to it resolved to have it; each, in the language of Richter, determined to make as much out of himself, in this particular, "as can possibly be made out of the stuff." And our history shows

that this path is open to those who have not had all the advantages of extensive and liberal culture. We have already named Patrick Henry, who, perhaps, stands at the head of American orators; yet he passed almost instantly from an uncouth, lubberly lounger to a very powerful speaker; apparently little more than an animal one day, thrilling and astounding men by the wonders of his eloquence the next. Henry Clay and Mr. Pinckney, two pre-eminently distinguished Southern orators, each without early advantages, were prepared and disciplined for their work by no liberal or university course. Roger Sherman went from the shoemaker's bench to be the Nestor of our congress. John Marshall, our greatest lawyer, whose eloquence, though chiefly that of thought and argument, was still so effective, had rather the soldier's than the scholar's education; his was the drilling of the camp, not of the college. There was discipline in all these men; and there may be, with God's blessing, in any man who shall strongly will it. It is indispensable that the mind be disciplined and prepared in some way for this work. We insist upon no particular way; only let there be attained the faculty of method and the fountain of feeling, a mind clear and strong joined with a living soul of fire. These together will make out the thing. Where these are, it will come out, and you cannot stop it. The soul of fire and the baptism of fire will impart and impel the tongues of fire; and these will fling forth mingled strains of reasoning and appeal, effective where they fall. Let the speaker's logic only now and then break into flame, so that the argument shall go out in a melted, glowing stream, sparkling as it is poured, and it will make, yea, will melt, its way to the auditor's heart. In this fervid condition of the speaker, if there be any power in him, it will come out in his speech. If nothing else, there will be force in what he says; and this is eloquence. Perhaps the best definition that has ever been given is this: "Eloquence is force." There are those, indeed, who do not like this definition; nor do they always like the thing, if it comes to them in this assailing and

entering shape. We hear it maintained and insisted on in many quarters that the smooth and nicely-finished, finely-balanced things, the brilliant corruscations of the imagination, the beautiful and blooming flowers of the fancy, the gorgeous and towering structures of language, language in shining heaps — these and such like — these, and nothing else, make out the true eloquence. They so make the people stare and admire and praise. It is so charming and so beautiful! If this be eloquence in its true form and spirit, then the dandies and the peacocks have it. The great masters of the past and present have it not. They never aimed at this mere finery. They struck for the achieving quality, the soul-bracing, the drastic element; for they wished and they meant to accomplish something — make those they spoke to believe, resolve, and do something.

You doubtless have often witnessed how the purpose of the speaker, the frame he is in, modifies everything that comes from him. We put ourselves before one man. He is in the light, entertaining mood, and we meet a beautiful exhibition; the person, manner, voice, style, all fine. There are admirable sketchings, great and vivid pictures drawn upon the wall; the sensibilities are stirred, and all love to feel, and it is a delightful entertainment. We go away, and soon forget all about it. It fades from our mind as the tinted bow fades from the eastern sky. We place ourselves before another man. He does not greatly excite our astonishment; but we find ourselves within the circle of his power. He moves us deeply, and we see definitely why we are moved. He implants within us some vital sentiments which we cannot dislodge, and sends us away thinking, feeling, resolving. We sleep, we wake, and the truth is within us, and the pressure is upon us, and we find no relief from the impulse which has visited us but in generous, decisive action. There is force here, not prettiness, not something which tickles the fancy or plays round the head; but something which touches and stretches and works the very muscles. Like the kingdom of God, it is not in word, but in power.

The evidence of its presence is not a sigh, nor a tear, nor a smile, but conviction, decision, achievement. This is eloquence, authenticated as such by the great performers who have gone before us. And who does not feel that it is an admirable power? And who does not sometimes wish he had it? Perhaps you may have it. But, remember, it will cost you something. Remember the discipline we have alluded to, and which all transcendent speakers in this line have had to come to. Let him whose heart pants for this distinction gird himself to the labor, the conflict, the persistent self-drill. Let him know what he professes to know, and see, as with an eagle's vision, what he undertakes to see. Let him study language till he shall understand its analogies and its nice shades and pregnant meanings; especially, till he can call out the sweet harmony, the picturesque force, and the Saxon stringency of his mother tongue. Let him in his reading dwell in a pure, bracing atmosphere; never, no, not for an hour, in a region of mingled mist and moonshine. Let him walk, rather, with the men, the former giants of our literature — get upon the mountains their shoulders make. In all the studies and problems he meets, let him meet them like a man; show the mastering mind — one that can grapple with difficulties and conquer obstructions and move straight through the most entangling intricacies, till he comes to brush them aside as though they were cobwebs. Thus let there be reached the two contrasted powers of comprehension and concentration, and also the power of a firmly-linked consecutiveness to be the sinew of his discourse. And then let him have a correct, wholesome taste and stored imagination, that he may clothe the process everywhere with comeliness, and now and then with lines and tints of beauty. And when he has gained these varied gifts, let him remember his responsibility to God and his generation; and use them in the advocacy of the true and the right, the pure and the good; expending them generously in the toils of philanthropy and the deeper solicitudes of religion, till this now burdened world shall come to the period of its redemption.

ARTICLE III.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION.

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No. IX.

INSPIRATION CONSIDERED IN ITS END.

We propose, in the present Number, to consider the inspiration of the record with reference to its *end*, leaving out of view, as far as possible, all questions concerning its *mode*. The inspiration of the record can have in view no other end than that of giving to men, under the sanction of divine authority, a sure rule of faith and practice. Since any divinely authorized rule of faith and practice must have the two attributes of infallibility and sufficiency, the proposition that the books of scripture are inspired includes the two ideas that they are without error, and that they are sufficient for our salvation. It is manifest that each inspired book, taken separately, must be without error; but when we come to the quality of sufficiency, that belongs not so much to single books, as to the whole considered collectively. It was not the divine plan to reveal all truth at once. He communicated it, as occasion required, "in many parts and in many ways,"[1] using to this end the many and diverse gifts of his servants, till, at last, when the record had attained to all needful fulness, the canon of scripture was closed. It is of this record that we affirm infallibility and sufficiency; both qualities being included in its divine authority, which we now proceed to consider.

Here we begin with the great fundamental truth that Jesus of Nazareth was, in the fullest sense of the words, an infallible teacher. We do not assume the infallibility of the

[1] πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως. Heb. i. 1.

record to prove the infallibility of the Saviour. We take the gospel narratives simply as written by honest and competent men, and as worthy of credence in the ordinary acceptation of the words; and we affirm that the numerous declarations recorded by them which fell from the Saviour's own lips show that he was a teacher raised above all error. He claimed for himself the attribute of infallibility in so many ways, that we must receive as an axiom of Christianity that what he taught was pure truth, without any admixture of falsehood. It was not the declaration of the beloved disciple alone, that before his incarnation he dwelt from eternity in the Father's bosom.[1] He himself said: "Father, glorify thou me with thine own self,[2] with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."[3] "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father."[4] And, during that eternal residence in the Father's bosom he knew all his counsels. This he asserts of himself in the most explicit terms: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself,[5] but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth."[6] The mode of representation is drawn from human intercourse; but the truth taught is that the Son has a full knowledge of all the Father's counsels. Accordingly, the Saviour elsewhere says, with the confidence of one who knows what he affirms: "He that sent me is true; and I speak to the world those things which I have heard of him";[7] "I have not spoken of myself; but the Father who sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say

[1] John i. 1, 2, 18.

[2] παρὰ σεαυτῷ, *with thyself*, in the sense of being in the Father's immediate presence.

[3] John xvii. 5.

[4] John xvi. 28.

[5] ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, *of himself;* that is, of his own proper will, separated from the Father's will. The words imply perfect knowledge of the Father's will, and perfect union with it.

[6] John v. 19, 20.

[7] John viii. 26.

and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak, therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak."[1] And, because he knows all truth, and is able and willing to teach all that men need to know, he says of himself: "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life";[2] "I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness;"[3] "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world"[4] — words which would be blasphemy in the lips of a fallible man. The same great truth is taught in another form, when the Saviour says: "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away."[5] Here the Saviour places himself side by side with Jehovah, who says, in the Old Testament: "Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner; but my salvation shall be forever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished."[6] The same attribute of infallibility is implied in all those passages in which he offers himself to men as worthy of unlimited confidence, such as the following: "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock";[7] "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls,"[8] and many like passages that might be added. The Saviour's infallibility as a teacher being thus established on an immovable foundation, we have a sure point of departure from which to proceed in our inquiries respecting the inspiration of the New Testament record, which is that now under consideration.

[1] John xii. 49, 50. [2] John viii. 12. [3] John xii. 46.
[4] John ix. 5. [5] Luke xxi. 33. [6] Isa. li. 6.
[7] Matt. vii. 24. [8] Matt. xi. 28, 29.

First of all, it is necessary that we carefully consider the *relation to Christ* held by the writers of the New Testament; since, as already remarked,[1] it is here, if anywhere, that we shall find the warrant for receiving their writings as inspired. There are but two grades of relationship to Christ with which we can connect the high endowment now under consideration — that of apostles, and that of their associates in the work of the Christian ministry. Our plan will be to consider, first, the case of the apostles; secondly, that of their acknowledged companions and helpers in the work of preaching the gospel; and finally, to add some remarks that apply equally to the writings of both classes.

The Inspiration of the Apostles.

Early in our Lord's ministry he chose twelve apostles, "that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils."[2] In this brief notice we have all the distinguishing marks of an apostle. He was chosen that he might be with Christ from the beginning, and thus be to the people an eye-witness of his whole public life. When an apostle was to be chosen in the place of Judas, Peter laid particular stress on this qualification: "Wherefore, of these men who have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."[3] In the case of Paul alone was this condition of apostleship wanting; and the want was made good to him by the special revelations of Jesus Christ, on which he lays particular stress.[4] An apostle, again, was one who received his commission immediately from the Saviour — a qualification which Paul strenuously asserted in his own behalf, saying: "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father,

[1] See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xxviii. p. 637. [2] Mark iii. 14, 15.
[3] Acts i. 21, 22. [4] Gal. i. 11, 12.

who raised him from the dead."[1] An apostle, once more, was one who received directly from Christ the power of working miracles. This was the seal of his apostleship before the world. In the three particulars that have been named the apostles held to Christ the nearest possible relation, and were by this relation distinguished from all other men. Their mission was to preach the gospel and establish Christian churches in all the world: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."[2] Have we evidence that these men, holding to Christ such an intimate relation, and receiving from him such a broad commission, sealed by the power of working miracles, were divinely qualified, through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, to preach and record the facts and doctrines of the gospel without error?

1. Our first argument that they were thus qualified is drawn from *the analogy of the Old Testament record;* the Old Testament record, namely, as it is uniformly regarded by our Lord. We leave out of view, for the present, the judgments expressed by the New Testament writers themselves, so far forth as they may be regarded as authorities. Our sole aim is to gather from them the Saviour's position in respect to the books of the Old Testament. No unprejudiced reader can study the gospel narratives without the profound conviction that he everywhere assumed the divine authority of the Hebrew scriptures. This conviction is forced upon us not simply by his express declarations, but also by the reverential attitude which he everywhere takes towards them. In his first encounter with the prince of darkness he drew his weapons from the storehouse of scripture. The threefold assault of the devil he met with the threefold answer: *It is written.* No one who reads the narrative with an unprejudiced mind can doubt that he received all that is written in

[1] Gal. i. 1.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

the Hebrew scriptures as of divine authority. So also in his encounters with the Pharisees, his constant appeal is to the record of the Old Testament — *Have ye not read? What is written in the law? How readest thou?* Objections drawn from the record he meets, not by repudiating it wholly or in part, but by a fair interpretation of its meaning. A notable example of this we have in his solution of the question put to him by the Pharisees respecting the Mosaic law of divorce.[1] In answer to his exposition of the primitive law of marriage, they asked: "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" The reply of Jesus was: "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so." In another place he said of the hundred and tenth Psalm: "David himself said in the Holy Ghost, the Lord said unto my Lord,"[2] etc. He recognized this psalm as written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; nor is there the shadow of a reason for supposing that he wished to distinguish it from the psalms as a whole. He simply referred to it as containing one of the declarations concerning the Messiah made, like all the rest of them, "in the Holy Ghost." Again, after his resurrection he said to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus: "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?"[3] How necessary? Plainly, because there must have been a fulfilment of all things written concerning him in the scriptures of the Old Testament. Accordingly, "beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself";[4] and afterwards said to the assembly of the apostles in Jerusalem: "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses,

[1] Matt. xix. 3–9. [2] Mark xii. 36.

[3] Οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ; Luke xxiv. 26.

[4] Luke xxiv. 25–27.

and in the prophets, and in the psalms concerning me."[1] The above are samples of the way in which our Lord was accustomed to refer to the scriptures of the Old Testament. What inference could his hearers draw from such words? What inference did any one of them ever draw, except that he ascribed to the Hebrew scriptures as a whole divine authority? Finally, the Saviour clinches the argument by his words on the mount: "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, until heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."[2] Could he who came with his fan in his hand to sever the chaff from the wheat have spoken thus of the law had he known it to be only a heap of unwinnowed wheat — error and truth mixed together? And if he received the law as pure wheat — truth unmixed with error — who can deny that he gave the same honor to the psalms and to the prophets? We do not affirm that our Saviour occupied himself with verbal criticism, or questions respecting the agreement or disagreement of the Greek version with the original Hebrew in particular passages. We shall endeavor to show in a future Number that inspiration, though it necessarily employs human words, has its proper seat not in the letter, but in the spirit; and that the same truth communicated by inspiration of the Holy Ghost may be expressed by two or more writers in two or more forms of words. What we now insist upon is, that the Saviour received the whole Old Testament as a divinely authoritative record of God's dealings with men, and of the truths which he has revealed for their salvation.

Will it be said, in reply, that herein the Saviour *accommodated* himself to the current belief of the age? That he spoke and acted *in harmony* with that belief, ancient and venerable, coming down from the days of Ezra, is certain. When Paul affirmed of the Old Testament as a whole: "all scripture is given by inspiration of God";[3] and Peter, that

[1] Luke xxiv. 44. [2] Matt. v. 17, 18. [3] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

"the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," [1] they spake not merely as apostles, but as Jews, giving the universal belief of the nation in respect to the Hebrew scriptures. But the doctrine of *accommodation* means that one, for prudential reasons, conforms himself to a current belief, without regard to its truth or falsehood. To say that in the matter of the divine authority of scripture our Lord thus accommodated himself to the age in which he lived is to cast upon him an unworthy imputation, not only without evidence, but against evidence. The most powerful and influential body among the Jews of our Lord's day was the sect of the Pharisees, who sat in Moses's seat, and were the acknowledged leaders of the people in religion. They held firmly the traditions of the elders. Yet our Lord set aside these traditions in a very unceremonious way. All classes of the Jews were firm in the belief that their expected Messiah would establish a temporal kingdom — a kingdom, indeed, of truth and righteousness, but yet a temporal kingdom — with its seat at Jerusalem. Yet the Saviour carefully avoided the utterance of any word that might seem to give his sanction to that belief; and before Pilate he publicly declared that his kingdom was not of this world.[2] On the other hand, he expressly sanctioned the current belief of the Pharisees respecting the resurrection, angels, and spirits.[3] He gave also the full sanction of his authority to the doctrine, current in his day, of eternal rewards and punishments. Why this difference? The answer is found in his words to Pilate: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." [4] All current beliefs that were in accordance with truth he sanctioned, but none that were based on falsehood. But he did undeniably sanction the belief of his day in the divine authority of the Hebrew scriptures; and from his decision there can be no appeal to those who receive

[1] 2 Peter i. 21.
[2] John xviii. 36.
[3] Matt. xxii. 23–33.
[4] John xviii. 37.

him as the Son of God, who dwelt from eternity with the Father, and knew all his counsels.

The divine authority of the record of revelation contained in the Old Testament being admitted, we infer at once, by analogy, that of the apostolic writings. Otherwise we should be reduced to the necessity of placing the apostles on a lower plane than Moses and the prophets, whereas the Saviour places them, in their office as teachers, above all their predecessors. He says of John the Baptist: "Verily, I say unto you, among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."[1] In a certain sense it might be said that the least *believer* who is *in* the kingdom of heaven is greater than any believer before its establishment. But the context naturally restricts us to *prophets* — men possessing the spirit of prophecy with its extraordinary endowments. John's greatness as a prophet lay in his near relation to Christ as his *forerunner*, and the one chosen by God to see him and testify to him before the people. But the least prophet *in the kingdom of heaven* was greater than he, as having a nearer relation to Christ and fuller revelations concerning him. But if we deny to the writings of Christ's own apostles, chosen by him to establish his church, and endowed on the day of Pentecost with the gift of the Holy Spirit, that divine authority which we concede to the things written concerning Christ "in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms," we make them not greater than John and the prophets before him, but less than the least of them, which is a true *reductio ad absurdum*. Holding, then, the divine authority of the record left us by Moses and the prophets, we must, *a fortiori*, admit that of the writings of Christ's own apostles, who were greater than they.

2. Our second argument is drawn from *the necessity of the case*. Though our Lord finished the work which the Father gave him to do on earth, he did not finish the revelation of

[1] Matt. xi. 11.

his gospel. On the contrary, he said to his disciples just before his crucifixion: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all the truth";[1] a plain intimation that these "many things," reserved for future communication, should be imparted to them not by himself in person, but through the Holy Spirit. And what were these "many things"? One of them was the purely spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom. This was not understood by the apostles till after the day of Pentecost; for we find them asking, just before his ascension, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" a question which he declined answering, while he referred them to the promised gift of the Spirit.[2] Another of the things which they could not bear during our Lord's personal ministry, was the abolition of the Mosaic law, and thus of the middle wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles. This great truth was so connected with the import of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice (to be next considered) that the unfolding of the two necessarily went hand in hand with each other. By the preaching of the cross the apostles taught *doctrinally* that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free; but Christ is all, and in all";[3] and they taught the same truth *practically* by their decisions in respect to the Gentile converts.[4] Then, again, what a rich unfolding we have in the apostolic epistles of the meaning of Christ's death on Calvary, and, in connection with this, of the doctrine of justification by faith! Faith *in Christ's person* had always been required. This the apostles had before his crucifixion. But faith *in Christ crucified* for the sins of the world they could not have till after the counsel of God had been revealed by his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension to heaven. We might specify other truths, as, for example, what Paul says of the resurrection and the spiritual body.[5] But those that have been men-

[1] John xvi. 12, 13. [2] Acts i. 6–8. [3] Col. iii. 11.
[4] See Acts x., xi., and xv. [5] 1 Cor. xv.; 1 Thess. iv. 13–18.

tioned enter into the very substance of the gospel. They are, in fact, integral parts of it; and that they might be unfolded without error the apostles needed a special illumination and guidance from on high. Can we now suppose that our Lord began the revelation of his gospel by his own infallible wisdom, and then left it to be completed by the wisdom of fallible men? The case of evangelical teachers since the days of the apostles is exceedingly different. They are not commissioned to *add* anything to the revelations of the New Testament, and need not, therefore, the attribute of infallibility. If Augustine and Jerome, in the later period of the Roman empire, if Anselm and Bernard in the Middle Ages, if Luther and Calvin at the era of the Reformation, if Wesley and Edwards in later days, have committed errors, these are comparatively of small account, provided only that we have in the apostolic writings an infallible standard by which to try their doctrines. But if the apostles whom Christ himself appointed to finish the work of revelation which he had begun, and whom he endowed with miraculous powers, as the broad seal of their commission, were left without any sure guarantee against error, then we are afloat on a sea of uncertainty without chart or compass, there being no standard of truth to which the church since the apostolic period can appeal. No man who believes that Jesus is the Son of God, and that he came into the world to make to men a perfect revelation of the way of life, can admit such an absurd supposition.

3. Our third argument is drawn from *Christ's express promises to his apostles*. The substance of these is, that they should be divinely qualified for the work committed to them through the gift of the Holy Ghost. For convenience of discussion we will first consider the promises recorded in the so-called synoptic Gospels. In immediate connection with their commission to preach his gospel the Saviour said: "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the nations. But when they

deliver you up, be not solicitous[1] how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given to you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For not ye are the speakers, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you."[2] And again, referring to the persecutions that should come upon his apostles, he said: "But when they shall lead you and deliver you up, be not solicitous beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for not ye are the speakers, but the Holy Spirit";[3] "And when they bring you unto the synagogues and the magistrates and the powers, be not solicitous how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say. For the Holy Spirit shall teach you in the same hour what ye ought to say";[4] "Settle it therefore in your hearts not to premeditate what ye shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist."[5] These promises are explicit enough. The only way in which one could attempt to evade their force would be to say that they referred to a *specific emergency* alone — "when they bring you unto the synagogues and the magistrates and the powers"; but that they did not contain any *general promise* of infallible guidance. Thus he would interpret the gracious Saviour's promise to his disciples not in the largest sense, but in the most narrow and restricted way possible, as Portia did Shylock's bond for a pound of Antonio's flesh, standing upon the exact letter:

> "This bond doth give thee here no jot of blood;
> The words expressly are, a pound of flesh.
> . . . . . .
> Therefore prepare thee to cut off the flesh.
> Shed thou no blood; nor cut thou less nor more,
> But just a pound of flesh."

Such a narrow principle of interpretation suited well the necessity of Portia's case, which was to eviscerate from the bond all its substance; but it is not the Saviour's manner to

[1] The original is μὴ μεριμνήσητε. [2] Matt. x. 18–20.
[3] Mark xiii. 11. [4] Luke xii. 11, 12. [5] Luke xxi. 14, 15.

weigh out his promises after this legal fashion, carefully guarding his disciples against expecting one jot too much from them. His rule is rather to give "good measure, pressed down and shaken together and running over." And in the present instance it is manifest that he specifies their being brought before kings and rulers as a *representative case.* In so great an emergency as this, one to which the apostles must have looked forward with special anxiety, the presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit shall not fail them. The legitimate inference is that they shall have help from him for all other emergencies. Consider for a moment the absurdity of the supposition that Christ's promises to his apostles did indeed guarantee to them all needful help when they should stand before kings and rulers; but not when they should preach his gospel verbally or in writing, and settle the constitution of his church. Which, one might ask, was the more needful, that they should be kept from error in answering the magistrate, or in deliberating on the momentous question of imposing upon the Gentiles the Mosaic law? In standing before Cæsar, or in writing for the use of the churches the history of our Lord's life and teachings? In expounding before Festus and Agrippa the doctrine of the resurrection, or in unfolding for all coming ages the great doctrine of justification by faith?

But, if there could be any doubt as to the true scope of the promises which we have been considering, it must be removed by the character of those recorded in the Gospel of John, all of which are comprehensive and general in their character. It will be sufficient to adduce two of them. "These things," said Jesus, in his last discourse with his disciples before his crucifixion, "have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, who is the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."[1] And again: "I have yet many things to say unto you; but ye

[1] John xiv. 25, 26.

cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all the truth;[1] for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come. He shall glorify me; for he shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I that he shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you."[2] In the former of these passages the special promise is that the Holy Spirit shall bring to the remembrance of the apostles, and unfold to their understanding, all Christ's personal teachings which they have enjoyed: "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." Thus they shall have a fuller apprehension of the meaning of their Lord's words than was possible at the time when they were uttered. The second promise is introduced by the declaration that the Saviour has yet many things in reserve for his apostles, which they cannot now bear. Of course, he will not communicate them personally. They are reserved for the ministration of the Spirit, as he immediately proceeds to show: "When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all the truth." He shall glorify Christ; for he shall take of the things that are Christ's, and reveal them to the apostles. And what are the things which are Christ's? The Saviour himself answers: "All things which the Father hath are mine"; as the scripture says elsewhere that "the Father had given all things into his hands."[3] Among these "all things" are included all the Father's counsels pertaining to the way of salvation through his Son. These are given to the Son; and the Holy Spirit takes of them, and reveals to the churches, through the apostles, as much as is needful for their edification and salvation. Wonderful words are these! In them our Lord's Deity shines forth; and they contain, at the same time, a sure guarantee to the apostles

[1] ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, *he shall guide you into all the truth;* that is, all that pertains to Christ's person and offices.

[2] John xvi. 12–15.

[3] John xiii. 3.

of all the supernatural illumination and guidance which they needed in the work committed to their hands.

The question has often been asked: Were these promises given to the apostles alone, or through them to the church at large? The answer is at hand. They were given *primarily* and in a *special sense* to the apostles; for they had reference to a special work committed to them, which required for its performance special divine illumination and guidance. They were given in a *secondary sense* to the church at large, inasmuch as all believers enjoy, through the apostles, the benefit of these revelations of the Holy Spirit. It is important to remember that the promises in question are not made to all believers personally, but were given, once for all, through the apostles, to all believers. The gift of the Holy Spirit is, indeed, made to all believers personally, according to the measure of their necessities. They are not called, as were the apostles, to lay the foundations of the Christian faith, and have, therefore, no promise of new revelations from the Spirit or of personal elevation above all error, any more than they have of miraculous gifts.

4. We add a fourth argument, drawn from the *miraculous gifts* conferred on the apostles. These must, of course, be considered in strict connection with the tenor of their office. They were the divine seal of their commission. The contents of the commission must be learned from other sources, chiefly from the testimony of the apostles themselves. Here we may draw a pertinent illustration from the mission of Moses. God sent Moses to Egypt with a commission to lead forth his people from bondage; and this commission he attested by the miracles which he empowered him to perform: "And it shall be, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign. And it shall be, if they will not believe also these two signs, neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry land; and the water which thou takest

out of the river shall become blood upon the dry land." [1] Now, we have seen the tenor of the apostles' commission, which was to go into all the world, and teach all nations the things commanded them by Christ, and also to communicate to them the further revelations of the Spirit, concerning things which they were not prepared to receive from our Lord during his personal ministry. For this work they were qualified by the gift of the Holy Spirit, and Christ himself attested their qualification by the miraculous endowments which he conferred upon them. When Peter, in the presence of the assembled multitudes, healed a man that had been lame from his birth, and then proceeded to unfold to the people the way of salvation through Christ, he both gave them the contents of his commission and showed them the divine seal impressed upon it. The only legitimate inference to be drawn from what he *did* in the name of Christ was, that the *message* which he delivered to the people in Christ's name was authentic and worthy of full credence. What man in his sober senses could believe that Peter and John wrought miracles in the name of Christ, but that when they taught the people the way of salvation through Christ their words did not have the sanction of Christ's authority? But if they were qualified to preach, so were they also to write, with divine authority. For no other inspiration was required in the latter case than in the former. And what was spoken or written by Christ's authority must be received as truth coming from Christ himself.

Some may think that in past days the miraculous element in Christianity was made too exclusively prominent. With such we will not contend. We simply remark that now the tendency is in the opposite direction. With a certain class of writers, of whom Renan may be taken as the representative, the passion for eliminating from the history of the world all that is properly supernatural amounts to moral insanity. They give us to understand that they have seen quite through the universe, and know that such a thing as

[1] Ex. iv. 8, 9.

a miracle never did, and never can, happen in it. Zophar asked, long ago: "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth and broader than the sea." [1] In accordance with the spirit of these questions it has been thought presumptuous to deny that supernatural interposition in certain great crises of the world's history may be a part of the divine plan, and therefore not unnatural, but in strict harmony with the constitution and office of nature, which is not itself a final end, but only God's handmaid ministering to a high moral end. But these men are confident that they have found out the Almighty unto perfection; that miracles have no normal place in the plan of his universe; and that, consequently, the belief in them is an inadmissible violation of their "scientific conscience." So they address themselves resolutely to the work of eliminating from Christianity its supernatural element, which, as a late writer well remarks, "is to reject the Gospels as credible narratives, and, if we still call ourselves Christians, to be Christians in no sense known to human language or history — to be disciples of a Christ solely of our own fabrication, therefore our own disciples, not another's." [1] The statement is well put. The very aim of rationalism is to make us "our own disciples," our own reason being the arbiter as to what may, and what may not, be admitted in the scriptural record. In other words, the fundamental principle of rationalism is, that God has never made an authoritative, supernatural revelation of himself to men, which, though not contrary to unperverted human reason, is yet above it, revealing things that lie beyond its sphere. The religion of rationalism needs, of course, no miracles; for it contains no proper revelations from God to be attested by them. But if God has, in very deed, revealed himself to men, the divine authentication of the fact is needed, and thus miracles have their appropriate

[1] Job xi. 7–9. [2] Dr. A. P. Peabody, in the Boston Lectures for 1870, p. 187.

place in the plan of revelation. To return to the case of the apostles, the miraculous gifts conferred upon them were God's seal to their commission; and, since he never sets his seal to falsehood, these miraculous gifts gave to their words, spoken or written, the stamp of divine authority.

5. We are now prepared to consider, as a fifth argument, the *claims made by the apostles themselves* to speak and write with divine authority. It has been shown in the preceding Number that their simple declaration concerning themselves, taken by itself, could avail nothing. But this same declaration, taken in connection with their acknowledged relation to Christ, the work committed by him to them, his promises to them, and the miraculous gifts bestowed upon them, is of the weightiest import. It was not, indeed, their custom to make gratuitous assertions of their superhuman guidance and authority. Their position rendered this unnecessary. The self-oblivion that pervades the historical books of the New Testament, two of which were written by apostles, is truly majestic, and is itself a mark of inspiration. In the Gospel of Matthew the personality of the writer does not so much as once come to the surface; in the Gospel of John it appears very rarely, and only when the nature of the circumstances related makes it appropriate. All the historical writers go forward serenely, in the full confidence that they can rightfully claim, and shall have, the credence of the churches, and aiming only to set forth the truth in its naked simplicity. Yet, when occasions arose, chiefly from the opposition of false teachers, the apostles did not hesitate to assert the authority which they had received from their Master in unambiguous terms. In the memorable letter of the apostles and elders and brethren to the Gentile churches, they say: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things."[1] The words "to the Holy Ghost, and to us," can only mean, to us under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. The apostle Paul, again, writing to the Corinthians, says: "Now we have re-

[1] Acts xv. 28.

ceived not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual."[1] Here he undeniably speaks of himself and his associates in the gospel ministry; and his reference is not to any particular occasion, but to the general tenor of their preaching. They habitually spoke — and by parity of reason wrote also — not in words which man's wisdom teaches, but which were taught them by the Holy Ghost. So also, writing to the Galatians, among whom his apostolic standing had been called in question by certain Judaizing teachers, he says: "I certify you brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."[2] This language is explicit enough. It could have been used only by one who was conscious of having been divinely qualified and authorized to preach the gospel. Accordingly, in this same epistle, he more than once opposes his apostolic authority to the false teachers who were troubling the churches of Galatia: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you in the grace of Christ, unto another gospel: which is not another; except that there are some who trouble you, wishing to subvert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven preach a gospel to you other than we have preached to you, let him be accursed. As we have said before, so now again say I: "If any man preaches to you a gospel other than ye received, let him be accursed;"[3] and once more: "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing."[4] Writing also to the Corinthians he says: "If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge the things which I write unto you, that they are the commandments of the Lord."[5] On the above passages we remark:

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 12, 13. [2] Gal. i. 11, 12. [3] Gal. i. 6–9.
[4] Gal. v. 2. [5] 1 Cor. xiv. 37.

First, that they express not the authority which the apostle's words and writings had on certain occasions; but that which belonged to them always, though it was only on certain occasions that he felt the necessity of asserting it. Secondly, that the authority which belonged to his words and writings belonged also to those of the apostles as a body. Accordingly we find the apostle John writing with the same absolute assurance: "We are of God. He that knoweth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error."[1] Thirdly, that honest men, such as the apostles are admitted to have been, could not have used language of this kind, except under the full consciousness that they spoke and wrote by Christ's authority in such a high sense that their commandments were "the commandments of the Lord." Besides explicit assertions, like those that have been quoted, there is a tone of divine authority running through the apostolic writings. They assert the weightiest truths, and make the weightiest revelations concerning the future, as men who know that they have a valid claim to be explicitly believed and obeyed. What majesty of authority, for example, shines through Paul's discussion of the doctrine of the resurrection! He announces truths, that lie wholly beyond the ken of human reason, with the full and calm assurance of one who speaks from God. The same tone of certainty runs through the remarks which the apostle John interweaves with his Gospel and his Epistles, as well as though the other apostolic Epistles.

The Inspiration of the Associates of the Apostles.

We restrict the term "associates" in the present discussion to those who were the recognized associates of the apostles in the work of preaching the gospel; since it is not claimed that any other men than apostles or their helpers in the gospel ministry were the authors of the canonical books of the New Testament, though the miraculous gifts of the Spirit

[1] 1 John iv. 6.

cannot be restricted to these, as will be manifest from a brief survey of the early history of the church. After our Lord's ascension the eleven apostles returned to Jerusalem, and they with the disciples — that is, those openly known as such — took up their abode in an upper room.[1] Luke gives the number of the names at "about an hundred and twenty." This, according to the ordinary Jewish mode of reckoning,[2] is probably the number of the men present, besides whom were the women who had followed the Saviour. From these disciples Matthias was, at Peter's suggestion, chosen by lot to take the place of Judas. During the time that intervened between the ascension and the day of Pentecost "these all continued in prayer and supplication with one accord"; and it was upon this company, not exclusively upon the twelve apostles, that the Spirit descended. Upon the day of Pentecost "they were all with one accord in one place," the Spirit fell on them all, "and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." [3] We know that among those present on this memorable occasion were our Lord's brethren,[4] a fact to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. In like manner, upon the inauguration of the work of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, a work which Peter began by express revelation from God, "while Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word. And they of the circumcision who believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God." [5] But with the exception of these notable instances, the gift of the Holy Ghost — that is, in the high and special sense of miraculous endowments — was, so far as the sacred record gives us information, imparted by the laying on of the apostle's hands. Thus, when Philip the evangelist preached the gospel to the Samaritans, they

[1] Acts i. [2] Matt. xiv. 21; xv. 38. [3] Acts ii. 1 seq.
[4] Acts i. 14. [5] Acts x.

received it joyfully, and were baptized in the name of Christ. Philip himself had the gift of the Spirit, and wrought miracles and signs among the people, but he did not impart to others this gift. It was when the apostles Peter and John came and laid their hands on the believers that they received the Holy Ghost.[1] Another analagous case is that of the disciples at Ephesus who had been baptized to John's baptism, and afterwards, upon being more fully instructed by Paul, "were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues and prophesied."[2] The gift of the Holy Ghost, then, in the special sense of miraculous endowments, was widely enjoyed in the primitive churches.

We are not, however, to infer that all who received this gift were judged by the apostles competent to be associated with them in the work of preaching the word. "Tongues are for a sign,"[3] says the apostle; and the same is more or less true of all the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. They did not, in and of themselves, indicate the qualifications requisite for a preacher of the gospel. They who spoke under the impulse of the Holy Spirit in a language intelligible to the hearers uttered, of course, words of edification. But something more than this is needed in the man who is set apart for the ministry of the word. He must have the qualifications insisted upon by Paul in the pastoral Epistles; among which are a good report, aptness to teach, and the ability "by sound doctrine to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."[4] He must be a man who has a comprehensive knowledge of the gospel — "a scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, like a man who is a householder, who brings forth out of his treasure, things new and old."[5] In this respect the practice of the apostle Paul agreed with his theory. For his first missionary tour the Holy Ghost as-

[1] Acts viii. 14–17. [2] Acts xix. 1–7. [3] 1 Cor. xiv. 22.
[4] See 1 Tim. iii. 1–7; 2 Tim. ii. 2; Titus i. 6–9. [5] Matt. xiii. 52.

signed Barnabas as his companion,[1] doubtless, because of his pre-eminent fitness for the work. "And they had also," the narrative adds, "John to their minister,"[2] that is, as appears from the context, "John whose surname was Mark."[3] On his second missionary tour, the apostle, rejecting Mark for reasons that will be considered presently, chose Silas for his helper.[4] Again, finding in Asia Minor a young man by the name of Timothy, whose father was a Greek, "well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium," he circumcised him, and took him with him.[5] It is manifest that in choosing his associates in the work of preaching the gospel he had respect not simply to the miraculous endowments of the Spirit, but also to their qualifications, natural and acquired, which these supernatural gifts did not supersede, but rather supplemented.

Thus there arose very naturally, within the sphere of those who had the gift of the Spirit, partly by the immediate selection of the apostle, and partly without any formal action on their part, an interior circle of men, whose endowments were recognized by the apostles and the churches, and who were their acknowledged helpers in the work of the ministry. It would be very contrary to the genius of primitive Christianity to conceive of the apostles as taking towards these men a patronizing attitude, and keeping them under their leading-strings. The apostles were raised by their position above all petty jealousies. They joyfully recognized the gifts bestowed by the great Head of the church on others, and gave them their confidence, so long as they proved themselves worthy of it, not in name, but in reality. It is not surprising that within this circle of helpers should have been found men peculiarly gifted with the pen, whose writings were unanimously received by the churches as coordinate in authority with those of the apostles. It is not necessary to assume that they wrote at the dictation of apostles, or under their formal supervision. If they had the

[1] Acts xiii. 2. [2] Acts xiii. 5. [3] Acts xii. 25; xv. 37.
[4] Acts xv. 40. [5] Acts xvi. 1–3.

confidence of the apostles and churches for the works which they undertook, that was enough; and this may be reasonably believed in respect to all the books of the New Testament not emanating from apostles.

1. *The Writings of Mark and Luke.*

There is no valid ground for assuming the existence of two persons by the name of Mark, or for doubting the correctness of the ancient tradition which identifies the author of the second Gospel with "John whose surname was Mark,"[1] who is called simply John[2] and Marcus, or Mark.[3] He was a kinsman of Barnabas,[4] which relationship may explain Barnabas's earnest defence of him against Paul.[5] His mother Mary resided at Jerusalem. Her house was a well-known place of resort for the primitive Christians, and to this Peter went immediately upon his miraculous deliverance from prison.[6] The intimacy of Peter with Mary's family must have brought about an early acquaintance between the apostle Peter and Mark, which continued, according to the common interpretation of 1 Pet. v. 13, to the end of Peter's life, and which is affirmed with great unanimity by ecclesiastical tradition. His connection with the apostle Paul began upon the occasion of the visit of Barnabas and Paul to Jerusalem to carry alms to the disciples who dwelt in Judea. Upon the return of these two men to Antioch they "took with them John whose surname was Mark,"[7] and he accompanied them on their first missionary tour as far as Perga in Pamphylia, whence, departing from them, he returned to Jerusalem.[8] The apostle Paul regarded this act as highly reprehensible, and on the ground of it he rejected him on his second missionary tour, and took Silas in his stead.[9] There was no difference of opinion between him and Barnabas as to the ministerial gifts of

[1] Acts xii. 12, 25; xv. 37. [2] Acts xiii. 5, 13.
[3] Acts xv. 39; Col. iv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 11; perhaps, also, 1 Pet. v. 13.
[4] Col. iv. 10. [5] Acts xv. 37–39. [6] Acts xii. 12.
[7] Acts xii. 25. [8] Acts xiii. 5, 13. [9] Acts xv. 37–40.

Mark. The contention between them related to the moral quality of his conduct. Paul evidently ascribed his departure from them to the influence of unworthy motives, and gave, as it would seem, or caused to be given, commandments of an unfavorable character. But these he afterwards revoked;[1] and during his final imprisonment at Rome he made the most honorable mention of him: "Take Mark, and bring him with thee; for he is profitable to me for the ministry."[2] The above is the sum of all that we know concerning Mark from the New Testament. There is, however, as is well-known, a mass of ecclesiastical tradition concerning him, not altogether self-consistent, yet all its parts agreeing in the representation that Mark was the constant companion of Peter during the later years of the apostle's life, and was his "interpreter." The first writer is Papias, quoted by Eusebius, who says, upon the testimony of John the presbyter: "Mark, being Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately as many things as he remembered, not, indeed, as giving in order the things which were spoken or done by Christ; for he was neither a hearer nor a follower of our Lord, but, as I said, of Peter, who gave his instructions as occasion required, but not as one who was composing an orderly account of our Lord's words. Mark, therefore, committed no error when he thus wrote down certain things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing — to omit nothing of the things which he heard, and to make no false statements concerning them."[3] Irenaeus, as cited by Eusebius, says: "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also delivered to us in writing the things that were preached by Peter"; and this he represents as having been done μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, that is, as we must understand him, *after the death of these men* [Peter and Paul].[4] Eusebius also says, on the authority of Clement of Alexandria, that Mark, at the request of Peter's hearers at Rome, wrote out the doctrine which Peter had delivered to them orally,

[1] Col. iv. 10.
[2] 2 Tim. iv. 11.
[3] Eusebius's History Eccl. iii. 39.
[4] Ibid. v. 8.

and that the apostle "was delighted with the zeal of the men, and sanctioned the writing for use in the assembly of the church."[1] But, again, referring to the same request on the part of the Roman Christians, and Mark's compliance with it, Clement says, according to Eusebius, that when Peter knew of Mark's writing, he neither forbade it nor encouraged it."[2] Eusebius also gives his own judgment when he says that "all things written by Mark are called the memoirs of Peter's discourses."[3] Tertullian's words are: "The Gospel which Mark published is reckoned as Peter's, whose interpreter he was";[4] and Jerome says: "So then he [Paul] had Titus as interpreter; just as the blessed Peter had Mark, in the composition of whose Gospel Peter narrated and he wrote."[5] And so the stream of tradition flows on.

If, now, we rested the canonical authority of Mark's Gospel upon the assumption that he wrote at Peter's dictation, or at least under his supervision, so as to make it virtually not his, but Peter's, Gospel, it would be necessary to subject these traditional notices to a critical examination, that we might determine accurately the authority due to them, and also the way, if any could be found, of harmonizing them with each other. But the question is to be settled on broader principles. We have, first, the witness of the Gospel itself to Mark's gifts as a writer; secondly, the concurrent testimony of the New Testament and of ecclesiastical tradition to the fact of his intimate association with two of the apostles in the work of the ministry; thirdly, the unanimous reception of his Gospel by all the churches. This last consideration is one of great weight. The churches knew Mark's gifts, natural and supernatural; they knew, also his relation

[1] Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. ii. 15.

[2] προτρεπτικῶς μητε κωλύσαι μητε προτρέψασθαι. — Hist. Eccl. vi. 14.

[3] πάντα γὰρ τὰ παρὰ Μάρκῳ τοῦ Πέτρου διαλέξεων εἶναι λέγεται ἀπομνημονεύματα. — Demonstr. Evang. iii. 5.

[4] Marcus quod edidit evangelium Petri adfirmatur, cujus interpres Marcus. — Contra Marc. iv. 5.

[5] Cujus evangelium Petro narrante et illo scribente compositum est. — Ad Hedib. Quaest. 11. Vol. i.

to the apostles and their judgment concerning him. Whether he did or did not write under the supervision of the apostle Peter, or at his suggestion, their unhesitating reception of his Gospel from the very first is the expression of their judgment that he had not transcended the sphere assigned to him by the Holy Ghost and recognized by the apostles; and in this judgment we may well acquiesce.

The unanimous voice of antiquity ascribes the third Gospel, with the Acts of the Apostles, to Luke. He first appears as the travelling companion of Paul when he leaves Troas for Macedonia;[1] for the use of the first person plural — "we endeavored," "the Lord had called us," "we came," etc. — which occurs from that point in Paul's history and onward, with certain interruptions, admits of no other natural and reasonable explanation. It is generally believed that he is identical with "Luke, the beloved physician," who was with Paul when a prisoner at Rome.[2] The evangelist himself gives us, in his dedicatory address to Theophilus,[3] clear and definite information respecting the sources of his Gospel. He does not profess to have been himself an eye-witness; but he has drawn his accounts from those "who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." From the long and intimate connection of Luke with Paul, it is reasonable to suppose that the apostle must have exerted an influence on the composition of the Gospel. Luke, however, gives us to understand that he draws his materials not from Paul (at least, not principally), but from those "who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." He did not, then, write at Paul's dictation, but in a free and independent way. There cannot be, however, any reasonable ground for doubting that he wrote both his works with Paul's knowledge and approbation. The closing passage in the Acts of the Apostles brings down Paul's history to the end of the second year of his imprisonment at Rome. The natural inference is that this is the date of the book. It was written at Rome, not very long

[1] Acts xvi. 10. [2] Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11. [3] Luke i. 1 seq.

after the composition of the Gospel, while Paul was yet a prisoner there, and Luke with him. This fact alone sufficiently accounts for the unanimous reception of these two books by the churches. Then we have as in the case of Mark's Gospel, the witness of the works themselves to Luke's gifts as a writer.

2. *The Epistles of James and Jude.*

We do not propose to discuss the much controverted question respecting "James the Lord's brother." It is sufficient to say that the author of the Epistle which bears the name of James is, beyond reasonable doubt, the same James who gave the final opinion in the assembly of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem,[1] whom Paul names with Cephas and John as one of the "pillars" there,[2] who elsewhere appears as a man of commanding influence in the church at Jerusalem,[3] and whom ecclesiastical tradition represents as presiding over the church in that city. If one doubts, as many do, the identity of this James with James the son of Alpheus, who was one of the twelve, this cannot affect the canonical authority of the Epistle. For the position of this man in the church at Jerusalem, and his relation to the apostolic college, is such that, even though he did not belong to the number of the twelve, his writings must have to us the full weight of apostolic authority. Lardner, indeed, lays down the rule that "no men, besides apostles, have the privilege of writing epistles, or other works, preceptive and doctrinal, that shall be received by the churches in that quality." And he adds: "Mark and Luke, apostolical men, may write histories of our Lord's and his apostles' preaching and doctrine and miracles, which shall be received as sacred and of authority; but no epistles, or other writings delivering doctrines and precepts (except only in the way of historical narration), can be of authority, but those written by apostles."[4] Not to dwell on the distinction here made

[1] Acts xv. 13–21. [2] Gal. ii. 9. [3] Acts xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 12.
[4] History of the Apostles and Evangelists, chap. ii.

between the inspiration of evangelists and the writers of doctrinal epistles, it is sufficient to say that this is a question of fact, rather than of theory. We might very naturally have reasoned *a priori* that none but apostles would be chosen by the Holy Ghost to write the Gospels; or, if men were taken outside of their number, that they would be those who had themselves been eye-witnesses of the facts and discourses which they recorded, not those who had simply gathered their knowledge from eye-witnesses. But both these hypotheses are set aside by the plain facts in the case, and to these our theory must be accommodated. Just so is it in respect to the Epistles. Undoubtedly the circle of men who could write authoritative epistles to the churches was very limited. But when we assume that not even James, the Lord's brother, who was one of the hundred and twenty who originally received the gift of the Spirit, who occupied so central a position in the mother church at Jerusalem, and had such authority in the deliberations of the apostles and elders — that not even this man could write an epistle to his brethren scattered abroad which should "be received as sacred and of authority," unless he were himself an apostle in the strict sense of the word, we unwarrantably limit the gifts of the Holy Spirit. If any think they can maintain, on valid historic grounds, that James who wrote the Epistle belonged to the number of the twelve apostles, let them do so. But if, as many are persuaded, this cannot be done, we are not therefore to deny the right of the Epistle to "be received as sacred and of authority."

The question whether *Jude*, who styles himself "the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James," [1] was the apostle Judas mentioned by Luke and John,[2] or Judas the Lord's brother,[3] has been, in like manner, much discussed. Upon either supposition, the remarks made respecting the canonical authority of the Epistle of James apply to this short Epistle also.

[1] Jude 1. [2] Luke vi. 16; John xiv. 22.
[3] Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3.

3. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.*

This Epistle is without address, and omits also at the beginning the apostolic salutation. Thus it commences in the form of an essay, though it closes in that of an epistle. These circumstances, in connection with its peculiar style and diction, and the peculiar range of the topics discussed in it, have led many to deny its Pauline authorship, at least in the immediate sense in which Paul was the author of the epistles which bear his name. The Eastern churches, among whom it was first put in circulation, and from whom the knowledge of it was spread abroad, ascribed it to Paul as its author, either immediately or virtually. We say immediately or virtually; for it is well known that Clement of Alexandria accounted for its peculiar diction by the assumption that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, but translated by Luke into Greek;[2] and that Origen's position respecting it was that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the diction and composition those of some one who recorded the apostle's views.[2] In the Western churches the case was different. Clement of Rome did, indeed, refer to the Epistle as authoritative, but without naming its author; and its Pauline authorship was not generally admitted, nor was it generally received as a part of the sacred canon, till the fourth century, apparently on the ground that the two questions of its Pauline authorship and its canonical authority were not separated from each other. But this is, as we have seen in the case of the Epistles of James and Jude, an unwarrantable limitation. If we cannot affirm that all who were associated with the apostles in the work of the ministry had the gifts needful for the composition of epistles that should be received by the churches "as sacred and of authority," it would, nevertheless, be presumptuous to deny to some the possession of these gifts. Herein the judgment of the primitive churches ought to have great weight with us. The writer to the Hebrews,

[1] As quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. vi. 14. [2] Eusebius, as above, vi. 25.

whoever he may have been, was well known to those whom he addressed, as is manifest from his closing words: "Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty, with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you."[1] They received the epistle as coming, if not immediately from Paul, yet under the sanction of his authority; at least, as coming from one who held such relations to the apostle that in writing to them an authoritative epistle he had not transcended the sphere of his gifts as acknowledged by the apostle and the churches. Such was the judgment of the Eastern churches from the beginning, and in this the Western churches finally acquiesced.

But what about the epistles of the so-called apostolic Fathers, that are acknowledged to be genuine, but were yet not allowed a place in the canon of the New Testament? In answering this question, two epistles only require notice. Clement of Rome has left an epistle which is received as genuine. Upon the supposition that he is identical with the Clement named in the Epistle to the Philippians, all that can be shown is that he was a helper of Paul, along with various other persons of both sexes, to whom the apostle refers in connection with him: "Yea, I entreat thee, also, true yoke-fellow, help those women who labored with me in the gospel, with Clement, also, and my other fellow-laborers (*τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου*), whose names are in the book of life."[2] This is no more than is said of Priscilla and Aquila and Urban, to whom Paul applied the same epithet.[3] It does not prove that Clement was associated with the apostle in any such sense as were Mark and Luke, or Timothy and Titus, or that the churches regarded the writing of authoritative epistles as coming within the sphere of his office. There is also extant an epistle bearing the name of Barnabas. This is undeniably the same as that so often referred to by the ancient church Fathers; but whether it proceeded from the pen of the Barnabas who was Paul's companion in missionary labor is a question respecting which learned men are not agreed. The weight of evidence from early ecclesi-

[1] Heb. xiii. 23. [2] Phil. iv. 3. [3] Rom. xvi. 3, 9.

astical tradition favors the identity of the writer with the Barnabas of the New Testament. But the internal character of the epistle militates strongly against it.[1] The primitive Christians, however, in excluding this epistle from the authoritative writings of the New Testament, seem to have been influenced by the character of its contents, taken in connection with the acknowledged fact that the author, whomsoever they may have judged him to have been, was not himself an apostle. They certainly would not have rejected an epistle known to have proceeded from an apostle, directly or indirectly. But in the case of an apostolic man (or one supposed to have been such) they felt themselves at liberty to exercise, in the words of Lee, "that critical sagacity which the most ingenious and subtile investigations of modern times have never been able to prove at fault, that unceasing caution and anxious vigilance which never admitted into the canon a single book for the rejection of which any valid reasons have been shown."[2] In ascribing the epistle to Paul's missionary companion[3] they may have been at fault; but in denying to it a place in the canon of the New Testament they were not at fault.

General Remarks.

We add some general remarks, applicable alike to the writings of apostles and apostolical men.

1. *The testimony of the primitive churches* to the canonical authority of these writings is of the highest importance. By the primitive churches we here mean the churches of apostolic times, or those immediately following. Aside from the books of the New Testament, the writings that have come down to us from the apostolic age are so scanty that we are compelled to gather this testimony mainly at second hand. We appeal to the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Ter-

[1] See on this point Neander's Church History (Torrey's translation), Vol. i. p. 657.

[2] The Inspiration of Scripture, Lect. ii.

[3] As was done by Clement of Alexandria. See Lee, as above, and the Appendix to his work marked E.

tullian, Clement of Alexandria, and others of later days. But it is only that we may learn through them the judgment of the churches that first received the books of the New Testament. This is the ground on which these later writers themselves stand. They give us not their own private judgment, but the tradition of the churches, that is, the testimony handed down in the churches from the beginning. This testimony, let it be carefully remembered, is not simply an authoritative dictum, like the declarations of the Hebrew prophets, prefaced with the words: "Thus saith the Lord"; nor is it simply a subjective opinion, drawn from the contents of the books. It is rather a comprehensive judgment, based on all the known facts in the case. The knowledge that a book had proceeded from the pen of an apostle at once secured it an unquestioned reception everywhere. Doubts respecting the apostolic authorship of a book — the Second Epistle of Peter, for example — led to a careful examination of the evidence in the case. In regard to the writings of men not belonging to the apostolic college, the churches based their decision, as has been shown, on the known relation of the authors to the apostles and the acknowledged gifts of the Spirit possessed by them, as well as on the character of the writings themselves. For the formation of a correct judgment on these points they enjoyed such advantages as we cannot possess. Earnestness and sincerity are traits which will not be denied to them, and they were certainly not wanting in common discernment. Their caution and hesitation in respect to the so-called *antilegomena* shows with what conscientious deliberation they acted, and will defend them, in the judgment of all candid men, from the unworthy imputation of a credulousness that was ready to take without examination any book that professed to have come from the pen of an apostle or an apostolic man.

2. Very important indeed is the question respecting the *contents* of a book which claims to have been written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It has been shown in a previous Number how unsafe is the rule of judging con-

cerning the inspiration of a book from the character of its contents alone. Nevertheless, we must believe that the man who writes as he is moved by the Holy Ghost will be kept from puerilities and fantastic allegorizing; that what he says will have the marks of simplicity, directness, and purity of intention, will be in harmony with the general tenor of revelation, and will consist of "wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the doctrine which is according to godliness." We need waste no time in showing that these characteristics belong in full measure to the canonical books of the New Testament. They are radiant throughout with heavenly light, in the presence of which all merely human writings lose their splendor, as the glow-worm pales "his uneffectual fire" when the matin approaches.

"A glory gilds the sacred page,
Majestic, like the sun:
It gives a light to every age;
It gives, but borrows none."

We do not propose to eulogize these books, for the same reason that we would not eulogize the sun shining in his strength. But it is very instructive to notice the wide chasm which separates them from even the best writings of the so-called apostolic Fathers. The descent from the majesty and power of the canonical writings to those of the following age is abrupt and great. That this should have been so is altogether in analogy with God's established mode of procedure. At certain great crises in the world's history he manifests himself in an extraordinary way, for the purpose of establishing a new system of means and influences. Then he withdraws his sensible presence, and waits till this system has, under the superintendence of his Spirit and his providence, worked out its appropriate results. The appearance of the Son of God in this world was, to borrow the happy figure of a late writer,[1] a blessed *periouranon*, when this fallen world approached very near to the great Sun of Righteousness, and received from him an extraordinary

[1] Rev. Dr. Peabody, in the Boston Lectures for 1870, p. 190.

measure of light and life. But it was not God's plan to administer the affairs of his church through the permanent agency of miraculous gifts. When they had accomplished their end, they were withdrawn, and the history of Christ's kingdom went on, under the ordinary instrumentality of God's word, God's Spirit, and God's providence. The uninspired teachers and leaders of the church, like uninspired leaders and teachers in all ages, committed many errors, and she was, as the necessary result, compelled to learn many things by a bitter, but salutary experience. It was only by a slow process that uninspired Christian literature was able to rise from its humble beginnings to a high and commanding position through the purifying and elevating influence of the gospel upon Christian society. And even as we see it in the writings of Justin Martyr, of Irenaeus, of Tertullian, of Clement of Alexandria, and their successors, how far is it removed from the simplicity of the canonical books! How much of dross is mixed with the gold of scriptural truth! A seal of the inspiration of the books of the New Testament, broad and patent to all, is found in the fact that the more nearly the churches return to their simplicity in doctrine and practice, the more vigorous is their Christian life, and the more perfectly do they manifest to the world the beauty and glory and divine energy of Christ's kingdom on earth.

ARTICLE IV.

THE WEEKLY SABBATH.

BY J. C. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, BELFAST, IRELAND.

1. THE weekly Sabbath has its ground, not in the periodical motions of the solar system, but in the history of the human race. Hence, in the first place, it leaves no mark on the outward course of nature. The beast of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea are not sensibly affected by its recurrence. So far, indeed, as labor is concerned, life is to them a perpetual sabbath. They know no toil, properly so called, but spend their time in a constant round of instinctive enjoyment; for the fruits of the earth are ready for their use without any preparation of art. But, with regard to the spiritual engagements of a sacred leisure, they may be truly said to have no sabbath, inasmuch as they want the higher nature which is susceptible of such delights. It follows, in the next place, that the origin and import of the sabbath are to be sought, not in the history of matter, or of brute nature, but in that book which alone contains the true and complete account of man. We propose, in the present Article, to examine three of the texts bearing upon the sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 3; Col. ii. 16, 17; Mark ii. 27, 28), and to ascertain what light they throw,

I. On the Nature of the Sabbath;

II. On the Change of the Dispensation of Grace;

III. On the Christian Sabbath.

I. *The Nature of the Sabbath.*

2. This is brought before us in Lev. xxiii. 3: "Six days shall work be done; but the seventh day is the sabbath of rest, a holy convocation; ye shall do no work therein; it is the

sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings." This is one of the most interesting verses in the Old Testament. It stands at the head of this chapter on holy seasons. It reiterates and explains an institution of incalculable value for the preservation of religious feeling in the households of Israel. After a prefatory clause, it enumerates four characteristics of the sabbath — a sabbath of rest, a holy convocation, a cessation from all work, a sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings. The preface to this ordinance is: "Six days shall work be done." This involves at once an allusion to history, an appeal to the memory of the past. It raises the thoughts to the six days of creative work, of which we have a record in the first chapter of Genesis. There is an admirable symmetry in the proceedings of these six days. They consist of two counterparts, or periods, of three days each. In the former, we begin with light, and go on to the creation of plants. The latter commences with the centres of light, and advances to the creation of the animal world. After the inhabitants of air, water, and earth are called into being, man himself appears with wonderful dignity upon the stage of existence. He is created after the image and in the likeness of God, the Eternal Spirit. Hence he is a spiritual being, having reason, will, and power, capable of knowing, loving, and obeying his Maker, and of holding sway over this nether sphere. When the Almighty contemplated the works of his hand, they were all, man included, pronounced to be very good. It is manifest that these six days are to be had in everlasting remembrance by the race of man. As long as memory lasts, rational, godlike man will look back with wondering interest to the fountain-head of his being.

Accordingly, the six days come up for historical notice in the fourth commandment (Ex. xx. 8–11): "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work. ..... For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is." Hence it is evident that the six days of work have their ground in the six days of creation, and consequently in the

constitution of man, the head of whose race was then called into being. And man is not the mere instinctive recipient of the blessings of life, but the rational agent, who understands motives, devises plans, and performs actions for which he cannot but feel himself responsible to the Author of his being. Hence the permission, as well as injunction, "Six days shall work be done."

In this sentence the term "work" means business, rational occupation, the putting forth of the active powers of our nature for the attainment of an end. It is the term employed to denote the activity of God, when it is said that he "rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made" (Gen. ii. 2). It is, therefore, suitable to man, who was made in the image of God. He has an end in view; he contrives the means by which it may be attained; and he puts forth the powers requisite for carrying them into effect. This last is properly called work. But we observe in the fourth commandment another term, employed in conjunction with work: "Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work." It is important to distinguish labor from work. Labor is hard toil — the exertion of hand and foot, the organs of physical power, by the individual in pursuance of his object. Work is a more comprehensive term, including not only labor, but business, such as the routine of domestic activities, the training of youth, the exchange of commodities, and other operations that do not require hard labor. All these are allowable on the six days of the week.

The example set by the Creator, the primeval institution of the week, and the reason assigned for six days of work in the fourth commandment, combine to show that the intervention of a seventh day of rest between every six days of labor was suitable to the nature of man antecedent to the fall. This disastrous event only enhanced the necessity of the weekly arrangement of time. The self-same reasons prompt us to beware of the not uncommon error that the six days are profane, and the seventh day alone holy, or that the secular is opposed to the sacred. The six days' work of

God and the seventh day's rest are equally holy; and so it is with man. The fundamental distinction is not a moral, but a physical one; not that of the sacred and the profane, but that of work and rest. And work, the rational employment of means to an end, has been consecrated and elevated to its proper dignity by the example and the command of the Creator of man.

3. The first characteristic of the seventh day is "a sabbath of rest." This very important phrase occurs six times in scripture. It is once applied to the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv. 4), twice to the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 32), and three times to the weekly sabbath (Ex. xxxi. 15; xxxv. 2, and in the passage now before us). The first term, "sabbath," is the ordinary name for the seventh day and for the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv.). It is also applied to the day of atonement, but to no other festival. The sabbath mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 11 is the weekly sabbath in the feast of unleavened bread, which lasted seven days, and therefore included a sabbath. This will be evident to any one who examines Lev. xxiii. 15, 16, notwithstanding the statement of Josephus to the contrary.[1] And the word

[1] The sabbath mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 11 is commonly supposed to be the first day of unleavened bread; which was a day of holy convocation, on which no servile work was to be done. Josephus, Antiq. iii. 10, 5, states indeed that the wave-sheaf was presented on the second day of unleavened bread, which implies that "the sabbath" here means the first day of unleavened bread. And the Septuagint by the phrase, "On the morrow of the first day" (*τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης*), and Onkelos by the rendering "after the good day," are supposed to concur with him in this statement. Nevertheless it is clearly erroneous. 1. The term "sabbath" is not elsewhere applied to any day but the weekly sabbath and the day of atonement. 2. The institution of the wave-sheaf is a new communication distinct from that of the feast of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 9), and hence it is natural to understand the "sabbath" here of the weekly sabbath. 3. The feast of weeks was to be held on the morrow after the seventh sabbath, counted from the sabbath on the morrow after which the wave-sheaf was offered (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16); and as this seventh sabbath can only be a weekly sabbath, that from which it was counted must be the same. 4. Josephus is by no means accurate or consistent in all his statements. On this very point in Antiq. xiii. 8, 4, he expressly states that the pentecost was immediately after the sabbath (*ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ Πευτηκοστὴ ἑορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον*); which is a clear indication of the ancient usage, and determines the sabbath, on the morrow of which the

rendered sabbath in vs. 24, 39 of the above chapter simply means a rest, as it is rendered in the phrase "sabbath of rest." The second term, "rest," occurs only eleven times — six, as we have seen, in the phrase "sabbath of rest"; once in pointing out the nature of the sabbath (Ex. xvi. 23); once in describing the first day of the seventh month, the original new-year's day; twice in reference to the first and the eighth days of the feast of tabernacles; and once in reference to the sabbatical year, which is called the year of rest. The combination of these two terms in the phrase "sabbath of rest," is very emphatic. It indicates a perfect rest as the right and duty of man on the weekly sabbath and the day of atonement, and as the right of the land in the seventh year. But leisure does not imply idleness, as liberty does not mean licentiousness. It leaves man free to attend to the higher relations of fellowship in which he stands with his Maker and his fellow-men. It suspends, as far as possible, the labors of the field and of earth, that he may realize in a special measure the joys of home and of heaven. This day is a season of rest, and therefore of liberty, of peace, of joy, of memory, and of hope. It is the poor man's day of release from the toil and moil of life, but no less the rich man's interval of relief from the engrossing and often exhausting wear and tear of the hunt after earthly pleasure, wealth, power, or fame; the day of freedom from the bondage under which man labors in consequence of the fall; the day of peace and joy, of refreshment, of that inex-

wave-sheaf was presented, to be the weekly sabbath. The Septuagint and Onkelos also describe the pentecost as the day after the seventh week, which is most simply interpreted as the day after the weekly sabbath which closed the week. 5. The Baithuseans or Sadducees, whose later representatives are the Karaites, who were zealous for scripture against tradition, regard the day in question as the weekly sabbath. 6. In the New Testament the only sabbath mentioned in connection with the feast of unleavened bread is the weekly sabbath. At the passover during which the Messiah was crucified, the weekly sabbath fell on the second day of unleavened bread (John xix. 31). The first day is hence called "the preparation," which was a day of only partial rest, as a trial and an execution took place on it, not to speak of other things that were inconsistent with a total rest. The second and third of the above reasons are decisive of the question; and the others corroborate this conclusion.

pressible delight which is felt when the chain is broken, the burden laid down, the pressure relaxed, the task accomplished, and mind and body at ease, but above all when the eye of faith beholds at leisure, and the hand accepts, the blessings of peace with God in Christ Jesus; the day of memory, when we recall the wonderful works and merciful ways of God, and the struggles and victories, the blessings and triumphs of his children in the past; and the day of hope, when gratitude for the past moves us to hope for the rest that remaineth to the people of God, and to meditate with fond anticipation on all the exceeding great and precious promises which are to be realized in that eternal rest.

4. For the sake of connection, we take as the second characteristic of the sabbath the negative sentence: "Ye shall do no work therein." Work here means the business of life, including labor, the hard toil of tilling the ground, and gathering in the raw material of human subsistence. The sabbath is here distinguished from other set days of partial rest. Besides the weekly sabbath, there were seven other days in the year set apart to a religious use, all of which are mentioned in Lev. xxiii. — the first and seventh days of unleavened bread, the feast of weeks, the first day of the seventh month, the day of atonement, and the first and eighth days of the feast of tabernacles. The day of atonement differed from all the other appointed days of festival in being a fast, a day of sadness, of confession of sin, in which the people were to afflict their souls; whereas, the others were feasts, or seasons of thanksgiving and rejoicing before the Lord. The day of atonement and the weekly sabbath differed from the other six feast days in being days of perfect rest; whereas the others were days of partial rest. Of the former alone it is said that they were sabbaths of rest, in which no work was to be done. Of the latter it is only said that they were days of holy convocation, in which no servile work was to be done. They are not called sabbaths, or sabbaths of rest, and only servile work or hard labor was to be suspended on them. Hence the management

of affairs and the interchange of commodities might take place on these days, though the laborer was released from his toil. We find the trial and the crucifixion of the Lord proceeding, and the purchase of linen by Joseph of Arimathea for grave clothes taking place on the first day of unleavened bread. The weekly sabbath, on the other hand, was a day of perfect rest, on which no manner of work, servile or other, was to be done. Thus the body of the Lord was taken down hastily from the cross, and laid in the new tomb of Joseph, without the due rites of burial, before the setting of the sun, that the weekly sabbath might not be broken. There is in scripture a considerate moderation in imposing only seven days of rest besides the weekly sabbath in the whole year, and in making them all except the day of atonement days of only partial rest.

This cessation of work is curiously adapted to the physical constitution of man. "The operations of the corporeal frame consist of three parts: first, that which is involuntary and without intermission, as the action of the heart and other internal functionaries of the vital organism; secondly, that which is instinctive, as the travail of the animal power in search of food, shelter, and other natural requirements; and thirdly, that which is rational, as the effort to attain a certain end beyond the mere animal wants. The first part of the movement is kept in constant vigor by the regular supply of food. The second has its recompence in the natural repose of sleep. The third remains over to be relieved by a recurring period of rest to be determined by reason. As, on the whole, about a third part of the exertion of our powers may be due to this last source, and that for the half of the natural day, it follows that a sixth part of each natural day needs its compensating repose. After six days, therefore, a seventh day of rest seems needful to repair the waste and weariness accruing from voluntary rational effort. At all events, the special activity of the rational evidently stands in need of being recruited by a third provision, not of the animal, but of the rational, nature; and that is plainly the Sabbath."

As the law of the sabbath is a beneficent arrangement for the physical and moral good of man, occasional works of necessity and mercy are not to be regarded as breaches of it. Hence the preparing of food and drink for man and for domestic cattle, and of comforts and medicines for the sick, as far as it cannot be conveniently done on the day before, and the relief from distress or danger, as far as it cannot be safely deferred till the following day, are all allowable, as works of necessity and mercy, on this day. There is a special injunction regarding the observance of the sabbath in Ex. xxxi. 12–17; xxxv. 2, 3, immediately before the construction of the tabernacle was commenced, which appears designed to warn the people against the presumption that a work so holy as the making of the tabernacle might be prosecuted on the sabbath. In the latter passage occurs the prohibition: "Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your dwellings upon the sabbath-day." This appears to be a special order adapted to the occasion. In the wilderness, where they had little or no store of fuel, the kindling of a fire involved the gathering of sticks and the performance of other operations unsuitable to the day of rest. Moreover, domestic fires were scarcely necessary or little used in those days in tent life. When necessary, they could be kept in from the previous day, so that kindling would not be required. But, considering the occasion on which the prohibition was introduced, we may presume it had some reference to the forging of such metal work as was necessary for the tent of meeting. All such operations were to be suspended on the day of rest.

5. The third and leading characteristic of the sabbath is contained in the clause: "It is the sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings." This is the highest aspect of the day. The first sabbath was the fitting sequel of the six days of creation. It was blessed and hallowed by the Creator (Gen. ii. 3). The seventh day was henceforth dedicated to the Lord, devoted to solemn worship and holy fellowship with the Lord. The due celebration of it brought man into intelligent and cordial intercourse with his Maker. This

essential character of the sabbath will shine forth in all the peculiarities of its observance.

A very important circumstance that distinguishes the observance of the sabbath is expressed in the words: "in all your dwellings." This indicates that it is to be not central, but local; not confined to the capital, but pervading the country; not peculiar to Shiloh or Zion, but common to every village and home of the people. This is a singularly interesting clause in the institution of the sabbath. It plants the holy leisure in our homes, and brings to our hearts the intimate relationship of grace and adoption, in which we and our sons and daughters, our men-servants and maid-servants, and the stranger that is within our gates stand to our Heavenly Father. The august celebration of anniversary festivals, the observance of the sublime solemnities of pure and undefiled religion in the capital of the nation, has its importance and effect. But its sweet and sanctifying influences do not penetrate into the sequestered nooks and corners of the land, nor stir the depths of stagnant life in our hamlets and households, nor entwine themselves with the very habits, memories, and affections of every inmate of our homes. The sabbath, with its hallowed rest and freedom and peace and memory and hope and present gospel, gliding softly into all our dwellings, is alone fitted to quench the strange fire of our passions, awaken the cry of faith and penitence, and call forth the melody of praise from the breast of each individual of the community. Hence the inestimable value of "the sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings."

It is not difficult to understand the duties and pleasures of the home on such a day as this. They will rise with the rising light and life of the soul. But they must be always of the same tendency. The private and family devotions of the day will be more calm and leisurely than those of the busy working-days. The private meditation, the social converse, the studies and teachings and readings, the very fare and fashion and recreation, will be in keeping with the

solemnity of this primeval and heaven-born festival. Liberty, variety, spontaneity in the employments and recreations suitable to this festal day will prevent the listlessness or weariness which uniformly results from a forced sameness of occupation or protracted strain of attention. Especially must the innocent tendencies and propensities of the youthful heart towards variety, novelty, lightness, and brevity be indulged to the utmost bounds of propriety.

The social converse should be frank and sober. It is not so much the subject that is to be regulated, as the aspect in which it is to be viewed and the mode in which it is to be discussed. Let it be our aim to regard everything from a lofty, if not from the loftiest, point of view. Holiness, be it remembered, is to be the character of our thoughts, intents, words, and ways on the working-days as well as on the day of rest. This, therefore, does not mark the difference between our sabbaths and our other days. The purposes and orders and operations of business are to be banished from our sabbaths, not because they are unholy in themselves, but because they are unsuitable to the day of rest. But almost any topic of history or science or every-day experience may form the ground of remarks in harmony, or not out of harmony, with the truth of God and the day of his rest. Such conversation, on ordinary topics familiar to the mind and level to the capacity of the social circle, as will awaken attention and give it a good direction and a healthy impulse, is incomparably better than poverty of thought, dearth of ideas, apathy of spirit, blankness of imagination, and consciousness of constraint, all of which are in sheer antagonism with the notion and design of the sabbath. And there is a special advantage in admitting the themes of daily life into the tissue of our sabbath talkings, as they are thereby consecrated in our minds, and set apart, as they ought to be, to a holy use.

To an ardent heart, however, in full harmony with the mind of God and the bents of piety and humanity, more spiritual themes will not be wanting to diversify and elevate

the train of thought. Especially will the book of God, judiciously used, not read merely, but searched; not mechanically perused, but patiently dissected and probed, examined in its several principles and facts, and in their mutual relations and special ends, afford an inexhaustible fund of interesting and edifying meditation and conference. Treating of the ways of God with man, laying down the fundamental principles of human nature, epitomizing the universal history of past generations from the beginning, foreshadowing the history of the latter ages to the end of time, republishing the immutable principles of metaphysical and moral truth that had been forgotten or forsworn by man, and revealing the plan and purpose and work of mercy and salvation for the sinner in harmony with the requirements of holiness and truth, this unique volume affords a noble theme of transcendent interest for the sabbath of rest. Nor let us imagine that our sons and daughters can take little interest in the revelations of the heavenly book. Let us only smooth our brow, or, better still, light it up with the smile of real interest, of genuine joy and hope regarding the ancient, the great, the small, the high, the deep, the secret, the invisible, the visible, the terrible, the wonderful, the glorious, the excellent, the present, the coming, the spiritual things of God; and the response in the youthful heart and eye will not be wanting.

The sacred song, instinct with true poetic fire, will be appreciated, while it is willingly treasured up in the memory. The question and answer of the catechism, clearly explained or simply illustrated and rightly understood, the well-selected proof-text to be committed to memory, the choice chapter or portion of scripture for reading, expounding, and applying the history or destiny or duty of the race as treated in the Bible, the glad tidings of God's pardoning, redeeming, and regenerating love — all these afford a pleasing diversity of occupation and interest for the day of rest. The cultivated talents of pious minds have also yielded a rich harvest of books, combining the instructive with the agreeable, that are

well suited for sabbath reading. Fathers and mothers will find growing upon them the habit of profitable and entertaining conversation of a free, easy, familiar kind, that will gratify the taste, without wearying the attention. And the spontaneous question, indicating thought, is always to be encouraged, and either answered, if possible, or turned to good account.

Attention to tidiness of person and neatness of attire is not an unbefitting mark of outward respect for the sacredness of the day, and by no means devoid of its moral lesson for the youthful mind. Gentleness of manner and of voice, if wisely inculcated, will not be considered a burden on this day, if a reasonable scope be allowed to the exuberance of the spirits in some other direction. The habit of abstaining from songs and tunes and plays that are allowable on other days has not only an intrinsic propriety on this day, but tends to form the valuable habit of self-control.

It is well for parents, also, to drop the reins of conversation, whenever it is becoming tedious to themselves or to their little hearers. In a well-ordered house there is no fear of the prattle of children wandering far from the bounds of propriety without receiving a check from a senior, or even from one of themselves. At all events, in our piety let us be natural, not stiff, constrained, or affected, if we would be at ease ourselves, or put others at their ease. We may be formal, if only we be natural. Only the earnest is fitted to make a salutary impression on the young.

Let us never forget that liberty is one of the characteristics of the sabbath. This will help to endear it to the child. Let it not, therefore, be a day of too many tasks. And, as it is a day of many joys, let not the buoyancy of the youthful mind or body be put under any control but what befits the solemn quiet of the sabbath. Let them feel that it is truly to them a day of rest, freedom, peace, joy, light, hope, and blessed memory. It would be quite incongruous with the freedom of the day to lay down for all parents or families a fixed routine of duties and relaxations for the occupation of

all its hours. The stated hours of family prayer, of meals, and of public worship will give a general direction to its engagements. The times for private devotion and reading will shape themselves according to circumstances. Nevertheless, it will be wise for the parents of each household to have some general plan, to be carried out as far as occasion permits, so that the occupations of the day may be a potent and precious means of moral training. A great deal of sanctified ingenuity may be put forth in devising the quietest and best methods of reaping the full blessedness of the sabbatic freedom and gladness and fellowship.

6. A fourth and last characteristic of the sabbath lies in the words: "a holy convocation." This leads us from the home to the meeting-place, from the private to the public worship of God. For a convocation is a meeting called together for joint action, such as the affairs of trade or state or religion. And a holy convocation is a meeting set apart for a purely religious purpose, such as the worship of God. The sabbath, then, is a day of holy convocation, of public worship in all the meeting-places of the land.

The fundamental principle of all worship, public or private, is prayer, starting from a promise and waiting for an answer. The promise is a word of God, and the answer may be a word of God. The prayer, encouraged by these cheering words of God, will expand into praise. And so we have all the elements of worship — praise, prayer, and the word of God. We have a record of its early commencement, in the words: "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord" (Gen. iv. 26). The worship of the great Spirit is a rational service; and hence, though there could be no reading until there was a written revelation, yet it was ordained that a reason should be given of the ordinances of religion to the young (Ex. xii. 25–27; xiii. 8, 14; Deut. xxxii. 7). And as soon as the law became a written code, provision was made in it that it should be read before all Israel at the feast of tabernacles in the sabbatical year (Deut. xxxi. 10–13). And, in the course of time, the five

books of Moses, which were the first Bible of Israel, were divided into fifty-four sections, one of which was to be the lesson of each sabbath-day, and thus the whole read over once every Jewish year. In the time of Daniel the service of song became a stated part of the Temple-worship, and was probably a custom in some meeting-places long before his day. We find that Moses had no difficulty in arranging the singing of a magnificent triumphal ode on the occasion of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. In the days of Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Nehemiah public attention was given to the teaching and expounding of the word of God throughout the land (2 Chron. xvii. 7–9; xxx. 2; Neh. viii., ix. Thus the worship of God grew, as occasion required, from the living root of prayer into the goodly tree of prayer, praise, reading and expounding the word of God, and exhorting the assembled worshippers in accordance with its heavenly lessons. Such was the occupation of the holy convocation on the sabbath of rest, according to the institution of Moses, the servant of the Lord. It was truly a rational and edifying service. Before the invention of printing and the appliances of a literary education, it was of inestimable worth to the successive generations of Israel as a training-school for truth and purity of morals and religion. And even in the midst of our present wealth of book-learning and periodical-intelligence, it has still the peculiar and indispensable advantage of the living voice of living men speaking to the living and the dead, whether they can read or not, of the things that concern eternal life. This holy convocation, with its spiritual exercises, may, without exaggeration, be said to be essential to the growth of true religion and the restitution of all things in a world that has sunk into moral disorder and decay.

Moreover, the people are instructed that these holy convocations of the seventh day are to be "in all your dwellings." This is a circumstance of paramount interest and of the most momentous consequence. The seven holy convocations of the annual festivals were held in the ecclesiastical metropolis of the country, and therefore mainly representative, as

the women and the children and many of the men were absent. But the holy convocation of the sabbath was to be held in all the dwellings of the land, in every hamlet, village, or township in which the people dwelt. In a genial clime the town square, the village green, or the sequestered dell under the widespread oak or terebinth will be the meeting-place of the holy convocation. There is nothing, however, to hinder the spreading of the tent, the rearing of the tabernacle, or the erection of the more permanent edifice for the holy convocation of the weekly sabbath. Thither went the rural multitude in their best array to keep the holy day, to pour out the desires of their heart to God, to raise the grave, sweet melody of thanksgiving to him, and to hearken with reverent attention to his word read, and it might be expounded, by the elders that had the rule over them. It is evident this ordinance was of vital importance for the growth of piety and the maintenance of true religion through the length and breadth of the land. And there can be little doubt that, in compliance with this wise and simple regulation, meeting-places were early established, and holy convocations held in many parts of the land from the very first settlement of Israel, and that they had the effect of keeping up the light and life of religion in some of the humble abodes of the country, when it had well nigh died out in the high places of the nation. This alone will sufficiently account for the knowledge of God and the habit of piety which in times of declension still lingered and occasionally gleamed out in unexpected places throughout the history of the people. It was owing, in part, at least, to this custom that Deborah and Barak, Gideon and Manoah, Boaz and Ruth, Elimelech and Hannah, and other judges and worthies, were found to espouse the cause of God, and that seven thousand in Israel in the time of Elijah had not bowed the knees to Baal.

And it is equally undoubted that, if this institution had been fully carried out and faithfully maintained, the national piety would have flourished apace, the temptations of super-

stition would have been overcome, the encroachments of surrounding idolatry would have been successfully resisted, and the Lord's people would have sooner become, what they were destined to be, a light to the Gentiles. And it may be added, that primitive Christianity revived and carried to a higher perfection the rational observance of the sabbath and the religious ordinances of the holy convocation, and that the churches of the Reformation held their ground and perpetuated their vitality, just in proportion as they acknowledged and restored the sacred rest, as well as the holy convocation of the primeval sabbath, in all their dwellings.

This aspect of the sabbatic institution unfolds to us the origin of the synagogue. A synagogue is, in its original sense, a congregation for the worship of God. It afterwards came to signify the place of meeting for worship. It has been alleged that synagogues took their rise in the times of the Maccabees. They are, indeed, mentioned by Josephus (Jewish War, vii. 3, 3) as existing in their time, but not as then a new institution. Moreover, the stone and lime building is not the essence of the synagogue. This venerable institution had its rise in the custom of calling upon the name of the Lord, mentioned in Gen. iv. 26. It was re-enacted in the verse now before us, and from the time of Moses it is probable that it did not altogether cease to exist down to our own day. It is most probable that the synagogues mentioned in Ps. lxxiv. 8 were really meeting-places or tents for holding the holy convocations of the weekly sabbath.

The sabbath, in fine, was sanctified by the example of God, who in six days made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day rested and was refreshed (Ex. xxxi. 17), who blessed the sabbath-day and hallowed it (Ex. xx. 11). It was deemed worthy of a place in the ten commandments. Its position there shows that it immediately concerns the glory of God, as well as the good of man. Its principle is, that one day out of seven should be dedicated to sacred rest and refreshment of body and spirit. Fathers and mothers, masters and mistresses, employers and entertainers, are

made directly accountable for its observance (Ex. xx. 10). It is thus a salutary check on the temptation to avarice and tyranny on the part of the rich and the powerful. It asserts the right of God and man to a seventh part of time for hallowed rest, refreshment, and intercommunion. It is the reasonable and beneficent provision of him who made man and understands his nature. It is coeval with the origin of man, and congruous with his physical and moral nature. "Made for man," looking back to his past and forward to his future, and intermingling with his habits and associations, it exercises a benign and sacred influence on the whole heart and life.

II. *The Change in the Economy of Grace.*

7. After the fall, the coming of the Messiah is the grand central point in the history of the human race. The former generations were taught by prophecy and figure to look forward with longing eyes for his advent. And the latter ages are directed to look back with thankful remembrance to the atonement completed by his death and attested by his resurrection, while they at the same time look forward with fond anticipation for his second coming to consummate the restitution of all things by raising the dead, pronouncing the final judgment, winding up the affairs of this world, and inaugurating the kingdom of glory. It is manifest, therefore, that the epoch of his first coming was fraught with a mighty revolution in the condition of the church, and attended with a corresponding alteration in the economy of grace. This is indicated in the following words of the apostle Paul: "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ" (Col. ii. 16, 17). It is taken from a remarkable chapter, in which the apostle touches with a master hand the counter tendencies of rationalism and ritualism, which are constantly appearing in the religious history of man. To elucidate the change of the economy of salvation, we

shall consider, first, the things that are a shadow of things to come, the body of which is Christ; and next, the admonition of the apostle: "Let no man judge you" in these things.

8. First, meat and drink, or eating and drinking, and the ordinances of the holy day, the new moon, and the sabbath are here described as the shadow of the things of Christ. It is obvious that these rites are not of heathen, but of Jewish, origin; not from a human, but a divine, source. For they are said to be a shadow of Christ. If they had been Gentile rites of man's device, they could not have been a shadow of things to come. Merely human rites can have no authority, and therefore no significance. And they are devoid of any prefigurative import. Proceeding from a fallible source, they are liable to propagate error; and purporting to be an addition and an amendment on that which God has deemed sufficient, they tend only to obscure the meaning and weaken the force of that which is divine. The invention and use of them is therefore a mere presumptuous interference with the prerogative of heaven. The rites here mentioned, however, are declared to be a shadow of things to come, and hence they must be a part of the Mosaic ritual, which was of divine origin.

Meat and drink form an important and significant part of this ritual. In Lev. ii. we have the meat-offering, or oblation. It stands after the burnt-sacrifice (Lev. i.), and therefore presupposes the propitiation for sin as already made. But the meat-offering was handed over to the priest, and therefore did not involve a solemn eating before the Lord on the part of the ordinary worshipper. We meet with this, however, in the peace-offering (Lev. iii.; vii. 11–18). From the latter passage we learn that in the peace-offering the worshipper partook of the victim offered with the unleavened cakes, one of which was presented as a memorial to the Lord, and with the leavened bread, which was prepared for this special occasion. Now, the peace-offering was to be voluntarily presented by those who were

at peace with God through the blood of the atonement made in type by the burnt-sacrifice. And the common meal after it was a symbol of the communion of the saints in the blessings of salvation. Hence these blessings came to be specially indicated by the bread which was then solemnly eaten before the Lord.

The drink-offering, or libation, is brought to view in Num. xv., from which it appears that with a stated meat-offering there was to be a drink-offering of a fourth part of a hin of wine for a lamb, a third part for a ram, and a half for a bullock. This was to accompany every offering, and among others the peace-offering. And, from Deut. xiv. 23–27, it is manifest that the worshipper, after presenting his peace-offering, partook not only of meat, but also of drink, when he appeared before the Lord with his household as accepted through the atonement and entitled to share in the blessings of salvation. Hence we gather that bread and wine were appointed emblems, not strictly of atonement, but of salvation through an atonement, and that partaking of them was a type of the enjoyment of salvation by the worshipper.

Hence meat and drink, and in particular bread and wine, are a shadow of Christ. He said unto the Jews: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world" (John vi. 32, 33). He then says explicitly of himself: "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst" (John vi. 35). Hence we perceive that Jesus is both meat and drink to the soul. It is said of wine that it cheereth God and man; and how can it cheer God so much as by typifying the blood of Christ that cleanseth from all sin? Bread and wine appear at a very early date as the staff of life. On the return of Abraham from the rescue of Lot, Melchizedek, the priest of the most high God, came forth to meet him with bread and

wine. It is proper here to repeat that these elements express not the propitiation for sin, but its consequent blessings, namely, the pardon, peace, and privileges belonging to the ransomed people of God. They are, therefore, a shadow of the benefits of the redemption that is in Christ.

9. The second class of things that foreshadow Christ are thus described: "In respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath." The word "respect" here means the part, portion, or ordinance appertaining to each of these occasions. It is not the set time in itself that is typical of Christ, but the ordinances appointed for it, and giving character and significance to it. The holy day refers to the annual festivals of the Mosaic ritual, of which the chief are three — the feasts of unleavened bread, of weeks, and of tabernacles. The feast of unleavened bread begins the cycle of the year. On the night on which the children of Israel were to depart from Egypt, they were commanded to slay a lamb, to sprinkle its blood on the lintel and the side-posts of the door, and to partake of the roasted flesh, with loins girt and staff in hand, ready for the march. On that night the destroying angel passed over Egypt. He passed over the households unharmed where the blood was on the lintel and side-posts of the door. But where there was no blood on the lintel and side-posts, on the morrow the first-born of man and of beast was found dead. The passover, then, is the feast of redemption, and hence Christ is called "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world."

The feast of weeks was at the end of the grain harvest, as that of unleavened bread was at the beginning of it. The offering peculiar to this feast was the two wave-loaves of wheaten flour. Bread is the staff of life. And Jesus says of himself: "I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If a man eat of this bread, he shall live forever." As Christ gives legal life, that is, the right to life, by the passover in which the lamb of propitiation was slain, so he gives spiritual life by the Holy Spirit of life descending on the apostles and the church. The feast of weeks was simply

the complement of the feast of unleavened bread. They are related as the meat-offering to the burnt-sacrifice, or as the feast to the preceding sacrifice in the peace-offering, and therefore form two parts of a great whole. In like manner the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of pentecost was the consequence of the atonement made by the Son of God, after which he ascended to the Father, and sent down the promised Spirit.

The feast of tabernacles represents a new stage in the typical history of redemption. The vintage, as well as the harvest, has now been completed, and the ingathering of the fruits of the earth has followed. The time for enjoying all the rewards of human industry is come. It is a season of repose, of gladness, of gratitude, and of enjoyment. It is typical of the end of all things earthly, of the realization of all spiritual blessings in heavenly places. As the passover foreshadows redemption from death, and the feast of weeks restoration of life, so the feast of tabernacles prefigures pardon, acceptance, and everlasting inheritance with the Father. Thus these three festivals represent the three stages of salvation of Christ — redemption by his doing and dying, renewal of life by his Spirit and power, and reception into glory by the good-will and word of his Father. They form, therefore, a singularly full and particular shadowing forth of the things of Christ.

The new moon is distinguished chiefly by its sacrifices, of which we have an account in Num. xxv. 11–15. They consist of a manifold burnt-sacrifice and a kid of the goat for a sin-sacrifice. It is needless to say more at present than that these are shadows of things in Christ.

The sabbath had also its proper burnt-sacrifice of a lamb in the morning and another in the evening, besides the continual burnt-sacrifices of every day. Thus was the great propitiation of Christ foreshadowed every day, every week, every month, and in a cycle of festivals every year. The ordinances on these festal occasions represented the great atonement itself, and the meat and drink the participation

in that eternal life which flows from it. And thus the year, the month, the week, and the day were consecrated to the God of salvation.

10. The admonition of the apostle concerning all these shadows of Christ is: "Let no man, therefore judge you." This gives rise to several reflections of very considerable importance with respect to the change in the economy of grace. In the first place, the apostle does not formally abrogate these ritual observances. He merely says, Let no man judge you in these matters. He simply makes them optional, with the Jew, as well as with the Gentile. He could not do more. These rites were a divine institution, and therefore allowable, especially for those who had observed them from their youth. The Jews were zealous for the law in proportion to the ardor of their nature. The apostle himself complied with some of the Jewish forms. But they were no longer obligatory, when the purpose for which they were instituted was served, and the reality which they prognosticated was come. He therefore tacitly permits their observance by such as were attached to them from long habit or free choice. But he refuses to admit this observance to be morally binding on those who have in Christ the substance of which they are but the shadow. In this gentle way must these Mosaic rites be allowed to pass into disuse.

We learn from this admonition that ceremonial forms, even of divine appointment, are secondary in importance to moral principles. This is a maxim constantly insisted upon in the Old Testament. When Saul pleaded that the best of the sheep and of the oxen taken in the expedition against Amalek were spared, contrary to the express command of God, only that the people might offer a sacrifice unto the Lord their God, Samuel made the indignant retort: "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. xv. 22). When our Lord wished to rebuke the formalism of the scribes and pharisees, he brought up before them an

unnoticed, if not unknown, saying by an ancient prophet: "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings" (Hos. vi. 6). Mercy and the knowledge of God are the fundamental principles of all moral and evangelical truth. The acknowledgement and acceptance of these form the right intents and motives of the worshipper in presenting his sacrifice and burnt-offering. These are essential to a right understanding between God and the soul, with or without the shadow of the great propitiation which Christ has made; and without these sacred motives, culminating in faith towards the Redeemer and repentance towards the Father, neither the shadow nor the substance can be of any avail for the salvation of the soul.

11. It follows, moreover, that he who has Christ and all the benefits of redemption does not need to observe those rites which were a shadow of these while yet to come. Now that the archetype of all these types is come, the example and the shadow of the heavenly things decay and wax old and are ready to vanish away. Let no man, therefore, judge you in these things, seeing you have the reality of which they were the symbolic promise. This explains the "therefore." Nothing can surpass the grandeur of the preceding description of the New Testament believer's privilege: "And ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power; in whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism, wherein, also, ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead. And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross; having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it." "There-

fore," being complete in him, quickened together with him, and accepted of the Father in him, and delivered from the thraldom of the prince of the power of the air through him, let no man judge you in regard to the by-gone shadow of this great realized salvation.

12. It behooves us to notice, farther, that, though the Mosaic ritual had served its purpose, and was now ready to vanish away, it does not follow that the church of the New Testament was to have no symbolic ordinance nor festive sabbath of rest. We are to discriminate between the old and new, and between the transient and the perpetual. The sacrifice, no doubt, on sabbaths, new moons, and annual festivals, of bulls and goats, that could not take away sin, or make the worshippers perfect as pertaining to the conscience, was but the prelude of Christ, the true Lamb of God, as well as the true High-Priest. And, therefore, it was fit that this should vanish away on his appearance. The new moon, also, had no other significance, apart from the sacrifices that were prescribed to consecrate the beginning of the month. But other rites had still an unexhausted significance; and in these the symbol was still to remain, though the form might change. And no one was more familiar with this principle than the apostle Paul. Hence circumcision had its significance perpetuated in baptism (Col. ii. 11, 12); the solemnity of eating and drinking in the passover, and the peace-offering had its continuance in the Lord's supper (Matt. xxvi. 26); and in like manner it can be shown that the seventh-day sabbath has its legitimate successor in the first-day sabbath. These blessed realities are still things present and to come to the children of God, under the New Testament, as under the Old. And they have precisely the same relation to their appointed signs and seals in the new as in the old economy. The old signs have merely received a new form correspondent with the new economy. They do not pass away; but still serve to refresh the memory, the faith, the hope, and the love of the saints of God. And the sabbath of rest, the holy convo-

cation, the sabbath of the Lord in all our dwellings, is at least as requisite, as authoritative, and as suitable for the moral and spiritual well-being of man in Christendom, as in the kingdom of Israel.

13. A distinguished expositor of scripture, to whom the churches of Christ owe a debt of gratitude for his commentary on the New Testament, the general excellence of which we are happy to acknowledge, has the following remark on the present text: "If the ordinance of the sabbath had been, *in any form*, of lasting obligation on the Christian church, it would have been quite impossible for the apostle to have spoken thus. The fact of an obligatory rest of one day, whether the seventh or the first, would have been directly in the teeth of his assertion here; the holding of such would have been still to retain the shadow, while we possess the substance." This is a very strong statement. The best way, however, to test the force of an argument, is to apply it to a parallel case; and, happily, we are furnished with one in the very text before us, which begins thus: "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink." To this part of the sentence let us apply the argument of the esteemed writer: "If the ordinance of eating and drinking had been, in any form, of lasting obligation on the Christian church, it would have been quite impossible for the apostle to have spoken thus. The fact of an obligatory eating and drinking would have been directly in the teeth of his assertion here; the holding of such would have been still to retain the shadow, while we possess the substance." Now, it so happens that the apostle Paul not only acknowledged the obligation of baptism, but put on record the institution of the Lord's supper, which is an obligatory eating and drinking, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 23–29). Hence the argument entirely breaks down in the first part of the sentence, and therefore equally fails in the second; and it applies, indeed, still less in the latter part, because the apostle speaks here, not of the sabbath, but of a part or ordinance of the sabbath. It is manifest, therefore, that our author

has misinterpreted the meaning of the apostle, and made him say that which he did not intend. It may be said that this does not prove the perpetuity of the sabbath. But it refutes the only argument that can be brought against its perpetuity; and therefore the sabbath, as a primeval institution of God, can stand alone.

It cannot be said that the meat and drink in our text have no relation to the Lord's supper. They have simply the relation of the old and the new. The old is done away; the new is come in its place. In other respects, they both signify precisely the same thing, namely, the benefits of the great and only propitiation, all of which may be included in any of the phrases, "salvation," "eternal life," "glory, honor, and immortality," or the "inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away." And so it is with the sabbath. There is here the old and the new, as we hope to show in the sequel. And there is precisely the same import and the same suitableness to the nature of man and the exigencies of the religious life. It is to be borne in mind, too, that the sabbath is not in itself a mere symbol of anything that has already come, that it was instituted in the era of primeval innocence, and that it was embodied in the ten commandments, which are binding in their present form as long as man is in the body.

III. *The Christian Sabbath.*

14. The word of God is quick and powerful. The Psalmist says: "Thy commandment is exceeding broad." There is nothing so contrary to the reason of man, the usage of speech, or the style of scripture, as a bald and narrow literalism. Analogy and abstraction are familiar to the infant mind. They play a chief part in the birth and growth of language, and they have their noblest sphere in the consecrated figures and lofty generalizations of scripture. Examples of this fact are abundant and obvious. "Life," in scripture, is not only the natural life, which may be called the literal sense, but legal life, spiritual life, resurrection

life, eternal life. "Death" is used in an equal variety of meanings. "The word" is not merely the articulate sound, but the set of written characters, the sentence, the law, the gospel, the whole Bible, and even the second Person of the Godhead. Such being the expansive freedom with which words are applied in scripture, it is strange that the children of the book should have so often become the slaves of the letter and the abettors and enforcers of a rigid and unmeaning formality. Such were the Pharisees in their conception and practical observance of the sabbath. They objected to the plucking of a few ears of corn by the way for the appeasing of hunger as a breach of the sabbath rest. In answer to the outward and mechanical view which prompted their censure of his disciples, our Lord unfolds the true relation of the sabbath to man in the following remarkable statement: "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath: therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the sabbath." He here enunciates a principle, and draws an inference from it.

15. The principle is, that the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath. The first thought that strikes us in this statement is the dignity of man. The sabbath was made for man. The sabbath was only a means; man was the end. When we reflect that this was the day on which God rested from all his work which he had created and made, we understand that it had a right to everlasting remembrance in the annals of time. When we remember that he blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it, we become aware of the importance and sacredness which he attached to the day. But all this serves only to enhance the dignity of man, for whom, we are informed, this hallowed day was made. This is, however, only a single instance of the dignity that belongs to man. The six day's creation was merely a preparation for his entrance upon the sphere of being. The gleaming forth of light; the arrangement of the atmosphere; the emerging of the dry land and clothing of it with a mantle of living green; the periodic times and in-

fluences of the sun, moon, and stars; the peopling of sea, air, and land with fish, fowl, and beast — all this was but the orderly fitting up and furnishing of earth for the habitation of man. But when we go back to his origin, we arrive at the true source of his dignity. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. ..... So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him." Now, God is a Spirit; and hence man, who is created in his image, is a spirit, having the faculties of understanding, will, and power; capable of penetrating into the nature and design of all things around him, of comprehending his own being and powers, and of apprehending and revering the eternal Author of his existence. When we contemplate, therefore, the grandeur and glory of man's original nature, we do not wonder that the earth and all its inhabitants were formed to be the sphere of his dominion, and that the sabbath itself, the weekly commemoration of the six days' creation, was also made for man.

16. The next point that comes out in the consideration of this passage is the perpetuity of the sabbath. The sabbath was made for man by him who made man, and knew his inmost nature and real wants. While, therefore, man exists as he is, the sabbath must coexist with him. It was not an expedient, adopted for a particular phase of his being, or called into existence by a special emergency, or framed to be part of a peculiar economy designed for a chosen race. It was an institution made for man at the origin of his being, antecedent to the fall, the propagation of his race, the dispersion of his posterity throughout the earth, and the formation of the nations and polities of after times. Hence it is manifest that the sabbath is to last as long as man. He who made man knew his whole nature, the whole course of his development, the laws by which it was regulated, and the results to which it tended; and he made the sabbath for man. Hence the sabbath is simply as perpetual as the race. Hence it finds its place in the ten commandments, which are a compend of the moral law adapted in its present form

to man so long as he is in the flesh. And the nature of the sabbath we have found to be adapted, not to the physical wants of the inferior animals, but to the rational and religious nature of man. As long, therefore, as man remains in the conditions of his earthly existence, so long, at least, must the sabbath continue to be a law of his life. Nothing could more plainly demonstrate the perpetuity of the sabbath.

And we are not to overlook the negative statement, "And not man for the sabbath." If this had been the case, the sabbath might have been a rigid, unbending rule, to which the free-agency of rational man should have been forcibly or mechanically conformed. This would have been a preposterous arrangement, utterly opposed to reason and propriety, subjecting the moral to the physical, and ushering in that bondage of the will to the outward form in which the Pharisees were held captive, and leaving no scope for the free play of the moral and susceptible nature of man in the works of necessity and mercy. Such an order of things could not come from the fountain of reason and freedom. This negative form of the relation of man to the sabbath is added for the sake of contrast, clearness, and emphasis.

17. The inference which the Lord draws from the principle is this: "Therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the sabbath." If the sabbath is made for man, then is he to some extent lord also over the sabbath. As the dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and the beast of the land has been committed to him, so also has the due control of the sabbath been assigned to him as the possessor of reason. But, as he cannot change the nature of the inferior animals, so neither can he alter the principle of the sabbath. He is not at liberty to neglect or profane the day of rest by any worldly employment or recreation. But, as the sabbath was made for his good, he is free to do a work of necessity or mercy on this day of rest. The moral law of mercy, in case of necessity, prevails, for the occasion, over the positive law of restraint from all the business of this life.

But it is to be observed that it is not "therefore man,"

but "therefore the Son of Man, is Lord also of the sabbath." The Son of Man has a twofold authority over the sabbath. As man he has the discretionary power, already noticed, of performing a deed of mercy or necessity on this day. But the Son of Man is here a phrase of peculiar meaning. It is employed by our Lord, conscious of being the Son of God, to intimate that he has now been born of a woman, and become the Son of Man, for the purpose of recovering the rights that man had lost through the fall, by fulfilling all righteousness, and submitting to the penalty of death. The Son of Man was therefore an emphatic and highly significant phrase by which the Son of God was designated when he became manifest in the flesh. In this higher character he was therefore Lord of the sabbath in a higher sense. It was therefore competent for him not only to allow works of necessity and mercy, as a legitimate deviation from the strict letter of the sabbatic rule, but to make such alteration regarding the day as the altered state of the human race might require. There was no fundamental change in the nature of man calling for any modification in the law of the day. But an event of transcendent importance was to occur on the seventh day, that would render it unsuitable to be any more the sabbath of rest; and events of corresponding magnitude were to take place on the first day of the week, marking it out as the most suitable day for the sabbath of all subsequent time. It is undeniable that the Son of God, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the ages, and none but he, has authority to make this change of the day.

18. Having laid down these fundamental principles, let us review the history of the first day of the week, as recorded in scripture. The first of all first days of the week was the first of the six days of creation. On this day "God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light day, and the darkness he called night. And the evening and the morning were

the first day." This day, then, is illustrious as the first day on which light shone on the world of man. To a spectator who had never witnessed such a sight before, the process must have been inexpressibly grand. In the stately march of twenty-four hours, the midnight darkness, with slow, imperceptible steps, gave way to the dawning light, as it increased more and more to the perfect day; which, after waxing in brightness till the noon, again gradually waned until the evening, when the twilight with the same lingering pace retreated before the returning darkness. From that day to this the same sublime panorama has been passing before our eyes. But the unceasing reiteration prevents it from exciting any feeling of astonishment in our minds.

It will be remembered that Jesus said: "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John viii. 12). He is also called the Sun of Righteousness, that ariseth with healing in his wings. And the church is summoned to be the light of the world in the significant words: "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Christ is the light of truth and life — the moral and quickening light, of which the physical light, called into manifestation on the first day, is the most appropriate emblem.

19. The next first day of the week we have to notice is that mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 11. The children of Israel were directed to bring a sheaf of the first fruits of the harvest unto the priest. Of this it is written: "And he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it." The sabbath here mentioned is the sabbath in the feast of unleavened bread, which lasted seven days, and therefore must have included a sabbath. Now, the morrow after the sabbath is the first day of the week; and, accordingly, on this day the wave-sheaf of barley was offered and accepted for the people.

The sheaf of barley is the symbol of life. It implies, therefore, righteousness, the ground of acceptance, and

therefore of the right and the enjoyment of life. Under the influence of sun and shower, the seed cast into the ground strikes root, and puts forth the stalk, the ear, and the full corn in the ear. This is a lively emblem of a higher life. Now, John says of the Word: "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." This connects the first day with that of Gen. i. 3. The Lord himself says: "I am the way and the truth and the life." The wave-sheaf is therefore an emblem of Christ, the righteousness and the life, as well as the light, of men.

20. The next first day of the week is the day which is called the feast of weeks, which is instituted in the following terms: "And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering, seven sabbaths shall be complete; even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat-offering unto the Lord. Ye shall bring out of your habitations two wave-loaves of two tenth deals; they shall be of fine flour; they shall be baken with leaven; they are the first fruits unto the Lord." These wave-loaves are of wheaten flour. They are presented at the end of the grain harvest. The offering is no longer the raw material, but the manufactured product, baken and ready for the table. The one sheaf is now replaced also by the two loaves, indicating a double measure of the same blessing in its full perfection. For the feast of weeks is the consummation of that of unleavened bread, and the two loaves are evidently of like significance with the one sheaf, though in a more advanced stage. These two loaves are presented on the morrow after the seventh sabbath, and therefore on the first day of the week.

Here, again, we have a very striking emblem of life, or that which sustains life. Now, Jesus says expressly of himself: "I am the bread of life," "the living," life-giving bread. The two loaves are not unsuitable to denote the twofold life which he bestows — the life of the soul and the life of the body. He raises from bodily death all those

whom he has raised from spiritual death. "I am the resurrection and the life."

21. Passing from the Old to the New Testament, we meet with still more remarkable events distinguishing the first day of the week. Let us first call to mind the unparalleled event of that which was properly the last seventh-day sabbath. Our Lord, we are aware from history, was crucified on the sixth day of the week, which was on this year the first day of unleavened bread. It was, therefore, a day of partial, not of total, rest, in which no servile work was to be done, though the ordinary routine of business was not suspended. As the following day was the sabbath, and that a high day, because it was in the week of unleavened bread, the body of Jesus was taken down from the cross on the sixth day, wrapped in the linen clothes which Joseph of Arimathea had purchased, and hastily laid in his new tomb before sunset, that the sabbath might not be needlessly broken. And so, during all that live-long Jewish sabbath-day the Lord of life lay under the power of death. That was the only full day during which his body was imprisoned in the tomb.

It is manifest that this day was no longer fitted to be the day of rest, of peace, of joy, of blessed memory, or of liberty. The Lord of life and glory now lay shrouded in the death and dishonor of the grave. This day is henceforth only a day of unrest, of darkness, of mourning, of terror, and of constraint. And it is to be observed that the event that has now taken place is at least co-ordinate in importance with that which occurred on the first seventh day. Then God rested from the work of the six days' creation, of which the crowning achievement was the creation of man. Now, the Son of God, by whom all things were created, that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, has fallen under the power of death, as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world of fallen man. Beyond all question, the latter is as great, if not a greater, event than the former.

Whatever the former did to glorify the day, the latter has done to cover it with dishonor. This is obviously a sufficient reason for the change of the day of rest. And, in point of fact, the seventh-day sabbath was now abrogated.

22. We come now to the morrow after the sabbath, the first day of the week. Early in the morning the women, who had been the constant attendants of Jesus, were at the sepulchre to perform the last rites of friendship to the deceased, which had been deferred on account of the sabbath. "And, behold, there was a great earthquake; for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear ye not; for I know that ye seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here; for HE IS RISEN." Mary Magdalene, after bearing the first message which brought Peter and John to the sepulchre, returned and lingered, weeping, and at length looked into the tomb and found it empty. On turning back disconsolate, she "saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. He said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary," in his wonted tone, and she recognized the Lord. "Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." He now made his immediate appearance before his Father, and was "accepted" for his people.

Here we are to bear in mind that this was the morrow after the sabbath in the passover week (Lev. xxiii. 11), on which the wave-sheaf was presented to the Lord. The wave-sheaf was the token of life. Now, on this same day, Jesus,

the beloved Son of God, has risen from the grave of death to the resurrection of life, and presented himself to the Lord, by whom he has been accepted for his people. We ask, What is the import of this great act? Here is the Father accepting, and the Son accepted, for the chosen people. Is not this event commensurate in magnitude with the resting of God after the work of creation? Is not the redemption of man parallel in grandeur with the creation of man? Is not the glory of grace "the glory that excelleth" all the glory of power, wisdom, and goodness? Is not the day of the resurrection of the second Adam greater than the day of the creation of the first? Is not this day worthy to be the new sabbath of rest, when the seventh day has become a day of gloom?

23. Another first day of the week now comes before us, of equal significance with the day of resurrection. This is the day of pentecost. We have already seen that the feast of weeks was on the morrow after the seventh sabbath from the sabbath in the passover week; and, as the seven weeks amount to forty-nine days, this morrow is the fiftieth day, that is, the pentecost. Hence the pentecost was always on the first day of the week. On this day the apostles were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing, mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." Before this the disciples were weak, ignorant, unlearned, wavering, and contentious. Peter denied the Lord thrice, and when their Master was seized as a criminal, they all forsook him and fled. But now they are brave, enlightened, mighty in the scriptures, resolute, preachers of the word, speaking in the tongues of all who heard them the wonderful works of God; and Peter — the hasty, rash, impetuous, inconstant Peter — preaches the first sermon, on which three thousand believed and were

baptized, and "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers."

Now, let us mark what this means. Jesus, having shown himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of the apostles forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, while they beheld, was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight. He had said: "The Comforter will come unto you. ..... And when he is come he will convince the world, ... Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more." He is now gone to his Father, and they see him no more, which is a proof that he had finished his work; since, otherwise, he would have been sent back to finish it, and they would have seen him once more. He now furnishes a still more striking proof that he has been accepted and endowed with all power in heaven and in earth. For, according to his promise, he sends the Comforter from heaven on the day of pentecost to give life and power to the assembled apostles for the evangelization of the world.

This was the day on which the two wave-loaves were presented to the Lord. And after he had completed the demonstration of his resurrection, and conveyed his last instructions to his apostles, Jesus ascended finally into heaven. And now, after the short interval of a week, the great High-Priest, being also the Lamb of God and the bread of life, by his all-prevalent intercession has obtained and sent down the Holy Spirit to be the Quickener and Comforter of the apostles and of the church of the latter ages. He is thus the holder and dispenser of a twofold life. He now adds the life of regeneration to the life of redemption. And hence he is fitly represented by the two loaves of wheaten flour, denoting the completeness of that life of salvation which is contained in him. By the preaching of the inspired apostle the Holy Ghost begets faith in Jesus Christ and repentance toward God, the two fruits of the new birth, in thousands of anxious souls. Being united by faith in the

risen Saviour, they are justified and adopted in him, and so made partakers at the same time of the inward principle and the outward right of eternal life.

The regenerating work of the Holy Ghost, in baptizing the apostles with fire, and adding daily to the church such as should be saved, is a manifestation of divine power equal in importance with the propitiation for sin effected by the death and resurrection of Christ. And thus the first day of the week was signalized by the resurrection of the Son of God and by the descent of the Holy Ghost. The atonement and the new birth are two of the three essential parts of salvation, due to the second and third Persons of the Godhead. Hence the first day of the week is eminently and exclusively fitted to be the new sabbath of rest.

24. Let us now turn our attention to the practice of the apostles regarding the first day of the week. The ten met together on the evening of the first day, when Jesus, having that morning risen from the dead, stood in the midst of them, and said: "Peace be unto you." Again, after eight days, that is, on the next first day of the week, they were again assembled, and Thomas with them; and Jesus stood in the midst of them, as before, and said: "Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God." It is not improbable, from the expressions, "Being assembled together," and "When they were come together," that the day of the ascension was the first day of the week, especially as in this case there would be precisely forty days between the resurrection and the ascension (Acts i. 2, 3, 6). If so, there would be a curious significance in the verse: "Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey." But we do not press this. On the day of pentecost, however, which was the first day of the week, they were all, again, with one accord in one place. And on this occasion the

Holy Spirit descended upon them. Here two things are to be noted: First, that the apostles were wont to meet on this day, and next, that on two of these occasions Jesus appeared to them, and on the third the Holy Ghost descended on them By both of these events their meeting on that day was sanctioned and approved.

Advancing, in the Acts of the Apostles, we meet with the following passage: "And we sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we abode seven days. And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow" (Acts xx. 6, 7). Now, this is the same Paul who is supposed to have announced the absolute cessation of a sabbath of rest. We find him here abiding in one place seven days, which is evidently a week, or interval between one holy convocation and another. And on the first day of the week the disciples come together to break bread, and Paul preaches unto them. We have thus on record four clear instances of the custom of assembling for worship on the first day of the week.

Moreover, the custom of assembling for worship is noticed again and again in the writings of this self-same Paul. In 1 Cor. xi. he praises the brethren, because they keep the ordinances (vs. 2) as he delivered them to them; and he goes on to speak of the proprieties of public worship, and incidentally of praying, prophesying, and singing, and repeatedly of their regularly coming together for these exercises into one place (1 Cor. v. 4; xi. 17, 18, 20, 33, 34; xiv. 23, 26; Heb. x. 25). Now, it is impossible to come together statedly, unless there be a set time, as well as place, of assembly. Here, then, we have a day of holy convocation in all the dwellings of the people, on which they engaged in prayer, praise, reading, and expounding the scriptures. In the same Epistle to the Corinthians he expressly mentions the day of meeting: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered

him, that there be no gatherings when I come" (1 Cor. xvi. 2). It might not be called the sabbath, because, in common parlance, the seventh day was still called by that name. But it became, to all intents and purposes, the sabbath of the New Testament church.

There is one other noteworthy passage in the Book of Revelation: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day" (Rev. i. 10). We observe, 1. On this day John was in the Spirit. This recalls to us the day of pentecost, that great feast of weeks on which the Holy Ghost fell on the assembled apostles. 2. Next, on this day the Lord appeared to John in his glory and power — an incident reminding us of the first day on which he rose from the dead, and appeared to Mary Magdalene, to the other women, to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, to Cephas, and to the ten assembled together in the evening. 3. On this day the Lord communicated to John some part, if not the whole, of the revelation which God had given to him for the church. 4. This day is now distinguished by the special name of the Lord's day. We have in scripture two things called the Lord's, namely, the Lord's supper and the Lord's day. The former is so called because it was instituted by the Lord to commemorate his death. And when we find the apostle John in the Spirit on this solemn occasion speaking of the Lord's day, we cannot but conclude that it has been appointed, as it has been repeatedly sanctioned, by the Lord himself, to commemorate his resurrection, and become the sabbath of rest, instead of the seventh day, which, after he had lain all that day in the tomb, was unfitted to be the day of rest, of gladness, or of worship. 5. We are thus brought back to the text now before us, in which it is concluded: "Therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the sabbath." He has now exercised his lordship over it by transferring it to the first day of the week — the day of light, of the wave-sheaf, of the two wave-loaves, of the resurrection of the Son of Man, and of the descent of the Holy Ghost. It reminds us, also, of the last clause in the fundamental definition of the sabbath:

"It is the sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings." This has been the sabbath of rest, the holy convocation, the sabbath of the Lord, in all the dwellings of Christendom.

The experience of the past has proved to all thoughtful men that the sabbath was made for man, and therefore perpetual in its obligation. It is an unspeakable boon to the sons of toil or care. It is the touchstone of a nation's piety. And the spirituality, intelligence, and efficiency of a church rise in proportion to the degree in which it remembers the sabbath-day to keep it holy. Like the fifth commandment, it has its promise. "If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord honorable; and shalt honor it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

ARTICLE V.

THE ORGANIC AND VISIBLE MANIFESTATION OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM, AND THE HUMAN AGENCY IN ITS ADVANCEMENT.

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PART I. — THE CHURCH THE ORGANIC OUTGROWTH OF THE LIFE-GIVING AND REDEEMING GRACE OF CHRIST PENETRATING HUMAN HISTORY IN THE HOLY SPIRIT.

JOHN in his first epistle, presents Christ's life as penetrating humanity and manifesting itself therein by a growth vitalized by that life and having its character; as the vital force of a seed penetrates inorganic nature and creates a growth "after its kind." The eternal life which was with the Father is in his Son; by him, the Word of Life, it is manifested to men. He that hath the Son hath the life, and participating in his life, is like him. The life penetrating human history, creates a growth after its kind. That life in God is light, and as it unfolds in man it is light, and in it is no darkness at all; in God it is love, and unfolding in humanity it is love, excluding all selfishness and hate; in God it is absolute purity, and among men whosoever hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as he is pure, this life entering the human heart effects a new birth; and "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God." The "fellowship" on which the apostle insists is more than communion in meditation and worship; it is participation in the life that was in Christ, as a plant participates in the life of the seed. The apostle proceeds to teach that it is by the Holy Spirit that Christ abides in us. The criterion by which we discern the Spirit of God is that he is the Spirit

of Christ, confesses him as the life of the world, and creates an outgrowth of the life that is in him.

Since the life that was in Christ is thus penetrating and vitalizing humanity, it must manifest itself in effects which can be historically traced. In some form the kingdom of heaven must reveal itself in human history rising from the ruins of humanity and shaping itself in its divine beauty. Somewhere must appear the living tree into which the mustard-seed is growing. Goethe calls nature the living garment which is always weaving for Deity in the whizzing loom of time, and by which we see him. So the kingdom of heaven, forming itself in human history, is the garment which God is weaving by which we see him as the Redeemer and the life of men.

The more spiritual and profound historians of the church recognize it as the manifestation of this divine life flowing into human history. But this is true of the organized church only with important qualifications. The life must manifest itself in an organization; but the organization is neither the only nor the complete exponent of the life. The kingdom of heaven is organizing rather than organized. It creates for itself an organization, yet the kingdom of heaven is not the organization, but rather the life which produces it. The life which creates the organization, penetrates and purifies also the family and the state, renovates individuals, and blooms and fructifies in Christian civilizations; and these also are its historical manifestations. Always the kingdom of heaven is within you. In the variously organized churches of history, without doubt, the life has been revealed and organized. But no one has been the only and complete outgrowth and manifestation of the life. The kingdom of Christ is neither identical nor co-extensive with them.

These qualifications must be kept in mind as we proceed to consider the church as the organic outgrowth in human history of the life that is in Christ.

There are two maxims which express what is essential in the two conflicting theories of the church. The first is:

"Where the Spirit of God is, there is the church." The second is: "Where the church is, there is the Spirit of God." All organizations of the church fall into two classes, according as they express the one or the other of these principles.

According to the first of these principles, the Spirit of God is always originating and sustaining the new spiritual life, and the church is the constant and spontaneous development of this spiritual life into outward organization. The Spirit and life are primary and originant; the organization secondary and dependent. The church is not perpetuated by the cohesiveness of the organization, but by the indwelling Spirit. If Christianity is introduced into a heathen country, those whom the Spirit renews become a church through their fellowship one with another in that new life. If in any country the church becomes corrupt, any whom God's Spirit renews, withdraw from the corrupt organization and originate the visible church anew. The organization, forsaken by the Spirit, is no longer a church, but a carcass needing to be buried. The organization developed from the pre-existing life and perpetuated by the vitalizing and ever-present Spirit is subordinate to the life, and exists to promote the edification of its members and to facilitate the performance of their Christian work.

According to the second principle, the church came forth as an organization from Christ's hand to stand unchanged to the end of time. The organization is the vehicle through which God's grace and Spirit are conveyed to men. The organization is primary and originant, the Spirit and life secondary and dependent. The organization perpetuates itself by its own strength and cohesiveness. If Christianity is introduced to a heathen land, the church must be imported. If the church becomes corrupt, true believers may try to reform it; but to withdraw from it is schism. The life is subordinate to the organization. The church stands between the individual and Christ, to convey God's grace to him by its action in his behalf. And the church, speaking officially, is infallible, and its dicta binding, as the voice of God, on every individual's conscience.

The first of these conceptions of the church is from Christ. The second is historically from heathenism. The Christian church, first constituted as Christ willed, gradually took up into itself the principle of Roman imperialism and was corrupted into a hierarchy. Romanism is the logical result. Protestantism acknowledges the first principle. Yet Congregationalism is the only polity which carries out the principle, "Where the Spirit of God is there is the church," to its legitimate results.

In the light of this maxim, consider, next, in some details, what is the true idea of the church as the outgrowth in human history of the life which was in Christ and is manifested among men.

I. The Spirit acts primarily on Individuals, and the Life manifests itself primarily in them.

The divine action in redemption is directed primarily upon individuals, and not upon organizations and institutions. It is not a diffused daylight, an all-pervading electricity, acting equally and indefinitely on society as such, through institutions, public sentiment, and the spirit of the age, and lifting society in mass to a higher level. Its aim is not primarily the promotion of general culture, and refinement, and the advancement of civilization. It is the direct action of God on individuals to bring them into reconciliation with himself. Redemption aims to save souls. It is becoming fashionable in some circles to ridicule this phrase. A writer in a leading Review has even said that the idea of missions "to save souls" is becoming obsolete. The phrase, like any other, may degenerate into cant. But rightly understood it is the doctrine of Christianity, that redeeming grace is acting in human history to save souls. Christ came "to save the lost." The "faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation" is, that Christ came "to save sinners." They who are offended at this are offended at Christianity itself.

This individualism attaches to the redemptive agency in all its forms. Christ tasted death for every man — the sin-

gular number, the distributive pronoun. The attraction of the cross fastens immediately on every soul, as the attraction of the sun fastens with undivided power on every planet. Every one is invited to equal intimacy with God, each in the secrecy of his own closet. Every Christian, born of the Spirit, is the child of God and not removed by any intervening agency to a remoter relationship. Justification by faith gives to every sinner free access to God without priestly mediation.

Accordingly the Spirit is represented in the Bible as dwelling in the individual, not in the church. The temple of God, which Paul admonishes the Corinthians not to defile, is not the organic church, but the body of the individual.

Thus Christianity is characterized by intense individualism. This has originated the individualism which characterizes modern political institutions. But all experience confirms, what reason teaches, that political welfare is not attainable by that one-sided individualism which prompts every one to regard only his own liberty and rights. This is an individualism which is identical with selfishness. It must be supplemented by a regard to society. And it is remarkable that, while Christianity teaches an intense individualism, it insists on individual responsibility, duty, and love, rather than individual liberty and rights. Thus, while vitalizing the grand movement of society against oppression and slavery, and in favor of equal rights, it supplies the needed check to selfishness and the needed impetus to live for others and to guard and promote the interests of society.

II. A Church is an Organized Association of Persons Renewed by the Holy Spirit.

This follows directly from the principle, "Where the Spirit is, there is the church." When Christ's sheep hear his voice and follow him, they are thereby separated from others and united to Christ; and in their union with Christ and following of him, united also to each other. Thus the church comes into being. It is an association of persons

effectually called to Christ by his voice speaking through the Holy Spirit. They are united not by force or external authority, nor by the tie of birth; but by their own free act and covenant in the fellowship of their common faith in Christ, and the common character, ideas, and aims of their new spiritual life. Yet the church is not merely a voluntary association, dependent for its existence on the will of man. It is of divine origin, because it is the spontaneous outgrowth of the "life" that is in Christ, penetrating human history through the Holy Spirit; it exists by divine authority, because it has the reason of its existence in God's redeeming energy working always among men; it is lifted above the creations of human will, and is perpetuated and imperishable in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and his continued life-giving and renovating agency in the world.

The church, as an organization thus constituted, necessarily made its appearance so soon as Christianity began to prevail. And the principles thus organized in the churches necessarily tended to pass over into the constitution of the state.

Allusion has been already made to the intense individualism of Christianity. This is embodied in the church. The individual is the unit of the organization. This was contrary to the conception of society universally prevalent when the first Christian churches were established. The heathen conception of society emphasizes the race, rather than the individual. It begins with the race, and proceeds downwards to the individual; it begins with institutions, and proceeds downwards to the men who live under and for them. In heathen society the individual is lost in the mass; the individuals exist as the planets did when dissolved and lost in the nebulous matter diffused through space; not, as now, in the solar system, moving in their individuality harmoniously under law. It was an epoch when, in society thus constituted, the apostolic church appeared, an institution embodying the Christian idea of the worth and rights

of man — an association of individuals of every caste, rank, and race, "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." In the church the king and his subject, the master and his slave, the nobleman and the peasant, stand on a level, having equal rights in its privileges, equal vote in the management of its affairs, and equal eligibility to its offices. Such an institution could not flourish, retaining its purity, in such a state of society, without coming into conflict with it, diffusing new ideas, and gradually infusing its own principles into the constitution of the state and the usages of society.

Such has been the historical fact. In the very beginning of the propagation of Christianity we find Peter and John arraigned before the Sanhedrim declaring the rights of conscience, and announcing the principle which has ever since underlain the martyrdoms and conflicts for liberty of conscience and the rights of man against oppression. Even amid Roman imperialism, the churches retained their primitive constitution for a time. After being corrupted and consolidated by taking into itself the imperial idea, the church long retained features of its original constitution in the election of bishops, in holding its offices open to men of every degree, in its steady and successful opposition to slavery, in affording through all the reign of violence an asylum for the oppressed, in its action through the Middle Ages in the interest of human rights against the tyranny of the secular rulers, and in its attitude as an adjudicator of wrongs by an appeal to justice and law in antagonism to the brute force and bloody lawlessness of the feudal barons. People willingly appealed to tribunals that recognized law and the authority of God against lords who decided everything by the sword; and in this way the growing hierarchy was encouraged in its usurpations of authority. Even in the theological writings of the Middle Ages are found distinct traces of the modern doctrine of the rights of the people against oppressive rulers." [1]

[1] "A man is bound to obey secular rulers only so far as justice requires.

After the Reformation, the same principle reasserted itself. The church was organized as an association of persons, and with the recognition of personal rights. The principle passed from the church into the state. Geneva became "the seed-plot of liberty." Subsequently the Puritan churches more completely transferred the principle of their own organization into the Puritan state.

Thus the principle of the organization of the church, as an association of persons united in the fellowship of a common life, common interests and ends, and a common law, went out into human thinking, and became a power in civilization, loosing the bond of race and force with which society had been bound by Satan, bowed down and nowise able to lift up itself during all the centuries. The state is no longer a race united by common descent, and holding down subject races by force; but it is a people, of whatever locality, united by common interests under law; and the jurisprudence of Christendom assumes that government, whatever its form, rests ultimately on the consent of the people. Even the doctrine of the "social contract," elaborated by the Jesuit Suarez, taught by Locke, Sidney, and Rousseau, and terribly declared in the first French Revolution, is a recognition and distorted expression of this truth.

Perhaps it may not be going too far to say that the constitution of the church as an association of *regenerate* persons has furnished an important principle of political and social progress. It is in antagonism to the heathen conception, which regards the man as subordinate to his institutions, and which looks primarily to a change of institutions for the improvement of the man. The same is the error of modern "socialism." In opposition to this error, the church embodies the principle, which all experience veri-

Therefore, if the rulers have not the right to rule, but are usurpers, or if rulers require what is unjust, their subjects are not bound to obey them, unless perhaps, in exceptional cases to avoid scandal or danger." In confirmation he quotes Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, Lib. iv. Cap. 4). "Aside from justice, what are kingly governments but great robberies." — *Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae*, Second Division of Part ii. Quest. 104, Art. 6.

fies, that the only real progress of society consists in the actual improvement of the individuals composing society. A strong and virtuous people insure a strong and just government.

The second maxim: "Where the church is, there is the Spirit," gives the contrary conclusions. The child is re-regenerated in baptism by the *opus operatum* of the church in its behalf. It is thus born into the church, and thenceforward governed by enforced authority. If afterwards the baptized person deviates from the faith, or disobeys the commands of the church, he is subject to inquisitorial torments and death. Thus the old principle of despotism becomes the principle of the church itself; and the power which was working to redeem the world becomes imprisoned in an iron arm that smites and kills.

III. The Church as an Organization is Subordinate to the Life.

1. The organization is the outgrowth of the life.

Man, by virtue of his rationality, is an organizer. As God expresses his thoughts in worlds and systems, man expresses his thoughts in cities, states, institutions. It is man who forms his institutions, not the institutions which form the man. So Christian faith and love create Christian institutions. The new Christian life displaces the old, and creates all things new. The church, as an organization, is the outgrowth of the life. It may be said to be the organization of the life, as the mustard-plant is the organization of the life of the mustard-seed.

2. The organization exists for the ends or purposes of the life.

The conception is of spiritual persons united in fellowship by their oneness with Christ for the purpose of mutual edification and helpfulness in Christian life and work. This principle is determinant of the constitution of a church. It is incompatible with the conception of a church that it should

absorb the individual in the society, or by its organization come down on him to suppress or crush his personality. The conception of a church requires that its organization and its organic action emphasize and develop the individual personality. It exists for the very purpose of subserving the spiritual life, growth, and power of its members. It must not be, therefore, an organization so massive as to oppress the life, but so consonant with the life as to help it, as a trellis sustains and helps the vine.

Accordingly the growth, power, and prosperity of a church are proportional to the degree in which it calls out its individual members to spiritual life and activity. If it becomes only a receptacle, taking in and holding its members as dead things, it is thenceforth only a whited sepulchre, full of dead men's bones.

3. The church is not mediatorial. It does not stand between man and God, to bring the divine blessing from heaven by its sacraments and the *opus operatum* of its service.

The subordination of the organization to the life necessarily involves the three characteristics just mentioned, and is a necessary inference from the principle: "Where the Spirit is, there is the church."

From the church this idea of the subordination of organization to the life has penetrated human thought respecting political and social institutions. When Christ came, the iniquity of the world was full. As at that time religious faith was withered, and scepticism had attained its greatest power and widest dominion, so the principle of government by force had reached in the Roman empire its consummation. The Western nations were ruled under military despotism by the will of one man, and held in his hand for his own personal use and enjoyment. The people, educated through many generations under the reign of force, had lost the capacity of refinement of feeling and the enjoyment of the gentle and kindly emotions, which were displaced by

ferocity and blood-thirstiness, so that even theatrical spectacles were insipid if not spectacles of blood.

In the midst of this civilization the Christian church appears, like a dewdrop, distilling silent and unseen from the air. It makes no direct assault on existing institutions. Not claiming the sword, which rightfully belongs to the civil ruler, it can only stand in the presence of the great organizations embodying the power of the strongest, and let its presence do its work, educating the world to understand that institutions are the outgrowth of human thought and life, and that they can never be right and salutary till they embody truth, justice, and love, and not selfishness grasping and ruling by force. It introduced Christian charity as a power in civilization. It taught men self-sacrifice in service. The Roman slavery passed away before it. At last the conception embodied in the Christian church when it first stood in the civilization of the Roman empire, like a dewdrop trembling on a leaf, has created a new conception of political and social institutions and a new civilization. Man is no longer regarded as existing for institutions forced upon him; but institutions exist for man, and are the creation of his thought and life. In like manner, the church has educated man to the true method of securing the progress of man and the reorganization of society. It is not by immediately assailing institutions, as if a change of institutions would recreate the man; but by new creating the man, that he may cast away institutions no longer fitting him, and create new.

It has been the great mistake in the education of the race to believe that there is no safety for man except as by external and superior power he is restrained and constrained, and institutions and rules are framed and put on him, into conformity with which his thought and life must grow. But the words of Milton are always true:

> "Who overcomes
> By force, hath overcome but half his foe."

There is no real progress, except as men accept truth on conviction, conform their lives to it in Christian love, and

freely embody their Christian thought and love in institutions. This is the truth evermore embodied and expressed in the Christian church. Fearful forebodings agitate some minds, whether republican government will not prove a failure, and men are discussing what will be the political constitution of the future. But all experience is teaching and emphasizing the doctrine of Christianity, that the true order of human advancement is from the individual to the organic, and not the reverse; and that the grand requisite is to educate the people in knowledge and true piety. An ignorant, selfish, irreligious people will fail under any government. An intelligent and Christian people cannot miss a wise and beneficent government.

All this is reversed by the other maxim: "Where the church is, there is the Spirit." It gives us the organization first, the life created by and flowing from it; the organization externally and authoritatively established, and externally and authoritatively imposed on men, cramping, confining, crushing them to its own rigid form; the individual existing for the organization, and to be used for its purposes. It makes the church as an organization the mediator between God and man. The Spirit of God and his redeeming grace are communicated only through it. The sinner cannot come to God, nor God to the sinner, except through it. Thus the church takes up into itself the principles of heathen civilization, which exalts the organization above individuals, and loses them in the homogeneous pulp into which it grinds them. The church becomes a spiritual despotism, which suppresses the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free, dries up the springs of spiritual life, whence the freedom of man must flow, and perverts the authority of God and the sanctions of the world unseen to uphold oppression.

It is a curious fact in the history of the hierarchy that the inextinguishable truths of Christianity find utterance in it, but in perverted and monstrous forms. For example, the hierarchical church denied the doctrine of the divine right

of kings and taught that civil rulers derive their right to rule not immediately from God, but mediately. But it did not teach that doctrine in its true and Christian form, that the civil ruler derives his power from God mediately through the people, for whose good they are God's ministers; but through the church, which derives its authority immediately from God. For another example, the church insisted on its own independence of the civil ruler; it denied that the spiritual power is subject to the civil, or can rightfully be coerced by the sword; it taught the separation of the church from the state. The world owes the union of church and state, not to the papacy, but to Henry VIII. and the English Reformation. The pope, it is true, became a temporal sovereign. But the function of civil ruler was distinct from the function of the papal supremacy; and in theory his temporal sovereignty was always for the very purpose that the head of the church might be independent of all civil rulers, and the church be always separate from the state and independent of it. At the same time the church asserted its supremacy over the state, and compelled the use of the sword of the magistrate to suppress heresy; it repudiated liberty of conscience, and subjected not the actions only, but the very thoughts of men to spiritual inquisition and despotism. For another example, the church taught that the subjects of a king who was a usurper, or of a legitimate monarch who issued unjust commands, were not bound to obey him; but in such cases it alone, by its divine supremacy, could absolve the subjects from their allegiance. Again, the church opened an asylum for the oppressed, and took their part against the violence of the red-handed baron or king; but it subjected them to itself in a worse tyranny. Thus the imperishable principles of Christianity were asserted in the darkest ages, but in perverted and monstrous forms. The pure milk of the word was changed into the gall of bitterness. The church, the legitimate mother and nurse of human liberty, became the harlot-mother and nurse of monsters. This world-wide organization claimed to be the

mediator, not only between God and the individual sinner, but between God and society itself, determining all political and social action and organization.

IV. The Unity of the Churches is the Unity or Fellowship of the Spirit.

1. The church is local or congregational, not national or ecumenical. It is an association of Christians by their own covenant in fellowship in Christ for their mutual edification in the Christian life and co-operation in the Christian work. If the maxim with which I started and the principles already evolved from it are correct, every such association is a Christian church. Whatever larger associations, national or ecumenial, may be formed, they cannot take away the church-character of these local churches.

2. A church has no authority to govern. Government implies authority to enact laws and to enforce obedience to them. In the proper sense of the word, there is no such thing as church-government. The authority of the church is exhausted in giving or withholding fellowship. A church must determine whether it will give fellowship to any person as a Christian or to any association as a church.[1] Beyond this it has no governmental power whatever, neither legislative, judicial, nor executive. It cannot make laws nor enforce obedience.

Accordingly our Saviour gives to the church the power of the keys, but withholds the power of the sword. But the power of the keys, the power of opening and shutting, is simply the power of giving or withholding fellowship. On the other hand, the New Testament explicitly gives to the state the power of the sword, but withholds from it the

[1] Some insist that the determination of fellowship must be left to the conscience of the individual claiming it; and that every person who claims to be a Christian and every association claiming to be a church, must be received to fellowship as such. But the teaching of the New Testament that the responsibility of determining who shall be received to fellowship is imposed on the church, is explicit. See Matt. xviii. 15–18; 1 Cor. v. 4–13; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15; Titus iii. 10; Rom. xiv. 1–3; xv. 7.

power of the keys. The magistrate "beareth not the sword in vain." The civil government exists to maintain the peace and order of society, to protect the people in their rights, and to enforce justice by penalty. For these ends it is intrusted with the sword. But it is not intrusted with the keys. It has not authority to determine who are entitled to fellowship as Christians, or to enact any law which presupposes that the state has determined that question, or which in its execution necessitates an official discrimination between Christians and unbelievers.

Here, through the Christian church, comes into human history a principle which has become a power in civilization: the separation of church and state. This principle was unknown in heathen civilization, in which was no religious organization analogous to the church, and the civil and religious functions were not entirely separate. In its application it does not mean that in making, adjudicating, and executing laws, government is exempt from obeying the law of God. Government has no right to shut out the light of Christianity, and to go back and take up heathen morality. It means that the sphere of government's action is secular. Whatever the laws or institutions through which it accomplishes its ends, it is absolutely precluded from deciding who are entitled to fellowship as Christians.

On the other hand, the authority of the church is limited to the determination of fellowship, with no power to inflict any penalty on those from whom it withholds its fellowship. The purity of the church is perpetuated from generation to generation by the spiritual life and the indwelling Spirit. Spiritual things are spiritually discerned. Christ trusts to the spiritual mind always in his church to discern that which is spiritual, to unite by its own spiritual affinities with all which is spiritual, and to repel all that is "earthly, sensual, devilish." It is the only possible preservation of spiritual purity. The difference between the spiritual and its opposite can only be spiritually discerned. When the preservation of the purity of the church is intrusted to the sword suppressing

heresy, or to the weight of massive organization, or to ecumenical councils and standards of faith by them authoritatively decreed, these coarse and hard agencies do not discriminate between spiritual truth and life and the opposite, but only between outward organizations. If the Spirit always sustains the spiritual life, and the church is the outgrowth of the life, the spiritual church may be trusted in every generation to discern for itself that which is spiritual. It is because the church is spiritual that it is intrusted with the keys, and authorized to open and shut. Christ alone openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth. The act of the church in opening and shutting is Christ's act, only as Christ is in the church quickening its spiritual discernment. The power of the keys is not given to the church of a particular generation, but to the church in all generations. We must confide in God's indwelling Spirit, and not imagine that we must see to everything, and bind everything fast for all coming time. The church of a former age had not power to settle all questions of fellowship so as to deprive the church of to-day of the power of the keys. The Comforter, "even the Spirit of Truth," is to "abide with you forever."

Because the unity of the church is the unity of the Spirit, and the authority of the church is limited to determining fellowship, the action expended in sustaining the organization and its machinery is reduced to a minimum, and the combined energies of the church have free course in beneficent service.

3. The national or ecumenical unity of the churches is the unity of the Spirit. It has been already said that Christians are spontaneously drawn into fellowship. It is also true that Christ requires them to be in fellowship. This fellowship is to extend through the world, that all Christian churches may work together in saving the world from sin. But this ecumenical union cannot be by an ecumenical organization, but only by fellowship in the Spirit. Any union by an ecumenical organization is incompatible with the fundamental principle of church organization. The

Romish church is constituted as an ecumenical organization. Its entire history has demonstrated that the differences among men are so great that an organization can never become ecumenical. It has also demonstrated that such an organization, so far as it does extend, is necessarily a hierarchy. The same conclusions are necessary, from the nature of the case.

4. The method by which the fellowship of the churches shall be determined is not definitely and authoritatively prescribed in the New Testament.

The primitive churches seem to have determined their fellowship in the natural method by mutual acquaintance in Christian work. This knowledge was extended to remoter regions by apostles and messengers of the churches sent abroad on various errands of Christian work, or by Christians scattered by persecution. This must always be the primitive method, and it is always valid. If a church is not at its organization regularly brought into fellowship with other churches by a council, and yet, subsequently, by its faith and works, demonstrates its Christian character, it gradually acquires the confidence of the churches, and is recognized as a church. All determination of church-fellowship rests ultimately on this ground — the knowledge of the Christian faith and practice of a church by the Christian churches in its neighborhood.

The next method is that of the Congregational council, growing immediately out of the primitive and natural method, giving formal and official declaration, after investigation, of the fellowship of the churches, and sometimes, also, rendering to a church in circumstances of embarrassment the advice and aid of sister churches. This is supplemented by the Congregational conference, which, assuming the question of fellowship to be already settled, and excluding all investigation of it, is a union of churches, already in acknowledged fellowship with each other, solely for mutual help and co-operation in the Christian life and work. This is a method of determining fellowship capable of uniting all

Christian churches throughout the world in the unity of the Spirit, without impinging on their Christian freedom.

Other methods, more complicated and imposing, may be adopted without contravening the fundamental principle of the ecclesiastical constitution. The Presbyterian church, for example, may be conceived of in this way. Its presbyteries, synods, and general assembly may be conceived of as agencies for ascertaining and declaring the fellowship, and for making effective the union and co-operation of the local churches. But this method is too complicated and cumbersome to become ecumenical; it issues in a continual cleavage into sections, even when it aims only to be national. And the very weight of the machinery perpetually tends to a unity of organization in which the local churches lose their distinct existence.[1]

The Congregational method is to be preferred, because it is most accordant with the primitive simplicity of the communion of the apostolic churches; because it is most consonant with the scriptural idea that the church in every generation is the creation of the living Spirit, and is to preserve its purity by the sensitiveness and discernment of spiritual life; and because it alone is adequate to secure an ecumenical unity of churches, without extinguishing the local church, or repressing individual life and liberty.

5. The Christian church is necessarily catholic. It is in fellowship with all churches in which is the spiritual life. It acknowledges as a Christian church every association of regenerate persons who are united by their own free covenant in Christian fellowship for the purpose of edification and co-operation in the Christian life and work, whatever be the

[1] Accordingly, while the text of the Presbyterian "Form of Government" acknowledges the local church, a note authoritatively explains that "the several congregations of believers taken collectively constitute one church of Christ, called emphatically *the church*"; and that the government of that one church is by the majority of its representatives in Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly (Chap. xii. and note). And the Confession of Faith (Chap. xxx.), declares that the government of the church is "in the hand of church-officers," to whom, and not to the church, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed."

particular form of their union, and however encumbered with human accretions. As in a crystal, however peculiar its shape, we find by cleavage the primitive form, and by that determine its kind, so into whatever form the church, modified by peculiar circumstances, has grown, if underneath we find the primitive, apostolic church, by that we recognize it as a true church. Thus the Congregational church is essentially and necessarily undenominational, catholic, and Christian. It cannot acknowledge as a church a national or ecumenical organization, the synod, assembly, convention, or whatever may be the complicated machinery by which local churches seek concentration and more imposing union. It cannot acknowledge its own council or conference as a church. But in any organization, national or ecumenical, in any association of churches, however confederated, it acknowledges the local churches which are thus united. The Congregational is the primitive, apostolical church. It takes into its constitution only the essential elements of the church. Christ did not institute this apostolic church as a denomination, but as the Christian church, to be in fellowship with Christian churches everywhere. It is in its very constitution catholic. All who insist that human accretions on this simple form are essential to the church — who set up their national or ecumenical organization as the church, and refuse fellowship to the church in its simple and primitive form — are guilty of schism.

V. The Continuity of Christ's Kingdom in History is the Continuity of the Spirit and Life, rather than of the Organization.

The tendency in investigating religion is now to the historic method. The rationalism which develops religion from the personal consciousness, and resolves Christianity into philosophy and ethics, is congenial to an age of metaphysical speculation, and belongs to a period and type of thinking which is now passing away. The profoundest thought and

scholarship of the day investigate religion historically. But the history of Christianity did not end with the events recorded in the New Testament. The redeeming grace, working in humanity, creates for itself a continuous history. The apologists for Christianity are not to confine themselves to the evidences of the credibility and genuineness of the Bible used by the apologists of the last century. The argument now must take a wider range. It must show Christianity as a power in human history, evolving a system of truth the most satisfactory to human reason as an exposition of the relations of God and man, and effecting a process of renovation of individuals and of society, and a Christianizing of civilization, which, if completed, will realize the highest well-being of man. Christianity, in what it has accomplished, tends to accomplish, and promises to perfect, proves itself divine. When, in some future age, the Christian idea of the kingdom of God shall be realized in society, and it shall be seen, in tracing the history of Christianity, that from the beginning it had promised this result, and tended towards it, then Christianity will have wrought into history a demonstration of its divine origin.

What I now say is, that the continuity of this historical manifestation, so far as it has yet proceeded, is found in the spirit and the life, rather than in the outward organization.

1. The organization is itself an expression of the life. The church, as an organization distinct from the family and the state, is a peculiarity of Christianity. The Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, the Mahometans, Boodhists, and Brahmins, have a religion, but not a church. The very existence of a church, separated from the world by fellowship in a new and spiritual life, and distinct from the state, is a peculiar and remarkable manifestation of the divine life in humanity. Recall the characteristics of this organization, the new principles embodied in it, the revolution in human institutions wrought by it, and you will see that the organization itself is a wonderful exponent of the divine and renovating life of the Spirit working in humanity.

2. The organization itself has a continuity that is historical. Man organizes his thought and life in institutions. He is liable, therefore, to take up into the church the ideas and spirit of the age in which he lives, and thus to encumber it with accretions of human origin. But the overlaying of the church with these accretions, does not destroy it. The Lord, who knoweth them who are his, has owned every association of devout and spiritual worshippers as a church. Thus the church, even as an organization, has had historical continuity. It was, indeed, at times, a hidden church, — the real churches not even knowing themselves as such, — yet not the less real. When the Romanist asks: "Where was your church before the Reformation?" the answer is ready: "It was wherever those whom the Spirit had renewed were associated in spiritual fellowship; according to the words of Jesus: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'"

3. But this continuity is through the Spirit, more than through the organization. If the church is constituted according to the maxim, "Where the church is, there is the Spirit," then the divine action in redemption culminated in setting up a massive organization, in which the Spirit is imprisoned, like a bird in a cage, and which is to stand unchanged through all generations; salvation is only in it, and all that is done in it is Christ's doing. Then the history of Christianity is the history of this organization; Christianity is responsible for its corruptions; the history of Christianity becomes the history of intolerance, persecution, corruption, oppression, and opposition to human progress; and history becomes a perpetual refutation of the claim of Christianity to be from God.

We cannot accept this fatal doctrine. The church of today is not one with the apostolic churches by the line of apostolical succession, stretching without a break through the dark ages, like the electric wire beneath the ocean, and transmitting the life of Christ only by the completeness of the tactual connection. The historical continuity of the

church, even as an organization, is the continuity of the life, always quickened by the Spirit and organizing itself in the church. The institution is not perpetuated by the tenacity of the organization, cohering as it stretches through the centuries, but by the organizing force of the inward life; as an animal body is not perpetuated by the coherence of its material, which is always passing away, but by the indwelling and ever-organizing vital force.

Therefore Christianity is not responsible for the abuses which have dishonored the history of ecclesiastical organizations.

4. While the church, in its historical continuity as an organization, manifests in history the continuous presence of God's redeeming grace and of his kingdom, that manifestation extends beyond the church in purifying and transforming society. This is like the diffused daylight, filling the atmosphere, which more than the sun's direct rays manifests his light. This manifestation is in the clearer and more complete system of doctrine evolved by the thought and life of the advancing ages; in the broader, clearer, and more spiritual ethics; in the higher tone of the moral life; in political institutions founded on justice and human rights; in the pre-eminence of philanthropy; in the creation of a Christian civilization.

5. The historical continuity is such that the present is always evolved from the past. While the Christian church does not, by an organization taking precedence of the Spirit, impose the past as an unchangeable mould on the present, yet it does not cut the present adrift from the past. While the unity is of the Spirit, yet it is the same Spirit, advancing always the same truth and life, meeting with the same redeeming grace the corruptions and perversions of humanity in the diverse forms in which in different ages they appear, and setting up the same kingdom of righteousness on earth. As in the individual "the child is father of the man," so in the life of the church the present is the offspring of the past.

This may be illustrated in the Romish and the Protestant doctrines of tradition. Tradition, in its primitive form, was

held to be the unwritten teachings of Christ and the apostles, preserved from generation to generation, and promulgated by the church. But tradition as the Council of Trent explains it, includes also interpretations of scripture which had been unanimously accepted by the Fathers, and dogmas and rules which had received the sanction of the church; and the whole rests ultimately on the authority of the church. This crude mass the Romish church imposes on the thought and life of the ages, as the gods put Aetna on Enceladus; and every turning and motion of human thought beneath its load produces volcanic disturbance. The Protestant believes in tradition; but it is tradition which acknowledges the written word as its source, and appeals to it as the sufficient rule of faith and practice; which is itself the meaning of the Bible, as it flows down through the ages in the Christian consciousness of the church, as it finds expression in the writings of theologians, in the creeds of councils and churches, in the teachings of parents and pastors, in the renovated Christian life, usages, and institutions of society, and the growth of Christian civilization. Protestantism puts the Bible into every man's hand to read and interpret for himself; but it comes with surer evidence, with richer meaning, with more diversified and far-reaching applications won from the thought and experience of successive generations. If "the meaning of the Bible is the Bible," the Bible itself comes down through the ages like a river of life, purifying, deepening, and broadening its waters as it flows.

6. While the church has historical continuity, it is in every generation as immediately connected with Christ and his Spirit, as was the first church ever planted. So every generation receives the immediate light of the sun. Christianity has to be received by each generation anew. It comes as new to this generation as to that of Christ. Christianity is never consolidated. Like light, heat, electricity, and vital force, it is perpetuated only as it acts, it continues only as it is perpetually renewed, it must be received afresh

by every one who feels its power. It is old, and yet forever new. It can never be antiquated. It is the same to every generation, as the sun climbs the sky every day, and the stars every night, fresh and vigorous as in the earliest days.

7. Hence the church in its very organization is adapted to human progress; it is receptive of it, and it quickens it. It is not a cast-iron organization, refusing all change and crushing all growth, but capable of existing in any condition of society and under any human institutions. It insists on the free circulation of the scriptures, the right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, the equal privilege of all men to have access to God, justification by faith. Hence it trains its members to alertness to discover and receive whatever light may break forth from God's word, to sensibility to whatever influences may come from the Spirit, to keen spiritual discernment, and to a lively sense of personal responsibility to bring their own lives into conformity with God's will, and as much as in them lies to establish his kingdom on the earth. Hence it always has in it the power of revival and reformation, as fire always has in it the power of kindling. And whatever the intellectual and social progress of man, the church is able both to adapt itself to it and to guide and quicken it. Thus it stands in contrast with a hierarchical organization, which becomes by its massiveness incapable of adapting itself to new conditions antagonistic to human progress, and obliged to perpetuate the unchanged past in order to perpetuate its own existence.

PART II.

THE NECESSITY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HUMAN AGENCY IN ADVANCING CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

God's agency in advancing his kingdom is not extra-human. Even his miraculous revelation was made in and through human history. The Eternal Word becomes the Redeemer of men only as he was made flesh and dwelt among us, under human limitations and in the courses of human history, working redemption. The redemptive energy of God, in each dispensation and in all its manifestations, works in and by humanity. Accordingly, in the dispensation of the Spirit, he works in and by humanity, and intrusts the advancement of his kingdom to his people. On them he imposes the responsibility of carrying the gospel to all mankind.

I. The Necessity of Human Agency.

Why is redemption dependent on human effort? Why does not God's love sweep over all human conditions, and extend his kingdom at once through the world?

1. This is only one form of the general question pertaining to the manifestation of the infinite in the finite. As such it transcends the limits of human knowledge. So far as we can conceive, God can manifest or reveal himself only by limiting or circumscribing himself. Every manifestation of the divine perfections, being through the finite, must be limited, incomplete, and progressive. At any given point of time in the manifestation, it must always be conceivable that a more complete manifestation might be made. This is as necessarily true of the manifestation of his infinite love in the redemption of sinners, as of the manifestation of his infinite power in the works of nature. The delay of

Christ's coming is no more an objection against the perfection of God's love, than the delay in the creation of man is an objection against the infinitude of his power. The existence of heathen on the earth to-day is no more an objection against the reality of Christ's reign of grace than it is an objection against God's government of the world that there have been immeasurable periods when the earth was occupied by animals of a low organization, of which an eminent professor used to say, that he did not believe the time ever was when the Almighty reigned over nothing but bull-frogs. The great cosmic agencies act slowly.

Nor is any force added to the objection by the degree of limitation or incompleteness. Wherever the limitation is drawn around the works by which God reveals his glory, it is still a limitation, and the question recurs: "Why not more?" The worm, were it intelligent, would have no right to complain that it is not a quadruped, nor the quadruped that it is not a man, nor the man that he is not an angel, nor the angel that he is not a thousand times greater. Because the divine bounty is inexhaustible, every divine gift suggests the question: "Why not more?"

If this objection is valid, it proves that God cannot reveal himself in finite effects, that is, that God cannot act; in other words, that there is no God. It arises from attempting to scrutinize with the logical understanding the measureless grandeurs which are revealed to faith. Analogous objections would be met by one who should study the starry heavens with a microscope.

2. Dependence on human agency is involved in the historical character of redemption. God's redeeming grace can manifest itself only in human history. But, since it must be in human history, it must advance by human agency, and its advance must be subject to the processes and changes of human history.

3. The same is evident from the nature of redemption. If, indeed, God converts and sanctifies men by sheer almightiness, accumulating souls in his kingdom as one scoops

up sand in a shovel and throws it over a wall, it might reasonably be supposed that he would at once convert and sanctify all. But God's action on man is in harmony with man's mental constitution. "I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love." Therefore human faithfulness or negligence, human willingness or opposition, are to be taken into the account in determining the progress of Christ's kingdom.

4. This intrusting of the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom to human hearts and hands is itself the most beneficent and effective discipline in training Christians to love like Christ. There would be no training of men to the purity, the strength, and the helpfulness of Christlike love, if God by his miraculous energy should establish his kingdom, and leave his redeemed with folded hands to gaze indolently on his work.

We may draw from this fact a lesson for our own guidance as Christian ministers. Since God reveals himself and carries on his work of redemption in human history, laying hold of humanity and working through its thoughts, processes, and development, the same law governs our action in preaching his truth. It is not enough for a preacher to express his own thought and life. If his thoughts and his methods are foreign to the thought and life of the people, he cannot carry them with him, nor advance them in the divine life. The seed must take root in the hearer's heart. He alone preaches with power who grafts his thought on the thought and life of his hearers, and from and by these advances them to higher thought and life.

II. Characteristics of the Human Agency in advancing Christ's Kingdom.

The general principle is that already presented as fundamental in the constitution of the church: "Where the Spirit of God is, there is the church." In all our thinking respecting the human agency in the conversion of the world, we must conceive of the agency of God's Spirit as going

before it and quickening it. "We are laborers together with God." Man's Christian work, in every part and aspect of it, is accordant with the truth which the whole work of redemption expresses: "We love him, because he first loved us."

1. The first characteristic is spontaneity. Paul was thus actuated: "Whereunto I labor, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily." Here is a wonderful accumulation of the strongest Greek words, expressing the intensity of the apostle's action, and the intensity of the Spirit's energy in him quickening the apostle's action: "Whereunto I labor to exhaustion, agonizing, according to his energy energizing in me with might." As if driven by a resistless impulse, he says: "The love of Christ constraineth us"; "Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel."

This zeal is a fire kindled fresh from heaven, enveloping the soul, like the burning bush, ever burning, never consumed. It does not lead its subjects to announce the marvellous work which they are about to do — as if a reformation could be manufactured to order. They do their great deeds in unconsciousness, because their zeal for truth and right, their love to God and man compel. The greatest works in the kingdom of grace, like the majestic movements of the heavens, are marked by stillness, and reveal themselves by their effects. They come up, like the sun, and reveal themselves by their own light.

Luther did not set out to work the Protestant Reformation. In the outset he did not even see the reformation needed. He simply followed the leadings of the Spirit; and before he was aware, behold, the Reformation.

The first settlers of New England exemplify the same truth. It was no expectation of founding an empire, of being enrolled among the benefactors of mankind, "all of them princes to look to," which brought them hither. With hearts yearning for dear old England they came, impelled by the fear of God and the purpose to worship him according

to the dictates of their own consciences. When we see the pilgrims hunting, fishing, digging, suffering, we cannot separate their acts from the glory which has followed; we think of them as acting consciously in the presence of posterity and the foresight of the glorious future. But, in fact, they were buried in a wilderness at the ends of the earth; and as to their future, their concern was, that it should not be to perish by savages or by starvation. Theirs was the stern and suffering toil of poverty, disease, and hardship in every form; and the glory which shone into their unglazed cabins was the glory of Calvary and of heaven. And had it been otherwise, — if, instead of this simple and sublime obedience to the Spirit, they had lived in the foresight of their fame, boasting of the greatness of their mission, — they would not have been the Christian heroes that they were, and the pigmies of this self-conscious age would point at them, and cry: "Art thou, also, become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us?"

Thus history teaches that the power of God, working mightily in the human heart, is the spring of all abiding spiritual power; that it is only as men are constrained by the energy of the inward spiritual life that they do great things for God. It is the spirit of Gordon Hall, who was determined to work his passage to Asia, if he could not go otherwise. It is the spirit which impelled Newell and Judson to create an organization to send them out, when no organization had existed. It is the spirit which moved the Macedonian Christians, who, not waiting to be solicited, sought out an agency through which to expend their gifts, "praying us with much entreaty that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the ministering to the saints."

It is remarkable, in Christ's conception of his kingdom, that he expects the abiding presence of God's Spirit, quickening men to spiritual life; he expects that the enthusiasm of devotedness to God and self-sacrificing love to man, and of fidelity to truth and duty, will be undying powers in

human history, overpowering selfishness and inspiring men to toil and self-denial for others. On these abiding spiritual forces he throws himself without reserve.

This enthusiasm has shown itself a power in the world in all the progress of Christianity. They miserably mistake who calculate the courses and issues of human action with the recognition only of the forces of selfishness, and overlooking the power of the Spirit and the forces of the spiritual life.

2. A second characteristic is the prominence given to the individual as distinguished from the organization. This follows from what has already been said of the prominence of the individual in the constitution of the church.

Isaac Taylor says: "The influence of individual men seems to have ceased almost to make itself felt. The course of events and the progress of opinion is the tide-wave of a mighty ocean, in relation to which the very mention of individual agency would sound like a mockery." This opinion grows out of naturalism — the doctrine that man is but a necessary development of nature. It can never harmonize with Christianity, which always depends on the faith, love, and enterprise of individuals whose hearts God has touched. And it is not a fact. Let a Paul arise to-day, and he will wield Paul's power. It is as true to-day as it was in Paul's day, as true in America as it was in Palestine, that a soul filled with God's Spirit will be mighty through him. The contrary opinion, born of naturalism, is the antagonist of faith and the destroyer of courage and enterprise. We talk sorrowfully of the Elijahs, who once moved the world. Where are the Elishas, who call on the Lord God of Elijah, and divide the waters? Oh for the power of God's Spirit to turn the hearts of his people from looking fearfully one to another for help, from trusting to outward machinery, — "sacrificing to their net and burning incense to their drag," — and to inspire them with personal zeal and enterprise in Christ's work. Great periods and great men have the imprint of the divine seal, and prove God present on

the earth. If we despair of their reappearance, we despair of Christianity. If we suppose that organization and association alone are left us in their place, we suppose that God has abandoned us to our own devices, and that life and growth have given place to mechanism.

It may be objected that we cannot expect every year to be an epoch, and the whole of life to glow with enthusiasm. This is true; yet Christianity accomplishes something like this. It inspires every soul with the faith and love which are the springs of heroism, and ennobles the most commonplace life with consecration, aspiration, and loving service like Christ's.

It may be objected that the office of a settled pastor is widely different from that of a prophet. This is true. God has in every age prophetic spirits — quickened by the Holy Ghost to declare God's wrath against specific sins, and to call his churches to new thoughts and new duties — who cannot be expected to confine themselves to any professional routine. Yet every minister and every Christian is a witness for God, called and qualified to testify for God's truth and righteousness, and to stand against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Every Christian, therefore, is to act in his individuality. He must "attempt great things, and expect great things." One secret of the success of the apostolic church was this spirit of individual love and responsibility. When scattered by persecution, they went everywhere preaching the word. Like Michael's angels, fighting against Satan,

> "Each on himself relied,
> As only in his arm the moment lay
> Of victory."

Such a spirit is essential to success. Pervaded by it, "how should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." Then the hosts of God's people, in their organized and associated assaults on the kingdom of Satan, would be like the angelic army,

> "Though numbered such
> As each divided legion might have seemed
> A numerous host; in strength each armed hand
> A legion."

Without this fire of heaven in individual hearts, associations will be powerless as burning-glasses which concentrate moonbeams.

3. Christianity opens spheres of action adapted to the peculiar proclivity and capacity of every Christian.

Carlyle exclaims: "Blessed is the man who has found his work." And, since man's blessedness is realized not in receiving, so much as in giving; not in indulgence, but in work, blessed indeed is the man who has found a work in which he is conscious that all his faculties are putting themselves forth in their full activity, and all his tastes and aptitudes are fully met.

Every situation, indeed, will bring its chagrins which must be swallowed in silence, and its drudgery which must be toiled through with patience. The world has no patience with the weakling who fills the air with complaints of the hardness and disagreeableness of his work, and especially no patience with complaining and disconsolate ministers. Learn to burn your own smoke, and not pour it forth to make the atmosphere sooty and choking to all around you.

Man is greater than his profession. He is many-sided, many-handed. If one pursuit is not open to him, he can adapt himself to another. Yet the most effective work is that in which the man can most joyfully engage, and in which is consciously satisfied the radical and irrepressible impulse to put forth all his powers in action, and to push forth on every side to the utmost compass of his being.

This adaptation of the individual to his work Christianity permits. Since the Christian work is so broad, since every sphere of human life is to be purified and consecrated to God, there is scope for the highest Christian service to every variety of talent and in every sphere of life. Christianity has great breadth, compass, and flexibility. Its spirit is one

— the spirit of faith and love; its service is as diversified as human life.

In this respect, the Romish church has shown itself wiser than the Protestant. It has provided a sphere for every kind of talent and for every type of Christian life. When Loyola arose, with his fiery zeal, setting forth new ideas and new measures, the church did not drive him into opposition by suspicion and antagonism, but allowed him to work in his own way; and the society which he formed became the ally of the church. When Wesley, with his purer, but not less fiery zeal, arose in the church of England, he was driven out. A certain narrowness and rigidity, a certain inability to recognize Christianity except in a specific type and fashion, has been a weakness of Protestantism from the beginning, and has broken it into sects, until the right of private judgment seems almost to mean the right of each Christian to impose his own private judgment on the whole church of Christ.

Here we may properly glance at the Christian work of woman. In the lives both of Jesus and of the apostles, woman is presented as specially susceptible of spiritual impressions and capable of giving forth Christian influence. This has become proverbial: "Last at the cross, and first at the sepulchre."

Dante's Beatrice may be taken as a type of woman's position and influence according to the Christian conception — the quickener, guide, and exemplar of man in the spiritual life. In her pure presence, in conscious shame at his own impurity, he says:

> "Down fell mine eyes
> On the clear fount; but, there myself espying,
> Recoiled and sought the greensward, such a weight
> Of shame was on my forehead. With a mein
> Of that stern majesty which doth surround
> A mother's presence to her awe-struck child
> She looked.

And again, at her appearance:

> "Suddenly, upon the day appeared
> A day new-risen; as he who had the power
> Had with another sun bedecked the sky.
> Her eyes fast fixed on the eternal spheres,
> Beatrice stood, unmoved; and I, with ken
> Fixed upon her, from upward gaze removed,
> At her aspect such inwardly became
> As Glaucus, when he tasted of the herb
> That made him peer among the ocean gods.
> Words may not tell of that transhuman change."

The Christian desire of purity early deteriorated into the doctrine of the meritoriousness of celibacy and monasticism. This was natural in an age utterly corrupted by heathenism. It may be doubted whether the licentiousness which from the heathen temples began to show itself even in the apostolic churches could have been successfully resisted except by an antagonism as concentrated and one-sided as monasticism. It is not strange, therefore, that in the Christian Fathers we sometimes find expressions of passionate horror at the fascinations of the fair sex.

But the true Christian conception of woman gradually asserted itself. Not to mention the influence of the more directly spiritual teachings of the gospel, the story of Mary the mother of Jesus, the reverence which it created for her, the expression of that reverence in art, taught reverence for woman and for maternity. The truth inherent in the story of Jesus penetrated society even through perversions and errors; as light is light, through whatever medium it may shine.

The principal spheres of action for the majority of women must always be the domestic and the social. In these realms she reigns — "incedit regina." Those whose lives are in these spheres may give personal aid in specific efforts to advance Christ's kingdom. Others may devote themselves entirely to missionary work. Labors of both kinds are commemorated in the New Testament. Joanna, the wife of a high officer under Herod, ministered to Jesus; Dorcas

made clothing for the poor; Lydia opened her house to entertain Paul; Priscilla, Phoebe, and other women were laborers with Paul in the gospel. In modern missions have been women who, by the exaltation of their spiritual lives, by beauty and completeness of character, and by activity in the missionary work, have made their names illustrious. Nothing, during this century, has more than the missionary work exemplified the power of woman, the variety of lines in which she can act effectively, the purity, intensity, and compass of her influence, and thus has illustrated and enlarged the sphere of her activity, and ennobled her in the estimation of man.

4. The human agency in advancing Christ's kingdom demands wise forethought in planning the enterprises to be undertaken, and in judiciously adapting means to ends, and in organizing the agencies to be employed. The doctrine that action must be spontaneous under the inspiration of faith and love, does not mean the disuse of human faculties, but the inspiring of them to intense action. Wisdom and inspiration go together; "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Forethought is no substitute for zeal; but zeal is misdirected without forethought. It has been said that the piety of theological seminaries is all kept packed ready for exportation. This would be forethought shutting out the inspiration of faith and love — the fire going out, while year after year you heap the wood-pile; the wood itself meantime becoming dozy and slow to burn. On the other hand, zeal is not to bring you to a premature beginning of activity, to the exclusion of diligent preparation. You must not grind and bake your seed-wheat. So it is in all Christian life. Christian spontaneity is not quietism, which excludes the vigorous use of the faculties, and waits, inactive, for the heavenly breeze; nor fanaticism, which, because the breeze is fresh, neglects to plan and direct the voyage. Christianity lays hold of all the faculties, and its inspiration quickens them to keener discernment, more far-reaching sight, and more vigorous exertion.

I shall apply this thought principally to the choice of a profession. The remark used to be common, that every pious young man should assume that he ought to be a minister, unless he could show special reasons to the contrary. The same remark is sometimes made respecting the missionary work. But this is a drag-net, which gathers of every kind. No pursuit is absolutely the most useful. We can only say that a particular individual may be most useful in a particular pursuit. Providence, indeed, shuts us up closely, and gives to each but a limited range of selection. But, so far as a man has range of selection, he ought to be able to give some positive reason for his choice — some special adaptation, some inward proclivity, some leading of God's Spirit and providence, something to kindle enthusiasm, and make every man believe that for him his own life-work is the highest and best. This cannot be less true of the choice of the missionary work than of ordinary pursuits. A man must not drift into the missionary work merely because he cannot show any reason to the contrary, but must choose it with a positive conviction of duty and earnestness of purpose which shall concentrate all his energies on his work. It is the last work to enter with a divided heart.

The object of enthusiasm is not generic, but specific. We are taught that Christians must live to do good. Yet I suspect no enthusiasm was ever kindled by any object so indefinite as doing good. The most you can get out of it is a mild and diffused daylight of goodness, — very mild and diffused, — never the direct sunbeams, much less the burning focus of his rays. It is analogous to teaching children: "You must be good, because it is good to be good." Enthusiasm is always about something in particular — specific persons, specific truths and errors, specific virtues and vices, specific ends to be attained.

It is a distinctively Christian idea that a man's work is a *calling*. In determining what is your calling, your subjective state, your inward conviction, drawing, and interest are important considerations. He must be comparatively ineffi-

cient who is obliged to grope his way by the dim light of prudence, with no inward impulse impelling and guiding him. His whole life must be a groping and a stumbling, advancing slowly, pausing often to consider what is the road, mistaking his way, and losing time in retracing his steps. Happy is the man who runs the way of God's commandments, because God has enlarged his heart — his energies concentrated in running towards the goal, not wasted in groping for the way.

Fenelon, giving directions for attaining a higher Christian life, says: "The essential point is only to follow, step by step, the divine grace, with an infinite patience, carefulness, and delicacy. We must limit ourselves to letting God act, and never lay hold of the pure love, except as God by his inward anointing begins to open the heart to that word which is so hard to souls still clinging to self, and so liable to offend them and plunge them into sin. . . . . The genuine simplicity of pure love confines itself to following the divine grace, without ever undertaking to anticipate it." [1]

This is the wisdom of God, though it is foolishness with men. Christianity safely trusts and follows the grace of God, without undertaking to anticipate it. It will be fatal if, in the management of our missions, this fundamental principle is left out. Missions can succeed only as God calls, qualifies, and impels into the work men and women "whose hearts God has touched." The perfunctory services of the ablest and most scholarly persons will be an inefficient substitute.

But this special anointing or call is not miraculous. It connects itself with, and manifests itself through, the special natural endowments, the circumstances and events of the life, the specialties of training, of acquisitions, and of spiritual experience which have turned the attention to the work, forced the question of duty on the mind, given preparation for the work, or awakened interest in it. God's Spirit always acts in harmony with his providence. The call to the

[1] Explication des Maximes des Saints, Art. iii.

missionary work differs from the call to any other only as it is a greater work. In determining whether one is called to this work, the Christian is not to wait for a resistless *afflatus;* but he is carefully to study the leadings of God's Spirit and providence, and by the use of his reason determine his calling.

And here love itself is the light by which the Christian sees. "He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is no occasion of stumbling in him." Self-devoting love is the safeguard against mistake in deciding questions of duty. If the pure light of love is clouded by the mingling of selfish desires; if the motive of action is interest in literature and intellectual culture, or ambition to shine as an orator, or desire to be established in an elegant and refined home, these desires obscure the mind and vitiate its decisions.

Hence the duty of entering a missionary life usually appears less clear at the outset, to one called to it, than afterwards. A young man must decide the question before his entrance to the ministry, before he has attained that stronger and purer faith and love which afterwards shine like a cloudless day upon his life. We can hardly expect, therefore, that the inward call will present itself in the most pronounced form, constraining him beyond all doubt. But the true missionary after entering his field sees more and more clearly that it is the work to which God had called him. Hence that remarkable characteristic of missionaries, their joy in their work, their reluctance to leave it, their eagernesss to return to it, and the rounded fulness of life which they seem to realize. Every one, therefore, who is called to the missionary work, has reason, with Paul, to thank God, who counted him faithful, putting him into the ministry. If that call comes in connection with the man's natural endowments, his education, all the providential circumstances and shaping of his life, and the peculiar leading of the Spirit, then evidently the man and his life have been shaped for the work, and the only possibility for that man

of realizing the harmony, fulness, and blessedness of life, is to follow the Spirit, accept the calling, and do the work. It is idle to let the fear of difficulties and privation bias the decision; for the work to which he is called is the only work in which, for him, blessedness is possible. Here is the significance of the saying: "It is better to be out of the world than out of the path of duty."

The same train of thought applies to the prosecution of missionary work. It cannot be carried on by the impulse of enthusiasm. It demands the highest practical wisdom in planning and administering, the most thoughtful and persistent action in organizing, concentrating and directing the energies of the church.

5. The work of Christian missions and of social renovation, outreaching the scope of the local church, is properly performed through associations of churches or of individuals, such as the spiritual wisdom of Christ's people, taught by the Spirit and providence of God, shall find most effective to meet the exigency of the time and place.

(1.) This is necessary to enable the churches to meet effectively the changes of time and the peculiarities of place. The church is a permanent organization, the same for all countries and for all time. But as Christ's kingdom advances through successive ages and different countries peculiar exigencies arise, demanding work peculiar to the age or people. For this work special and temporary associations are properly organized.

(2.) This is necessary to Christian liberty. It has already been shown that Christianity opens a sphere of action for every Christian to which, by a peculiarity of natural capacity and proclivity, and by the training of God's Spirit and providence, he is specially adapted. On account of these diversities, every Christian cannot be expected to be active in every Christian enterprise. And in the progress of Christ's kingdom Christian action must be directed from time to time into new enterprises, to meet new exigencies as they arise, the importance of which many Chistians will not at once

appreciate. If every enterprise to carry the gospel abroad or to accomplish the renovation of society at home must be carried on by the church as such, this establishes new criterions of fellowship, infringes on the liberty of Christians, and "causes divisions and offences" in the church of Christ.

(3.) Voluntary associations for specific Christian enterprises are accordant with the apostolical constitution of the church as a local or congregational church. If missions and all Christian work must be done by the church in its organic capacity, the local church must be lost in an ecumenical organization. On the contrary, missionary associations are accordant with the constitution, the genius, and spirit of the local church. They are agencies which come into being for a specific purpose. When the work is done, when churches are established no longer needing aid, the missionary association disappears, and the new churches go on with the work.

(4.) The voluntary association accords with the prominence given to the individual in the constitution of the church, and with the spontaneity characteristic of Christian action. It implies, always present in the church, the spiritual wisdom and life, which will discern what Christian work the existing time demands, and will plan the agencies and measures best fitted to accomplish it. The other supposition implies that the church in its organic capacity is to devise, plan, and execute all Christian work, and that the agencies exist organized in it, permanent and unchanged through all time. This necessarily implies that Christian work is not individual and spontaneous, but is given out to be done under orders. The result must be not only the absorption of local churches in an ecumenical church, but also, somewhere, a central permanent power through which the church utters its commands, and in obedience to which all Christians act. An ecumenical church cannot be self-governing. In its very conception it implies a hierarchy.

The supposition that the church in its organic capacity is to plan, direct, and execute all the Christian enterprises

incident to the conversion of the world and the renovation of society is incompatible with the local constitution of the church, and logically involves both an ecumenical church and a hierarchical government.

(5.) The voluntary association is in accordance with the methods of the apostolic missions. They were pre-eminently spontaneous and individual, committing the continued prosecution of the work to the local church so soon as one was gathered on missionary ground.

(6.) It is in accordance with the common practice of the church ever since the apostles' day. Even the Catholic church never assumed to itself as an organization all Christian enterprises. Its missions and other religious work gave birth to innumerable orders and associations called into being for special work to meet the peculiarities of particular ages — orders of monks and nuns, the Sisters of Charity, the Society of Jesus, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and many others, through which the diversified energies of the church found scope for action. It is in accordance with the universal usage of the church that there be Missionary Boards, Bible and Tract Societies, Young Men's Christian Associations, Temperance Societies, and others, giving scope to the diversified energies and interests of Christians, expressing the ideas and meeting the wants of particular localities and times, and disappearing when the specialty which called them forth has passed away.

(7.) This method of administration is recommended by its superior efficiency. This is an inference from what has already been said.

It may be added that the contrary principle, limiting Christian enterprise to what is done through the church as an organization, deprives Christianity of the credit of its indirect influences on society. The church is separated from the state, and ill-adapted to carry on social reform. Enterprises for political and social progress necessarily fall to individuals and voluntary associations, carrying out Christian principles to their remoter applications. But these, not being

recognized as legitimate agencies for Christian action, are thrown into antagonism to the churches, practical morality comes to be separated from religion, and the very influences of political and social renovation which Christianity originated are used as weapons of assault on the churches. This antagonism would be in a great degree avoided, and Christianity have the credit of the indirect influence on society which it actually exerts, if it was understood as accordant with the true conception of the church, that, while it remains from age to age the same, Christian enterprise is always to outreach the organic agency of the church, and enterprises and agencies are in every age to spring up around it, carrying out Christian principles to special applications and by special methods adapted to the exigency of the time.

On the contrary, if the church as an organization attempts this work, it insures a civilization, types of which have repeatedly appeared in history, in which the priestly element is dominant, and the civilization lacks the stimulus, the progressiveness, and the varied development which Christianity gives, and becomes stagnant and monotonous.

Further, the freedom and flexibility and individuality involved in this method are elements of power. "A system which raises the individual to the primary place of religious importance, places him nearest to the supernatural energy of God ..... naturally draws to it minds of marked vigor and trains men in self-subsisting habits." It develops the individual. It inspires him. It works towards the realization of the wish "that all the Lord's people were prophets." It shows its power, not in producing a perfect mechanism directed by one engineer, but in multiplying strong and earnest Christians. And it produces unity of action, not by the mechanical unity of organization, but creating a type of man — men and women acting individually, spontaneously, and earnestly, yet by the formative power of common convictions, and common faith and love, made of one type, so that spontaneous working is working in a spontaneous harmony for one result. Puritanism and Methodism each creates its type

of man. The religion and education of New England have produced a type of man. Plant New Englanders anywhere on the face of the earth and they spontaneously reproduce New England institutions. Such is the action of Christianity. It creates a type of man. Christians of whatever age or country understand each other, and sympathize in the deepest experience and most cherished aim of life. Their real unity is here, and not in the unity of organization.

Thus the church is efficient, because it is alive in every part, and

> "Vital in every part,
> Cannot but by annihilating die."

When any organization passes away, this deathless and all-pervading energy embodies itself anew and works out its great result. Such was the ancient prophecy: "The Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion and upon her assemblies a cloud and smoke by day and the shining of a flaming fire by night."

ARTICLE VI.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING. — THE PUBLIC READING OF SERMONS, AND THE PREACHING OF THEM MEMORITER.

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

[Continued from Vol. xxviii. p. 739.]

§ 3. *The Reading of Sermons in the Pulpit.*

THE plan of elaborate writing, as recommended in a preceding Section,[1] implies that the majority of a preacher's discourses should be delivered extempore. Comparatively few of his sermons will be written. The fact that these are written, however, does not necessarily imply that they are to be read. Not all of them should be. In one of his familiar conversations Mr. Choate remarked: "There is an anecdote of Hamilton, illustrating what I have said of the value of writing as a preparative, in respect to full and deep thought. Hamilton made the greatest argument ever uttered in this country. It was on the law of libel, and by it he stamped upon the mind of this country the principle that in an action for libel *the truth*, if uttered without malice, was a justification. Upon the night previous to the argument he *wrote out* every word of it; *then he tore it up*. He was by writing fully prepared; it lay very fully in his mind; and, not to be cramped and fettered by a precise verbal exactness, he tore it to pieces. *Then* he spoke and conquered."[2] Several ministers of the gospel have adopted a similar course with their written sermons. They acted on the theory that all their words in the pulpit should be spoken rather than read. Does this theory admit no exceptions?

[1] § 2. 1. All the references in this Article to the preceding Articles of this Series are to the Divisions, not the pages.

[2] Parker's Reminiscences, pp. 252, 253.

I. The reading of an entire sermon, or of parts of a sermon, in the pulpit should not be indiscriminately condemned.

1. The prospect of preaching an entire discourse from manuscript is an incentive to the careful writing of it. The plan of repeating it memoriter, or of giving it to the press, may be an equal incentive, but in our country, at least, is not so common. On this topic we will assume, for the sake of convenience, that the minister intends to make the most of himself in every sermon which he writes — to task upon it his intellectual and moral powers.[1] His strength comes from his effort to do justice to a great truth. This effort is expended in selecting the best thoughts, arranging them in the best method, and expressing them in the best words. If he expect to utter these words and thoughts as they are adjusted in his study, he will labor to have them just what they should be. If he expect to utter only the substance, and not the words of what he writes, he will defer the perfecting of it until he feels the inspiration of the pulpit. He will not do to-day what he hopes to do better to-morrow. Therefore he jots down rough hints of his ideas, arranges them in an inapposite order, and clothes them in a slovenly attire. He loses, or never gains, the habit of careful writing. It may be that his discourse will have some grand features; but it will be like the statues of Michaël Angelo left unfinished. We read of a sculptor elaborating the top and back of the head of a statue which was to adorn the summit of a temple, and when asked why he was so punctilious in finishing the parts which no man would ever see, he replied: "The gods will see them." Some ministers may be thus conscientious in perfecting what they compose for the sake of the perfection itself; but others need the stimulus of popular criticism to make them careful. They will write loosely, unless they measure their thoughts and words by the standard which they will be expected to reach. Indolence and procrastination must be resisted by various kinds of motive. Nature must become an aid to grace. A good man may be en-

[1] See § 2. 1 above.

couraged to do his duty by the foresight that he will be known to have done it. Even a martyr when in solitude dies with less dignity than when the crowd is around him.

2. The occasional reading of a discourse, or of certain parts of it, gives a needed variety to the services of the pulpit. It is as useful to vary the methods of preaching as to vary the succession of crops in a field. Having delivered several sermons without notes, the minister may well say, with a meaning more literal than that of the apostle: "I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice." Reading from his manuscript the more critical parts of a discourse, he may deliver the less critical parts in free speech. The change *from* the reading will be grateful to some of his hearers; the change from the free speech *to* the reading will be grateful to others; and perhaps both the changes will be grateful to the majority. "Jucundum nihil est, nisi quod reficit varietas." Always it is well to change from good to better; it is not always ill to change from better to good. Jeremy Taylor says: "He that feasts every day feasts no day. Even a perpetual fulness will make you glad to beg pleasure from emptiness, and variety from poverty or a humble table."

3. The occasional reading of a discourse, in whole or in part, adds emphasis to a preacher's words. It is like an impressive intonation or gesture. The mere act of fixing the eye on the manuscript may, in certain exceptional cases, be virtual speech, and synonymous with saying: "On this subject I do not trust myself to extemporaneous thought. I have weighed my words; you likewise ought to ponder them." This advantage, like the preceding, belongs in a peculiar degree to the reading of *certain* paragraphs or sentences and the free delivery of *other* passages in the same discourse. The reading, because exceptional, awakens the special attention of the hearers. It is a style of elocution which is expressive of an important idea. When Mr. Wirt cited the testimony of a witness, he was wont to take up his paper with much formality, and read to the jury the written

words. In this gesture of holding up his manuscript he virtually said: "You may suspect that in some of my statements I have been inexact; but you cannot suspect me here. I am not trusting to my memory; I wrote the words of the witness precisely as he uttered them; I now read them precisely as I wrote them. You will recognize every word as familiar to you." Why do not other professional men read their words? This question is often asked. They have not the same delicate truths to enforce which the preacher has. Besides, they often do read those words which demand the most punctilious exactness. Lawyers read their most critical sentences. Statesmen read parts of their speeches on the tariff and the finances. Physicians do not abhor written prescriptions.

4. The occasional reading of the whole sermon, or parts of it, may be especially appropriate to certain services of the pulpit.

A. It may be particularly appropriate to the subject and style of the sermon. There is sometimes a solid comfort in listening to a clear, calm discourse read by a sound and discreet thinker. The sense of safety is a real pleasure. When a man is stating grave objections to his doctrine, he seems to be more accurate if he reads the objections than if he repeats them from memory. "Here are the words of the objector. I am not making them up. I am not clothing a civilized opponent with the skin of a wild beast. I take him as he is, and proceed to answer him." A catalogue of biblical names or dates, a nice definition or distinction, a statement which is hazardous although fundamental, a description of future punishment, a sermon which may be suspected of containing personalities or exasperating allusions to political[1] or sectarian strifes may be sometimes more fitly, as well as safely, read than spoken. There are some surgical

[1] A preacher was once accused of denouncing a certain political organization when his manuscript proved that he simply applied, not to the politicians distinctively, but to all unfaithful men of all parties or of no party, the words found in Matt. xxiii. 33. For Robert Hall's method of preaching see § 1. II. above.

operations which a prudent surgeon will not perform without a professional brother by his side. The preacher's manuscript is a faithful mentor to him. After a "minister of the people" had given an extemporaneous description of the atonement, he uttered in his closing prayer the just, but ungraceful confession: "Thou knowest that thy servant has marred and mauled this precious doctrine." Pastor Harms of Hermannsburg held his closed Bible in his hand, as he stood before the pulpit and recited verse by verse of the Psalm which was the lesson of the day, and commented richly on each verse as he repeated it from memory. He then opened the Bible, and read closely and consecutively all the verses which he had recited and explained. The reading of the verses attracted more attention than the recitation of them.[1] It was an appropriate token of reverence for the Word of God. Those ministers who are the most expert in extemporaneous speech illustrate the importance of occasional reading, when they make argumentative (not illustrative) quotations from the Bible. They turn over the leaves of the sacred volume, find (sometimes in a manner too demonstrative) the desired proof-texts, recite them with the eye fastened upon them. The passages might have been recited memoriter; but the reading of them is more fitting, more expressive of respect for the inspired word, more apt to dispel the drowsiness of the audience. The testimony of a prophet is to the preacher what the testimony of a court-witness is to a lawyer. When Mr. Webster, in the Senate of the United States, uttered his solemn protest against the "Expunging Resolutions," he held up his manuscript, read it deliberately and with great majesty. His hearers felt that he was performing an act of historical importance, and was uttering words not only for his contemporaries, but also for posterity. The importance of reading sentences or paragraphs is proportioned to their critical or adventurous nature and the exactness with which they have been elaborated.

[1] Whenever the Bible is read in the pulpit, the look and tones of a *reader* are far more appropriate than those of a declaimer. The *pastor* need not make gestures when the *apostle* is speaking.

B. The reading from a manuscript may be sometimes peculiarly appropriate to the relation subsisting between the preacher and his audience. He may be called to address his superiors on an occasion which demands instructive words. The young man preaching a *Concio ad Clerum*, addressing the teachers and students of the university, the state or national legislature, discoursing in a style necessarily didactic, may depart from his usual method of extemporary speech, and betake himself, not slavishly, to his manuscript. Thus he exhibits a becoming respect for his auditors. They may be accustomed to hear discourses read, may be prejudiced against the other modes of preaching, and may feel the indignity of being instructed extempore by a comparative novice, who might well sit at their feet. Even so fluent an orator as Rufus Choate was accustomed to exhibit, if not to use, his manuscript when he delivered a lyceum lecture; for he regarded the lecture as designed to inform and instruct men who are already intelligent; and therefore he considered himself as violating the rules of decorum if he should appear to be giving them new ideas out of his own unaided resources.[1] Some lecturers and some doctors of divinity have pretended to be reading when they were extemporizing; and if "hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue," these pretences indicate that there is some virtue in reading

[1] Some recent reformers of the pulpit are contending that the occupant of it, instead of discussing the truths of theology, ought to discuss themes of juridical and political science, the principles of casuistry which are to regulate the business "of a broker, or lawyer, or merchant, or railroad man, or banker, or commission merchant." To understand these principles the preacher must have not only "considerable knowledge of human nature, but a wide practical acquaintance with the political economy and customs of many trades and manufactures and of the money-market, and a fair acquaintance with the practice of the courts and with legal history and legal principles," etc. etc. But it is certain that if a clergyman devote himself to the study of these intricate themes he cannot devote himself to the study of theological truth; and if he attempt to instruct merchants, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, railroad officials, in the details of their respective employments, he cannot safely trust himself to unwritten remarks. Such remarks will be often inaccurate; and the laymen who are reproved by him for their misdemeanors will convict him of ignorance as well as condemn him for slander, and the church will be converted into a bear-garden.

a discourse. There are, then, different kinds of exception to the half-forgotten verses:

> "In point of sermons, 'tis confest,
> Our English clergy make the best;
> And, what seems paradox at first,
> They make the best, and preach the worst."

C. The reading of his sermon may be sometimes peculiarly appropriate to the mental or physical state of the preacher. Those who know his condition may be in a painful tremor for him, if he have no manuscript. His health may be such on the morning of the Sabbath, his avocations may have been such during the preceding week, his intellect and his sensibilities may be so unaccountably disordered, that if he speak extempore his thoughts and words will drag, like Pharaoh's chariot-wheels in the mud. Many an aged divine can address an audience in written words more effectively than in what was once indeed *free* speech but is now forced and hesitating. After a preacher had committed his manuscript sermon to the flames in order to force himself into the extemporaneous method, and after he had proved his success on days when he was at the heights, but his want of success on days when he was at the depths, — for he was a man of moods, and shone sometimes as a merely flickering light — he said: "If I had kept my sermons they might have illumined my people when my days were dark." It is sometimes safe, at other times unsafe, to burn the boats when the river is crossed. A few years after the first Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had removed from the pastorate of a church in the country to that of a church in the town, he put into the fire nearly all the sermons which he had written during his country pastorate. They had been composed with great care; but he said: "I found that I was making crutches of them." A crutch is hurtful to a strong man; but who is certain that he will not in time become lame, and will not find it better to walk leaning than to fall down?[1]

[1] We must confess, however, that Dr. Worcester's sermons, although written

Not only when the preacher is in a state of lassitude, but also when in a state of tumultuous excitement, it may be more fitting for him to read a sermon, than trust himself to his fresh emotions. He may be called to deliver a funeral discourse over the remains of a beloved friend; to speak on some recent casualty, which overpowers both himself and his hearers; to preach when his thoughts are drowned in the tide of his feelings; and when he is in danger of losing his power to articulate, or else of uttering incoherent rhapsodies. A manuscript may then save him from sudden shocks of feeling; it may repress new and unhealthy agitations, and guide him over the danger of extravagant remarks, as a bridge would conduct him over a swollen torrent. It may also preserve his auditors from such harassing fears for him as will incapacitate them for heeding his instructions.

D. The reading of a sermon may be especially appropriate to the constitution and general character of a clergyman. Every plant should bring forth fruit after its kind. We should not complain of the fig-tree for not bearing olive berries, nor of the vine for not bearing figs. Every soul, too, must bring forth its fruits according to its own make. Its peculiar constitution is the peculiar call of God to the soul's peculiar form of duties. His call we must respect. A special facility of speech is an indication that the possessor of it should speak extempore. In some rare cases, however, his facility is fatal. The pages of a written sermon are needed now and then to compress his loquacity, as the banks of a river turn a waste of waters into a fertilizing stream. When he occasionally reads a discourse, his hearers expect an unwonted concentration of thought and pay a special heed to him. Unlike a lawyer the pastor speaks habitually on the same class of topics. Hence he is more exposed than

laboriously, were written with too little research. During the first year and a half of his pastorate he had composed a hundred and thirty-four; and during the first two years and a half, two hundred and twenty-four, some of them double although numbered as single, and thus he reached the average of nearly two sermons every week. See Life and Labors of Samuel Worcester, D.D., Vol. i. pp. 206, 207, 394.

a lawyer to fall into a hackneyed strain of address. The occasional reading of a sermon which was written with a design to variegate and freshen his style checks his tendency to excessive repetition. On the other hand, not many, but a few, men are utterly incapable of acquiring a facility in extemporaneous remark. Reading their sermons, they may do eminent service in the pulpit; attempting free speech they perform the best service when they cease from the attempt. Their thoughts are too weighty for unprovided words; their feelings too resistless for connected utterance. As there are some men who cannot by any amount of labor acquire the needed readiness of extemporaneous preaching, so there are some who can acquire it, but not without an unwise expenditure of labor. These few men can accomplish better results if they will apply their toil to other pursuits. They are affluent spirits, and it is difficult to turn their ingots of gold into small coin. We feel that certain masters of thought are in an unfitting position, and they work under a needless disadvantage when they hesitate for the precise word, recall a phrase after they have pained themselves in the selection of it, are so conscientious in their scholarship that they speak with stammering accent, and so fastidious in their taste that they blush in confusion at the verbal infelicities which they are the only persons to detect. In their private study they see with clearness and write with power; but in the presence of unlettered hearers they are like a blind man grinding in the prison-house of the Philistines. They speak with the greater ease, because their manuscript is a kind of surety for them, and the intelligent hearer has more of a pleasant sympathy *with*, than of a painful sympathy *for* them.

Perhaps Bishop Sanderson was one of these exceptional men. When he was Chaplain in ordinary to Charles the First, the king said of him: "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson." This preacher to the conscience had his own sphere of usefulness; he ought not to have abandoned the pulpit, of which

he was a kind of Doric ornament; yet his sermons, as Izaak Walton says, "were the less valued because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the art of it), yet he was punished with such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure (which was in the year 1632), that 'the best sermons that were ever read were never preached.'" [1]

It is often said that Dr. Chalmers, also, was one of these exceptional men who could have been better employed than in laboring to break himself into the methods of extemporary speech. If he had struggled with more perseverance in disciplining himself for these methods we conjecture that he would have improved not only his style of writing but also his style of thinking, have mitigated his prolixity of repetition, and abridged his cumbrous and overladen sentences. On the whole, however, the world is perhaps the gainer by his having employed his energies in writing, rather than in extemporizing, his discourses. The record of his extemporary efforts is a suggestive one. In the year 1813 he was visited by Andrew Fuller, who remarked after leaving the Kilmany Manse: "If that man [Chalmers] would but throw away his papers in the pulpit, he might be king of Scotland." The conversation of Fuller produced a great effect on Chalmers, who wrote in his Journal: "Let me henceforth attempt to extemporize from the pulpit; let me decline all extra-engagements; let me redeem time, and give a steady and systematic direction to my efforts." He made the attempt. His biographer says:

"He read, reflected, jotted down the outlines of a discourse, and then went to the pulpit trusting to the suggestion of the moment for the phraseology he should employ; but he found that the ampler his materials

[1] Old English Prose Authors, Vol. vi. p. 252. Walton's account is the more remarkable, as it is said that Bishop Sanderson had committed to memory all the Odes of Horace, the Offices of Cicero, and a considerable portion of Juvenal and Persius.

were, the more difficult was the utterance. His experience in this respect he used to compare to the familiar phenomenon of a bottle with water in it turned suddenly upside down: the nearly empty bottle discharges itself fluently and at once; the nearly full one labors in the effort, and lets out its contents with jerks and large explosions and sudden stops, as if choked by its own fulness. So it was with Mr. Chalmers in his first efforts at extempore preaching. A twofold impediment lay in the way of his success. It was not easy to light at once upon words or phrases which could give anything like adequate conveyance to convictions so intense as his were; and he could not be satisfied, and with no comfort could he proceed, while an interval so wide remained between the truth as it was felt and the truth as his words had represented it. Over and over again was the effort made to find powerful enough and expressive enough phraseology. But even had this difficulty not existed — even though he had been content with the first suggested words, — he never could be satisfied till he had exhausted every possible way of setting forth the truth, so as to force or to win for it an entrance into the minds of his hearers. So very eager was he at this period of his ministry to communicate the impressions which glowed so fervidly within his own heart, that even when he had a written sermon to deliver, he often, as if dissatisfied with all that he had said, would try at the close to put the matter in simpler words, or present it in other lights, or urge it in more direct and affectionate address. But when the restraints of a written composition were thrown away, when not at the close only, but from the very beginning of his address, this powerful impulse operated, he often found that, instead of getting over the ground marked down in his study to be traversed, the whole allotted time was consumed while yet he was laboring away with the first or second preliminary idea.[1]

5. It is possible to read a discourse in a manner both more natural and impressive than the prevalent manner of men who preach extempore or memoriter. The advocates of the extemporaneous method are apt to compare a preacher who reads ill with one who extemporizes well, and to infer that the extemporaneous method is always the best. It *can* be the best, but in fact is not uniformly so. The opponents of the extemporaneous method are prone to compare the preacher who extemporizes ill with one who reads well, and to infer that the method of reading is always the preferable one. It is not so always, nor generally. Extemporaneous preachers, however, do so often neglect their gift that even

[1] Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, Vol. i, pp. 336–339.

a reader *can* enter the kingdom of eloquence before them. What men commonly call the "preacher's tone" characterizes a large class of extemporizers. They, and also memoriter speakers are often so confused, or so much absorbed in thinking of their words rather than of their themes, that they lose their naturalness of voice and gesture. They hesitate, and keep their eyes directed to the ceiling or a post; while the reader need not hesitate, as his eyes are fastened to his manuscript. He *can* be exempt from all fear of losing his train of thought, or of verbal lapses, and *can* be more free in his speech than *are* many timorous extemporizers. A Vandenhoff can read Shakespeare more effectively than most men *do* recite it memoriter.[1] Mr. Emerson can repeat his notes of a lecture more impressively than most men do lecture without notes. "But this," you reply, "is saying very little." True, but it is saying enough to dissuade a religious scholar from refusing to preach on the ground of his inability to extemporize. Such a man as Joseph Butler[2] may be encouraged to enter the ministry by the fact that it is even *easier* to attain the power of reading a discourse well

[1] When this accomplished elocutionist "was *reading* from a scene in Byron's 'Cain,' and picturing the frightful remorse of the murderer, the dreadful truth of Abel's death flashed upon his mind, and in an agony of soul he summoned around him, to witness the awful deed, his father, mother, and wife, with the thrilling exclamation — 'Father! mother! Ada! Zillah! come hither! — *Death* is in the world!' This passage was given with an energy of truth so fearful as to send a thrill of horror to the very soul; and one young man who had been gazing intently and kindling to a pitch of uncontrollable excitement, as the last clause — 'Death is in the world' — was uttered, fell senseless to the floor!" "As to my personal experience," says a celebrated rhetorician, "I shall frankly tell you what I know to be a fact. I have tried both ways; I continued long in the practise of repeating, and was even thought (if people did not very much deceive me) to succeed in it; but I am absolutely certain that I can give more energy, and preserve the attention of the hearers better, to what I read, than ever it was in my power to do to what I repeated."—Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Pulpit Eloquence.

[2] There must be various gradations of ministers, as there are different hierarchies in heaven. Alluding to Bishop Butler, Mainwaring says: "I cannot but wish, that, as there is so great an abundance of the practical sort, some sermons were written chiefly with a view to *readers*, and those, too, persons of an improved taste and cultivated minds."

than of uttering it well without reading. This is only asserting that it is easier to read a sermon than to compose it while uttering it, or to retain the whole of it in the memory while each part of it is spoken.

II. The reading of sermons in the pulpit may be more or less useful as it is more or less intermingled with extempore and memoriter preaching. — Not what a man can do, but what he will do; not what is abstractedly the best method of preaching, but what is the best method that will probably be adopted — this is the practical question. The truth is, that careful writing may facilitate natural reading, and natural reading may help to turn extemporary singing into speech. Varieties in the methods of elocution improve each other. Throughout a single sermon a reader may keep his mind in a fit state for extemporizing, and may intercalate remarks which suddenly occur to him. Thus he borrows aid from the extemporary method. He may so familiarize himself with his manuscript that a glance at a single word will remind him of an entire sentence, and thus he borrows from the memoriter method. There is a free reading, as well as free speaking; the reading with supplements and omissions; the reading of what is half remembered; and this results most easily from the practice of preaching some sermons with, and some without, notes.

"What a lawyer was spoiled when Davies took the pulpit," was said of the man so often called "the prince of American preachers." He was indebted for this title to his habit of intermingling the three fundamental methods of discourse. It is said in his biography:

"He wrote and prepared his sermons with great care." They "were printed [verbatim] from the very manuscripts which he used in the pulpit." "But his memory was such, and the frequent use he was permitted to make of the same sermon rendered it so familiar, that he was never trammelled in his delivery. Though this was his common practice, yet he would sometimes extemporize to very happy effect. One of his confidential elders once said to him: 'Mr. Davies, how is it that you, who are so well-informed on all theological subjects, and can express yourself with

so much ease and readiness upon any subject and in any company, and have language so at your command, should think it necessary to prepare and write your sermons with so much care, and take your notes into the pulpit, and make such constant use of them? Why do you not, like many other preachers, oftener preach extempore?' Mr. Davies's reply was this: 'I always thought it to be a most awful thing to go into the pulpit, and there speak nonsense in the name of God. Besides, when I have an opportunity of preparing, and neglect to do so, I am afraid to look up to God for assistance; for that would be to ask him to countenance my negligence. But when I am evidently called upon to preach, and have had no opportunity to make suitable preparation, if I see it clearly to be my duty, I am not afraid to try to preach extempore, and I can with confidence look up to God for assistance.'"[1]

III. The practice of reading sermons in the pulpit cannot be adopted as the general one without lessening the preacher's influence.

1. It requires too much writing — too much for the health of the writer, who, bending too long over his writing-desk, induces the pectoral disorders so detrimental to popular eloquence; too much for his mental and moral progress, which, as we have seen in a previous Section,[2] requires "*non multa, sed multum*"; too much for his rhetorical improvement, which is accelerated by the thoughtful writing of a few sermons, as it is retarded by the careless writing of many, and which demands a skill in extemporary eloquence as a stimulus to the exact and energetic study of a written discourse. Robert Hall is credited with the saying that 'a genius can write one sermon in a month; a man of talent, one in a fortnight; an ordinary man, one in a week; a fool, two in a week.' That 'one sermon in a month' would not be a finished one, unless the writer were disciplining himself, meanwhile, in extemporary address.

2. If the reading be energetic, it is apt to impair the vision of the preacher; especially when his manuscript, written in haste, is in a corresponding degree illegible, and when his pulpit is darkened by clouds or by covered or painted win-

[1] Dr. Hill's Account, in Barnes's Life and Times of Pres. Davies, pp. 31, 32.
[2] § 2. 1.

dows; it is also apt to injure his vocal organs, especially when he adopts the constrained position of a close reader, and his larynx is compressed and tortured by his bent form.

3 The public reading of his sermons disqualifies the minister for the full use of his corporeal powers. These may be pictures of the truth which he exhibits. He may illustrate his thoughts by them, as by diagrams. The old description of a preacher is: "Vivida in eo omnia fuerunt; vivida vox, vividi occuli, vividi manus, gestus omnes vividi." But the reader must sometimes turn his lively eye upon his papers, must employ his lively hand in holding or turning them, must give his head in part to his chirography, and not wholly to his auditors. He speaks of the stars of heaven while he is watching his interlined phrases. He exclaims: "Behold the morning sun," while he bends over a blotted paragraph. The face is the speech of the body, and the eye is the emphasis of the face; and when this is habitually concealed from the spectators, they lose the full meaning of what they hear.

4. Hence we remark that the uniform habit of reading sermons degenerates easily into an inapposite, stupid, vicious delivery. We must remember that we are concerned with not only the powers of a man, but also his prevailing tendencies. While we admit that a preacher who never extemporizes *can* read his discourse so easily and naturally that it may appear to be extemporaneous, we must confess that only a few preachers *will* do so, and still fewer will do so uniformly. Unless a preacher's reading be modified by his extemporaneous addresses, it will, in the general, become inflexible and monotonous. So it has been; so it is now. "Dull as a parson," "stupid as a sermon," are phrases suggested by the close reading of homilies. It is unfair to adduce extreme instances of vicious elocution, as if they were inevitable to a reader; but it is fair to mention them as illustrating the tendencies of his habit. He must, for example, keep his place in the manuscript, and therefore keep his eye or his finger, or both, on the wrong object.

A few years ago an excellent writer was reading in his pulpit the words: "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall." When he spoke of the heavens he made a sweeping gesture, as if he would brush the skies away, with his left hand; but he kept a sharp lookout for his papers; he kept his right hand fixed upon them, and seemed to feel that what he had written must be held fast, whatever became of the heavens. Since the preceding sentences were penned, a fine scholar was reading in the pulpit an exhortation to instant repentance. But he must turn over the leaves of his manuscript, and, while he was saying: "My heart's desire is to see," he turned over two leaves instead of one, lost his place — what was he desiring to see? — "you instantly," he added; but the critical instant had already fled; and then, finding the right page, he subjoined, "begin a new course of life." Did any man ever change his course under the influence of such a broken sentence? While the president of a New England college, was preaching on the text, "Take heed how ye hear," he read, in a fixed monotone, the following sentence: "If a man should knock at your window in the night, and cry, 'fire, fire; the building is on fire, be quick, no time to be lost,' would you say, 'what a voice that man has, I do not like his tones, he does not make graceful gestures'?" This was the monotonous question. The honest answer must have been: "Yes; if a man should really come to my window at dead of night, and hold the president's paper in his hand, and read the president's identical words, 'fire, fire,' with no other tones and gestures than those which the president employed, we should either repeat the president's criticisms upon the man, or else infer that the man was in sport, if not insane." It is easy to say that each of these faults is an abuse of the reading method, and may be avoided. This is true. It is not so much the actual fault, as the tendency to it, which we now consider.

5. Hence we add that the practice of reading sermons, if it be uniform, is liable to deadening forms of abuse. Is not every other method, if uniform, liable to perversion? Yes;

therefore the intermingling of different methods is the safest. Not only is the habitual reader apt to be somnolent and somnific in his manner, but also inopportune in his matter. He fails to speak the word in season. He fails to gain the power of adapting his paragraphs, written in one mood, to the exigencies of his hearers, who are in a different mood. The children whispering in the gallery above, their fathers sleeping in the pews below, a sudden commotion in the sanctuary, a rumored casualty in the streets, may render some of his written sentences obsolete, and may require some fresh words fitly spoken. Although he may not lapse so far as to express gratitude for the fine weather while it is storming, or joy in the stillness of the Sabbath while it is thundering, yet he often expresses thoughts which he would modify if he could extemporize. His slight infelicities are perhaps unnoticed; but they are felt; and sometimes he falls into extravagances of unfitness. He writes a sermon at the seaside, and years afterward preaches it in the heart of the country, where he endeavors to dissuade his hearers from usages which are unknown to them. He exhorts young men against wasting their time at the confectionary; for his exhortation was written long ago in a village where there really was such a tempting institution. One of the brightest of living scholars stated, while preaching in the year 1853, that the infidelity of the age was a main cause of the revolutions *then* raging in Europe. He forgot that his sermon was written five years before, when his statements were true. A German informs us of a pulpit reader who alluded to the plague which had recently broken out in his parish. Being asked where it had appeared, he was startled, and said: "In my sermon." It need not be replied that there is no danger of such monstrous blunders. In a discourse on a critical theme, a slight error may be enormous. It is not the error, it is the tendency to it, which belongs to the human nature of an habitual reader. His practice exposes him to a hebetude which facilitates some degree of ill-timed allusion; an immobility which prevents him from rectifying

a sentence which he begins to utter before he detects its inaptness. Sometimes he becomes so dependent on his notes that, if some of them be misplaced, or if the light on the pulpit be too dim, or if his chirography be illegible, he must close the service with the apostolic benediction.

IV. The rules for the public reading of sermons are suggested by the fact that it should be modified by the other methods of delivery. — The manuscript should be written in large characters, so as to be easily legible; it should be held in such a position that the reader may without a motion of his head turn his eye from the paper to the congregation; it should be so familiar to him that he may look at his hearers during the larger part of his address; he should so engrave some passages on his memory that in uttering them he may be independent of his paper; he should have such a mastery of it, and of his theme, and of himself, that he may vary his words in conformity with the varying exigencies of his hearers. It is an interesting fact that some of the best rules for reading sermons have been given by Cotton Mather. He says:

"If you must have your notes before you in your preaching, and it be needful for you, *de scripto dicere*, what even some of the most famous orators, both among the Grecians and among the Romans did (Pliny says: Orationes et nostri quidam et Graeci lectitaverunt), yet let there be with you a distinction between the neat using of notes and the dull reading of them. Keep up the air and life of speaking, and put not off your hearers with an heavy reading to them. How can you demand of them to remember much of what you bring to them, when you remember nothing of it yourself? Besides, by reading all you say, you will so cramp and stunt all ability for speaking that you will be unable to make an handsome speech on any occasion. What I, therefore, advise you to, is: Let your notes be little other than a quiver, on which you may cast your eye now and then, to see what arrow is to be next fetched from thence; and then, with your eye as much as may be on them whom you speak to, let it be shot away, with a vivacity becoming one in earnest for to have the truths well entertained with the auditory."[1]

[1] Manuductio ad Ministerium. Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry, pp. 105, 106.

As we should not have expected such valuable rules from Cotton Mather, neither should we have imagined that Dean Swift would anticipate, as he has done, the suggestions of modern elocutionists. He says:

"I knew a clergyman of some distinction, who appeared to deliver his sermon without looking into his notes, which when I complimented him upon, he assured me he could not repeat six lines; but his method was to write the whole sermon in a large, plain hand, with all the forms of margin, paragraph, marked page, and the like; then on Sunday morning he took care to run it over five or six times, which he could do in an hour; and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his face from one side to the other, he would (in his own expression) pick up the lines, and cheat his people by making them believe he had it all by heart.[1] He farther added, that whenever he happened by neglect to omit any of these circumstances, the vogue of the parish was, 'our doctor gave us but an indifferent sermon to-day.' Now among us, many clergymen act so directly contrary to this method, that from a habit of saving time and paper (which they acquired at the university), they write in so diminutive a manner, with such frequent blots and interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual hesitations, or extemporary expletives."

"You will observe some clergymen with their heads held down from the beginning to the end, within an inch of the cushion, to read what is hardly legible; which, beside the untoward manner, hinders them from making the best advantage of their voice: others again have a trick of popping up and down every moment from their paper to the audience, like an idle school-boy on a repetition day. Let me entreat you, therefore, to add one half-crown a year to the article of paper; to transcribe your sermons in as large and plain a manner as you can; and either make no interlineations, or change the whole leaf; for we, your hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering, which I take to be one of the worst solecisms in rhetoric. And lastly, read your sermon once or twice a day for a few days before you preach it; to which you will probably answer some years hence 'that it was but just finished when the last bell rang to church;' and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you."[2]

The only rule, however, which can redeem the reading of a sermon from the charge of artificial and perfunctory address is this: Cherish a deep religious interest in your words when you read them in public; even a profounder interest than

[1] See for a different method of simulation § 3. I. 4. B. above. Mr. Edward Everett when preaching memoriter adopted a still different method.

[2] British Classics, Vol. viii. pp. 14, 15.

you felt when you wrote them in private. The old remark is: your discourse is the offspring of your mind and heart. It was born with pangs of thought and emotion. It must be delivered in the pulpit with the same, or greater travail of soul. We have been told that every sermon must be born again when preached again. "Perhaps once in three or four months," said President Davies, "I preach in some measure as I could wish; that is, I preach as in the sight of God, and as if I were to step from the pulpit to the supreme tribunal. I *feel* my subject. I melt into tears, or I shudder with horror, when I denounce the terrors of the Lord. I glow; I soar in sacred ecstasies, when the love of Jesus is my theme, and, as Mr. Baxter was wont to express it, in lines more striking to me than all the fine poetry in the world,

> "I preach as if I ne'er should preach again;
> And as a dying man to dying men."

§ 4. *Preaching Memoriter.*

The practice of committing a sermon to memory, and reading it as thus committed, has high authority in its favor. Some men have adopted the practice without recognizing it. Many preachers who are called revivalists, many agents of charitable societies, have delivered their sermons so often that they could not avoid uttering them memoriter. Whitefield is said to have preached more than eighteen thousand times;[1] but the different sermons which he preached were comparatively few. He did not feel that he had full command of a discourse, until he had preached it the fortieth time. Then, however, it was in some degree committed to memory. A similar remark may be made of certain discourses preached by Dr. J. M. Mason, Dr. E. D. Griffin. In Scotland, and still more Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy, the common practice has been to preach memoriter; not partly or virtually so, as the American practice has often been, but entirely, professedly, and formally so. "In a

[1] See the inscription on Whitefield's Cenotaph, as recorded in Dr. Gillie's Memoirs of Whitefield, Hartford edition, 1851, p. 221.

period of general declension in reference to morals and religion, a royal mandate was issued to forbid the practice of reading sermons. The following prohibition of King Charles the Second is said to be on record in the statute-book of the University of Cambridge:

"'To the Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen. — Whereas his Majesty is informed that the practice of reading sermons is generally taken up by the preachers before the University, and therefore sometimes continued before himself: his Majesty has commanded me to signify to you his pleasure that the said practice, which took its beginning from the disorders of the late times, be wholly laid aside, and that the said preachers deliver their sermons, both in Latin and English, by memory, without book, as being a way of preaching which his Majesty judges most agreeable to the use of all foreign churches, to the customs of the University heretofore, and to the nature and intention of that holy exercise. And that his Majesty's commands in these premises may be duly regarded and observed, his further pleasure is, that the names of all such ecclesiastical persons as shall continue the present supine and slothful way of preaching be from time to time signified to me by the Vice-Chancellor for the time, on pain of his Majesty's displeasure.

(Signed) MONMOUTH.'"

When we think that the method of repeating a sermon from memory has been more generally adopted than any other one, we feel the importance of treating it not only with attention, but also with respect.

I. Some men have a call from heaven to preach memoriter. They are endued with such a power of recollection that they can discourse more naturally in this method than in any other. We are familiar with the statements that Cyrus could retain the name of every soldier in his army; Themistocles, of every citizen of Athens; Napoleon Bonaparte, of every important place where the various detachments of his soldiers would halt or fight during a protracted campaign.

We are familiar with the marvellous feats of memory performed by Gassendi, Galileo, Michael Angelo, Bolingbroke, Porson, and other eminent scholars; with the exploits of unlettered men, as of the young Corsican who listened only once to the recital of hundreds[1] of names, then repeated all of them in the same order in which he heard them, and afterward repeated them backward; of a plain man in Edinburgh, another in London, another in New York, who could on any day commit to memory all the paragraphs, and even advertisements, of the morning's newspaper. There is said to be still living an ignorant *cicerone*, who points out to strangers the wonders of a German cathedral, and is fluent in his English, Russian, Italian, Spanish, and French descriptions of its pillars, capitals, architraves, entablatures, arches, pictures, statues, relics, and yet does not understand a word of the five languages in which he entertains the visitors, but has merely learned and repeats his descriptions by the unintelligent effort of memory. Many clergymen, as Hales, Bates, Warburton, have been endued with a power equally marvellous. Dr. Parkhurst gave to Bishop Jewell some of the most difficult words which he could find; Bishop Hooper gave him forty Welsh, Irish, and foreign words, and Jewell, after reading them once or twice, repeated them forward and backward with perfect accuracy. Whatever he had once written, he could recite at any subsequent period. By one perusal of a sermon he could so impress it on his memory as to be able to repeat it without hesitation. There are many living clergymen who need only peruse a sermon *twice* on Sabbath morning and they can repeat it fluently in the pulpit on that day; at any subsequent time, they need only peruse that sermon *once*, and they can recite it *verbatim et literatim* as originally written. There are some living clergymen who need not write the discourse which they desire to remember, but, after having excogitated it, they can retain and preach it one or two years afterward, without any perceptible deviation from their first ideal. David Hume

[1] The report says, "thousands" instead of hundreds.

had an exalted opinion of his contemporary, the Archbishop of Toulouse. He said that he had heard the Archbishop "repeat an elegant oration of an hour and a quarter in length, which he had never written";[1] that he was in the habit of composing and correcting his discourses without writing them. Only a small number of men have this memorable genius. A larger number can make some approximation to it. Such men are elected to speak memoriter; if not always, yet on fit occasions; if not throughout the *whole* discourse, yet through a *part* of it.

II. The majority of preachers, although not specially fitted for speaking memoriter, may wisely cultivate the power of doing so. They may be overburdened by the effort of recalling an entire sermon, but they can easily hold in their recollection the more important paragraphs of it. They have facilities for improving their retentive power, even if it be not strong by nature. They can grasp with great tenacity the expressions which interest their feelings. I once knew an illiterate cobbler who in secular affairs evinced no special power of memory, but was so enamored of the New Testament that he remembered the whole of it. If the number of any verse in any chapter were stated to him, he could repeat the words of it, and if the words were repeated to him, he could state, not only the chapter and verse where they were to be found, but also the words prefixed as a title to the chapter. On the same principle, many a clergyman who has no special readiness or retentiveness in committing to memory the statements of scientists or historians, can easily recollect the emotional addresses in which his hearers will feel a peculiar interest, or such appeals to conscience as arouse his own sensibilities. Preachers who possess, or who can readily acquire this facility of recollection should adopt *some degree* of the memoriter method.

It is often objected, and there is a truth in the objection, that a preacher aiming to remember his discourse for one

[1] Life and Correspondence of David Hume, Vol. ii. p. 497.

Sabbath will forget it on the next day. The memory is a mysterious power, retaining for an occasion what is committed to it for that occasion, and refusing to do service when the time for which it was employed has gone by. It adopts a kind of legerdemain by which it will retain for a year, or for life, what was given to it for so lengthened a period. In learning a sermon by heart, the minister should adopt those principles of association by which the sermon will remain in his heart long after it has been recited. It is an encouraging truth that, sometimes, he will hold in his remembrance the thoughts and arrangements of his sermon when he will have forgotten the time and place, and even the fact of having written it. In the year 1846 a clergyman wrote a discourse for an important anniversary, and in the year 1857 was called to write another discourse for the recurring anniversary of the same institution. On comparing the second sermon with the first, he was surprised to find that the text of both was the same, the proposition and the divisions were identical, the thoughts and more than half the expressions were so nearly alike that a critic would suppose him to have intentionally made his second sermon an improved copy of the first. The substance of the sermon which he wrote eleven years before, he *recollected* but did not *recognize*. He retained not only the thoughts but also the phrases of it, but did not identify them as once familiar to him. Indeed, an author has been known to compose a treatise in defence of a theory, and twenty years afterward to compose a treatise in opposition to that same theory, and to cite and refute in his second treatise the identical arguments which he had advanced in the first, and during all this controversy, to forget that he, himself, was the original author to whom he had become the antagonist. Such facts remind us that a discourse will often linger when the history of it has lost its place in the memory which once held it. It will do good when it has ceased to be acknowledged. So true is it that, in the words of Bishop Hall, even the imperfect memory is "the Great Keeper and Master of the Rolls of the soul."

III. The advantages of the memoriter method to those who can pursue it without undue toil, are the following:

1. A man who has no more than an ordinary power of memory will feel an inducement to make his discourse a rich one if he know that he is to learn it by heart. Dr. Beattie supposes that, commonly, a minister must spend two days in thus learning his discourse. Nothing but an iron law will make a wise man spend a third of his time in committing to memory what he spent only two thirds of it in composing. His wisdom will prompt him to occupy, at least, as many weeks in writing as days in learning his discourse. He will strive to obtain clear thoughts, to arrange them in their natural order, to express them in apt words; for in this manner he will most readily recall them, and will retain them most surely. It is true that some preachers resort to artificial modes of recollecting their discourses, but the most far-seeing men will prefer the philosophical order of thought as the best system of mnemonics.[1] The sermons of Reinhard are marvellous exhibitions of the "lucid order" extending to the structure of paragraphs, sentences, clauses. He would never have arranged them in such a luminous method, had he not been forced by the usage of his church to learn them by heart. His exact arrangement is a great excellence; he purchased it, however, at an exorbitant price. If he had ordinarily extemporized, and occasionally written sermons with the intent of committing them to memory, he would have added more than he has done to the wealth of the pulpit; for he would have spent more time in amassing

[1] "One of the most ancient [schemes of artificial memory] consisted in associating the divisions of a discourse to be delivered with the various apartments of a building, and the leading sentiments with articles of furniture. This is said to have been much practised by the ancient orators, and to have given rise to the phraseology by which we speak of the divisions of a discourse, as the first *place*, the second *place*, etc. I have repeatedly made experiments on this method in remembering the discourses of public speakers, and the effect is certainly astonishing; for though it is many years since the experiments were made, I still find articles of furniture associated in the clearest manner with sentiments delivered by some of the speakers." — Abercrombie's "Intellectual Powers," p. 107.

materials, and less in preparing them for temporary use. He was not one of those preachers whose constitution is a call from heaven to preach memoriter. On the morning of every Monday he began to commit to memory the sermon which he had written during the preceding week. He devoted the first busy hour of every day to this effort, and publicly recited the sermon on the next Sabbath. During the same week he was preparing another sermon which he was to begin to learn by heart on the succeeding Monday.[1] "I applied," he says "every spare moment I could find during the week, particularly dressing time, to gradually committing my sermon to memory, in order that I might be able to deliver it without embarrassment. That under such circumstances, I found this part of my duty the hardest I had to perform, is a confession you will naturally expect. Indeed with the most conscientious diligence and care in this respect, I could not avoid letting many things slip in the delivery, and often entirely destroying a well constructed period, by substituting new and ill-adapted expressions instead of the ones which had originally been selected; nor have I been able by constant exercise, to remedy this natural defect of my memory; for it costs me now as much trouble as it did at first to take up everything when I preach exactly in the order in which it was conceived and written."[2]

2. A minister may enrich himself by permanently lodging in his mind the sound thoughts, apposite phrases, combined in the logical order and glowing with the pious sentiment, of a well-studied sermon. Even if they escape his *local* and *technical* memory they will leave an impress on his mind, as oriental spices leave their aroma in the vase which held them. They will breathe a new spirit into his extemporaneous sermons. The precise terms expressing definite thoughts, the living words denoting fervid emotion, will form a standard by which his unwritten discourses will be regulated. One thoroughly written and thoroughly committed sermon will preach itself over again and again, but in such a way as

[1] Memoirs and Confessions of Reinhard, pp. 153 sq. [2] Ibid. Letter viii.

to avoid the semblance of repetition. In some respects it is better for a clergyman to collect in his memory the gems of other men ;[1] but there is danger that he may incur the charge of displaying borrowed treasures. In some respects it is better for him to engrave on his memory his own thoughts in his own adjustments of them. The gold which he has coined in his private mint he can circulate without fear. Sherlock might well have learned by heart his paragraph: "Go to your natural religion," etc. South would not have wasted his time if he had committed to memory his page beginning with, "Next, for the lightsome passion of joy." Jeremy Taylor might have repeated, not unwisely, what so many men and school-boys have since recited: "For so have I seen a lark rising," etc. Bishop Butler would have improved his style in general if he had kept himself familiar with his own words: "You have changed sides, then. Keep to this: Be consistent with yourselves," etc. What a man originates in his higher state has a normal influence over him in his lower. The paragraph of Massillon: "I figure to myself that our last hour is come ;" or that of Robert Hall: "Eternity, it is surely not necessary to remind you," etc., must have raised each of those preachers to a high vantage ground, whenever he repeated it.

3. By occasionally preaching memoriter a man may avoid the evil habits which he would acquire if he uniformly read, or uniformly extemporized, his sermons. He learns to avoid the stiffness of a close reader. In his remembered speech he enjoys some of the advantages resulting from free speech. He has command of his eye and his arms, he can walk to and fro on the platform; he may stand erect and escape

[1] Nearly all the great orators of the world have disciplined themselves in committing to memory choice passages by which their style of thinking or of writing has been improved. At the early age of fourteen Lord Mansfield "knew a large part of Sallust and Horace by heart." Lord Erskine not only committed to memory a large part of Milton, but was so familiar with Shakespeare that "he would almost, like Porson, have held conversation on all subjects for days together in the phrases of the great English dramatist." – Select British Eloquence, pp. 143, 630.

those injuries to the larynx and the bronchia which are sometimes incurred by the speaker inclining his head over his notes. He also learns to avoid the faults of the man who merely extemporizes. He learns the importance of shunning all loose diction, rant, and verbiage. The very fact that he carefully writes a sermon and carefully enstamps it on his memory tends to form a habit of concise and pertinent expression. The greater his number of useless words, so much the harder must be his work in recollecting them. The more precise his phrases are, the more easily are they recalled. His interests require him to have thoughts which his people can remember; for so he best remembers them himself. His interests require him also to associate his thoughts with words and tones adapted to their end; for, this fitness of his speech to produce the impression which he designs is a kind of mnemonic art, helping him to retain the proper words in their proper places. Some hearers have imagined a pulpit orator to be freely reading a discourse; others have imagined the same orator to be extemporizing the same discourse; and still others have seen that he was expert in recalling what he had written, and was combining the excellences of the reader with those of the free speaker, and shunning the faults of both.

4. In committing a discourse to memory the preacher acquires a useful discipline of mind. A soldier is trained to various kinds of gymnastic exercise, and finds them all advantageous, although some of them are seldom resorted to in the hour of battle. He leaps over trenches and lofty bars, and thus prepares himself for the special emergencies of war. The elocutionist stands on one foot, or speaks with pebbles in his mouth, and so he learns to stand and to speak with the greater ease on the rostrum. If a man do not intend to preach memoriter often, he may acquire a valuable gymnastic discipline by so preaching occasionally. In this discipline he strengthens his memory; it need not be the memory for mere words, it may also be the memory for their philosophical arrangements. The power of retaining words, however, is

by no means useless, for they are the instruments of his effectiveness. "The culture of expression," says Mr. Choate, "should be a *specific study*, quite distinct from the invention of thought. Language and its elements, words, are to be mastered by direct, earnest labor. A speaker ought *daily* to exercise and *air* his vocabulary, and also to add to and enrich it. *Translation* should be pursued with these *two objects*, to bring up to the mind and employ all the words you already *own*, and to tax and *torment* invention and discovery and the very deepest memory, for additional, rich, and admirably expressive words." [1] The power of retaining these words is augmented, for it is required by the discipline of recollecting a lengthened discourse without the help of a manuscript. "In regard to memory," says Dr. Abercrombie "it is remarkable how much its power is increased in many instances by that kind of exercise by which it is alone trusted to, without any aid from writing. I have known medical men, for example, who had to recollect numerous appointments, do so with perfect accuracy by trusting to memory, to which they had habituated themselves, but blunder continually when they kept a written memorandum. The mental power which is in some cases acquired by constant and intense exercise is indeed astonishing. Bloomfield, the poet, relates of himself, that nearly one-half of his poem, the Farmer's Boy, was composed, revised, and corrected, without writing a word of it, while he was at work with other shoemakers in a garret." [2] The utility of Bloomfield's power to what is called an "extemporaneous" preacher, cannot be overestimated.

Not only is the facility of recalling words improved by the use of it in preaching without a manuscript, but also the power of self-control. A man must exercise, and thus increase, his power of abstraction, of governing his thoughts and feelings, when he concentrates his mind upon his sermon so as to recollect its well-ordered phrases in the presence of a miscellaneous assemblage. During the ringing of the bell

[1] Parker's Reminiscences, pp. 248, 249. [2] Intellectual Powers, p. 115.

for public worship Bishop Jewell could so imprint the chief topics of his sermon on his memory that he said: "If ten thousand people were fighting and quarrelling all the while I was preaching, they could not confuse me." Many preachers have so little control over themselves that they cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer correctly before their people. Some cannot even remember the biblical form of the benediction. One main advantage of memoriter preaching consists in its training the preacher to a command over the phraseology of the Bible. Some of his sermons are biblical in their style. Engraving them upon his memory, he impresses many precious texts upon it. If he can learn by heart a sermon, he can learn an Epistle of the New Testament. Wise men have disciplined themselves in acquiring a familiarity with the language of the Bible, not only for the sake of improving the diction of their written, as well as extemporary, sermons, but also for the sake of their spiritual growth. On his death-bed James Brainerd Taylor found an inexpressible relief in the choice texts which he had laid up in the storehouse of his mind. He had made it a rule to treasure up in his memory some portion of the scriptures every night before retiring to rest. When he was examined for liberty to preach the gospel, one who was present said of him: "I never heard any man quote the sacred scriptures with such fluency for the confirmation of his doctrinal views, as the questions were successively proposed to him." Dr. Chalmers, at the age of thirty-one, writes: "I finished my perusal of the New Testament a few days ago, and began it again, at the rate of a chapter every week-day, with the particular view of committing the most remarkable passages to memory." [1]

IV. In proportion to the weakness of the preacher's memory should be his caution in attempting to speak memoriter. Bishop Hall says that "the same thoughts do commonly meet us in the same places, as if we had left them there till our return." Sometimes, however, they are truant.

[1] Memoirs of Chalmers, Vol. i. p. 218.

Atterbury writes to Pope: "If you have not read the verses lately, I am sure you remember them, because you forget nothing." When a man who forgets nothing recites a sermon, his facile words are impressive; but when he is laboring to recall his discourse, he drawls, hesitates, stammers, repeats his words, as a boy runs back in order to make a fresh leap. True, he has the use of his arms; but they swing convulsively and without meaning. His eye is in full view; but, although it is called the open window of the soul, it has now a gauze curtain hanging before it. Introspective, retrospective, it betrays no sympathy with the audience; it does not glisten with love or hope, but is darkened with fear. In his naïve way, Izaak Walton says of the judicious Hooker: "His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal and a humble voice, his eyes always fixed in one place to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake."[1] When the preacher is studying as he speaks, his hearers will be looking out of the window. The Mohammedans in the mosque are attentive to everything rather than their Iman, who stands uttering words which he is struggling to remember; his body being visible, but his mind buried in the absent Koran.

If the preacher's retentive power be too frail to be trusted with the whole discourse, he may still deliver a part of it memoriter; for he may hold securely a few select paragraphs, although he would break down under the weight of many. An accurate elocution requires him, employing the figure of "vision," to extend the arm, elevate the head, direct his eye into the distance; then he needs to be entirely independent of his papers. As he addresses the Supreme Being, he will appear irreverent unless he look upward and concentrate his mind upon the heavens, rather than divide it between the heavens and his ink-sketches. In pronouncing such addresses, Theremin deemed the memoriter form of "eloquence a virtue."

[1] Life of Richard Hooker, p. 90.

Sometimes a preacher is able in his study to recollect the entire sermon, and still in the pulpit delivers it from manuscript; as a musician, although quite familiar with the notes of a symphony, yet, while he is rendering them in public, feels the safer if he has them before his eye. This diffident man can read *and* remember more successfully than he can either read *or* remember alone. He is less effective than an accomplished extemporaneous speaker, but more effective than an ill-trained one. He does not attain the height which is easily reached by some who preach memoriter; but he rises higher than one who reads slavishly or remembers hesitatingly. He does not soar like the eagle; he does not creep like the snail; but like the ostrich he runs the faster because he has wings to assist his feet. There are some preachers who with all their effort can never do more than, as Macaulay says of Dryden, "attain the first place in the second rank" of their profession.[1]

V. Rules for the memoriter preacher. These may be arranged under the following classes:

1. In learning a sermon by heart take opportunities to improve it. Sometimes, perhaps, you have written what you yourself do not fully understand, and therefore cannot easily remember. Make it plain to your own mind and you will be able to recite it so as to make it plain to your hearers. Sometimes, perhaps, you do not perceive the reasons for the arrangement of your thoughts; perhaps you have no reasons for it; perhaps you have no philosophical arrangement. Then change the order of your ideas; make it easy to be recalled; so it will be more impressive upon your hearers as well as upon yourself. Many a sentence may be made the more emphatic, by so adjusting its clauses that one will sug-

[1] Macaulay's Miscellanies, Vol. i. p. 169. "The first rank in poetry was beyond his [Dryden's] reach, but he challenged and secured the most honorable place in the second. His imagination resembled the wings of the ostrich. It enabled him to run, though not to soar. When he attempted the highest flights, he became ridiculous; but while he remained in a lower region, he outstripped all competitors."

gest the other. The elder Pitt committed to memory some of Dr. Barrow's sermons. If Barrow, himself, had undertaken to commit them, he would have given them more of that excellence which in the present age is regarded as the chief one — brevity.

2. In learning your discourse by heart keep yourself in sympathy with its doctrine and sentiment. Make your exercise a discipline not in mere words, but in thought and feeling. Cultivate an argumentative spirit, when you are storing away the argument in your mind. Cherish the appropriate emotions when you are learning to repeat an appeal to the sensibilities. Bring your hearers before you in ideal presence, and then put forth the same affections which you will have when they are in your real presence. This will require a lively imagination, but without this imagination a man will never be an effective preacher to the people.

3. Diversify your methods of committing your discourse to memory. First of all, enter into a sympathy with its spirit, but sometimes repeat it rapidly with prominent attention to the sequence of words. Now recite it without audible speech; then recite it aloud. Associate its thought and sentiment with the fitting tones and gestures. Let the delivery of it in the pulpit be no *strange* performance. Let the thoughts suggest each other. Let the words as *seen* suggest the thoughts; let the intonations as *heard* suggest the words: let the gestures as *felt* deepen the impression of the whole upon your mind. A fourfold cord is not quickly broken. The question is often asked, At what time shall a discourse be committed to memory? The answers which are given are these: Repeat the sermon soon after waking from sleep, when the mind is peculiarly receptive, a *tabula rasa;* repeat the sermon immediately before retiring to sleep, and let it sink into the mind during the still hours of night, — sometimes a dream will hold it fast; repeat the sermon when the mind is most vigorous and will grasp it with tenacity; repeat the sermon when the thoughts are exposed to frequent interruption, and thus habituate yourself to the chance as-

sociations of the pulpit; repeat the sermon in your study-chamber and in the market-place, and thus be prepared for any and every emergency. While it is true that no one rule is applicable to all persons, it is also true that all of these rules are often useful for one and the same person. The fact that some preachers entirely forget a discourse on the day after they have recited it memoriter, often results from the fact that they commit it to memory in only one state of mind and never can recall it in any other state. A man who can remember a collection of words when he is sitting solitary amid his books, may be unable to remember it when he is called to associate ideas and emotions with it before an audience. We have read the tale (ideally true) of a young Scotch candidate, who was called to deliver his first sermon when his aged mother was present. He recited his text, opened his mouth, and held it open, but not a word came out of it, and speechless he retired from the pulpit. The contrast between his position in the sanctuary and his position in the study struck him dumb for a short time. Dr. Abercrombie narrates the following incident: "A distinguished theatrical performer, in consequence of the sudden illness of another actor, had occasion to prepare himself, on very short notice, for a part which was entirely new to him; and the part was long and rather difficult. He acquired it in a very short time, and went through it with perfect accuracy, but immediately after the performance forgot every word of it. Characters which he had acquired in a more deliberate manner he never forgets, but can perform them at any time without a moment's preparation; but in regard to the character now mentioned, there was the farther and very singular fact, that though he has repeatedly performed it since that time, he has been obliged each time to prepare it anew, and has never acquired in regard to it that facility which is familiar to him in other instances. When questioned respecting the mental process which he employed the first time he performed this part, he says, that he lost sight entirely of the audience, and seemed to have nothing before him but

the pages of the book from which he had learned it; and that if anything had occurred to interrupt this illusion, he should have stopped instantly."[1]

4. Adopt stringent measures for riveting your attention upon your sermon. Some men before attempting to store a sermon in the memory, discipline themselves upon a mathematical demonstration. Others, after having once recited a discourse in private, utter it in conversational tones to a friend. There are clergymen who have what Roger Ascham calls a "good memory,"[2] and need nothing more in learning a sermon by heart than to rewrite it with care. In the simple process of transcribing it they so fasten their attention upon it, that they engrave it deeply on their minds, and can immediately preach it without, as easily as with, their manuscript. Seneca records of Portius Latro that he remembered everything which he had once written down; other men, thinking that what they have written is secure, pay no further attention to it, and forget it. There are clergymen who have no special gift of recollection, yet have such a love for the truths which they have arranged in a sermon, that they can attend to it with constant delight, and thus hold it with a quick and strong grasp in their memory. Here, as elsewhere, a pious heart is the source of true eloquence.

5. Cherish a hearty interest in the truth as the truth of God, and a trust in his Spirit, who will accompany his word with his blessing. Love to the truth facilitates the recollection of it. There is more reason for saying that a man will remember what he loves to remember, than for saying that he will believe what he loves to believe. Trust in God gives confidence in speaking of him, and this confidence frees the memory from confusion. Remembering himself, a man forgets his sermon. Concerned about his personal success, he learns slowly, and can no more retain what he has

[1] Intellectual Powers (Harpers' edition), p. 92.

[2] "A good memory is well-known by three properties: that is, if it be quick in receyving, sure in keping, and redie in delivering furthe again" — Scholemaster.

learned than if he had eaten the lotus. A blunder in the pulpit perturbs him. If he care more for his subject than for his own fame, he will be serene amid all the mortifying mistakes which he may have made; he will not go back and correct an error for the mere purpose of saving his own reputation. A performer in the orchestra, if he mistake a note, need not go back and correct his error, protracting the jar. A racer who stumbles need not retrace his steps and show that he can run with a sure foot; for so he merely delays reaching the goal. If a minister's aim is to do good, rather than to speak well, he will not rectify his mistake, unless he have uttered either heresy or nonsense.

6. While committing your discourse to memory, aim to commit it for a lengthened period. This secret intention will have a secret though wonderful influence on the methods of associating your ideas. It connects them with great principles which will never be forgotten. It is like a sleight of hand, which works when it is not understood.

7. Commit your discourse to memory by short sections, rather than by attempting to learn the whole at once. The simpler the arrangement of the entire discourse, so much the more readily will it be remembered. One section, being devoted to a single train of thought, may be easily impressed on the mind, and will suggest the other sections with which it is indissolubly connected. The various sections, like the stones of an arch, may keep each other in place. Such men as Dräseke, having habituated themselves to the exercise, are enabled to repeat their sermons by reading them only once immediately before entering the pulpit. A clergyman "has often told me," says Dr. Beattie, "that when he commenced preaching, it was the labor of many days to get his sermon by heart, but that by long practice he has now improved his memory to such a pitch that he can by two hours' application fix one in his mind so effectually as to be able to recite it in public, without the change, omission, or transposition of the smallest word." [1] But whatever may be said

[1] Works, Vol. i. p. 74.

of experts in the art, the general truth is that the memory is weakened, rather than strengthened, by the attempt to gain in one effort the command of an entire sermon. Even Mr. Edward Everett, when he entered the clerical office, learned by heart only one page of his sermon at a time; when he left that profession he could learn the entire sermon by reading it over twice.

8. Although your main care should be to associate your ideas on philosophical principles, yet you need not altogether refuse the aid of a local or artificial memory. In every age men have made some use of some mnemonic system. They have often carried their artifices to a ridiculous and even injurious excess; but a wise man can derive some benefit from principles which have been sanctioned by Cicero and Quintilian.[1] After justly disparaging the formal schemes of mnemonics, Schott insists on one method of bringing the eye into the service of the memory. He urges the importance of the preacher's writing his sermon on as little paper as is consistent with a clear, legible chirography, on his introducing no interlineations, marginal corrections, or erasures; marking

[1] The earliest known system of artificial memory (Ars Memoriae) was invented, according to some, by Simonides of Ceos; according to others by Hippias of Elis. After its invention it was improved by Hippias, Metrodorus, and Theodectes. Aristotle wrote a work (now lost) upon the Mnemonic art. The Roman rhetoricians had their own Ars Mnemonica, associating the main topics of a discourse with the rooms (*loci*) of a house, and the subordinate topics with the articles (*imagines*) in each room. Jerome and Augustine allude to this device, although it does not appear that the Church Fathers practised it in their homilies. Thomas Aquinas also makes mention of it. Raymund Lulle, in the fourteenth century, prepared a new and scientific system of Mnemonics; Schenkel and Sommer in the sixteenth century introduced a modification of the Greek and Roman systems. Dieterich published at Hamburgh in 1696 a Mnemonic Art, especially adapted to preachers. About the beginning of the present century Gräffe wrote an Essay on the psychological principles of the art, as applicable to the pulpit; Aretin wrote his Treatise on "The true Idea and Use of Mnemonics" in 1804; on the theory of Mnemonics, in 1806; a similar work in 1810; Kästner published the second edition of his system of Mnemonics in 1805, and in 1826 was published his "Guide to the practice of committing sermons to memory quickly and surely." During the last fifty years the systems of Mnemonics have been multiplied in Germany, France, and England. See Schott's Theorie der Beredsamkeit, III. ss. 358–363.

the more important transitions by visible signs; underscoring the more suggestive words, and designating the most important phrases by double lines or lines of red ink; dividing the sermon into conspicuous paragraphs; and thus making the entire manuscript a picture of the entire train of thought, using the *places* and *images* of the chirography as the ancients used the rooms and furniture of the house.[1]

9. Take your manuscript with you into the pulpit. You may need it for security, even if you do not need it for safety. It may serve the same purpose as a rope to an expert climber on the Matterhorn, or a life-preserver to an athletic swimmer in the sea. Even a Garrick, who is called to repeat only a few passages, and those perhaps for the hundredth time, has an assistant who may prompt him if he err. In the general, an American divine will not pronounce an entire discourse from memory, except on some rare occasion. For the sake of memorizing a scene, he may commit to memory his sermon. Being unaccustomed to the effort, the knowledge that his manuscript is near him may prevent his own perturbation of mind, and may relieve his hearers from suspense. Mr. Albert Barnes, when called to address a distinguished assembly at a signal time, laid his notes upon the open Bible, and then recited his sermon memoriter. He thus manifested a respect for his hearers, and kept them, as well as himself, at ease. Hortensius, who at evening recollected all the articles purchased during an entire day, all the prices paid for them, and the names of all the purchasers at a public sale which he attended, might speak hour after hour without the danger of needing a parchment; but he is not a standard for other men.

10. In applying any rule for preaching memoriter, consult your own idiosyncrasies. If you do not *follow* them, you ought to *notice* them, and adapt the rule in a greater or less degree

[1] Theorie der Beredsamkeit, Band III. ss. 364, 365. Dr. Beattie in his Treatise on Memory devotes three pages to the mode of penmanship "most expedient for those who write with a view to ascertain their knowledge and improve their minds"—Works, Vol. i. pp. 37–40, 70.

to them. Some rhetoricians prescribe that a man who is to preach memoriter should familiarize himself with his discourse immediately before he enters the pulpit; but there are clergymen who would so overburden their memory by this labor that they would hesitate and falter in their pulpit effort. Other rhetoricians prescribe that he should not oppress his retentive power by mentally reciting his discourse on the day of his public repetition of it; but there are men who could not recollect their sermon unless they had disciplined themselves by mentally rehearsing it immediately before preaching it. Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind. The general rule is that a man should preach with his eyes open; but there is an impressive pulpit orator in Germany who cannot preserve the mastery over his thoughts unless his eyes be closed. Charles Butler says: "It is remarkable that Bourdaloue, who had no action, and spoke, though distinctly, very rapidly, with his eyes almost closed and with little inflection of voice, was a decided advocate for the sermon's being prepared with great attention, learned by heart, and exactly spoken as it was committed to paper; while Massillon, whose action was both elegant and vehement, and Father de la Rue, more celebrated for action than any other preacher in France, maintained the contrary opinion. Father Segaud (himself a preacher of eminence), thought Fenelon's sermons were evidently the worse for their want of preparation. He admitted that they contained splendid and beautiful passages, but thought the effect of them was destroyed by the weakness of other passages. Father Segaud, however, listened to Fenelon with the cool attention of a critic. The flock of Fenelon heard him with other ears. To them he was the good shepherd, who knew his flock, whom his flock knew, and whose voice they loved."[1]

[1] Life of Fenelon, pp. 203, 204.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

System of Christian Certitude.[1] — The aim of this work is to set forth the ground of Christian certitude and the mode in which it is arrived at in the actual experience of Christian believers. The following detached quotations will give our readers some notion of its scope and tendency: "The Christian possesses Christian certitude in that, and in so far as, he believes; and he can lose this certitude only by losing his Christianity." "His certitude is not always and at all points equally strong. It may be shaken, and that to such a degree as that all that constituted the real content and ground of his faith shall seem to have become totally uncertain. In such circumstances two courses are open to him — either his faith retains its hold on its object, though greatly beaten down, and then his temporary uncertainty will be seen by degrees to be a delusion; or he falls back into his natural state, — a result which is produced by spiritual unfaithfulness, *never* by intellectual difficulties alone, — and then he actually loses his certitude by losing his Christianity." Now, wherein consists this certitude? The inquiry here attempted differs from that of the apologies of Christianity in that, instead of aiming to *produce* Christian certitude, it *presupposes* its existence, and seeks only to give a scientific account and justification thereof. It differs, also, from the philosophy of religion (Religionsphilosophie), in that it is specifically theological, whereas the philosophy of religion seeks to establish the truth and necessity of Christianity by philosophical methods. Its difference from systematic theology the author describes as follows: "The system of Christian certitude has to do, of course, with the doctrines of dogmatics, because its object is to show the certainty of Christian truth. But whereas dogmatics views the system of Christian truth objectively, as an organic complex of articles of faith, our aim is to discover the point on which Christian certitude, the subjective guaranty of Christian truth as a reality, ultimately rests." Dogmatics presupposes an object about which the doctrine is formed, say, for example, God. Wherein consists the certainty that there is such an object? The proofs for his existence, some will say. This certainty is common to the unregenerate and the regenerate; nay more, sometimes the unregenerate may have a stronger appreciation of its force than the regenerate. Yet the latter has a certainty of his own, which differs

[1] System der christlichen Gewissheit. Von Dr. F. H. R. Frank. Erlangen: A. Deichert. 1870.

from and is higher than that which he shares with the natural mind. So of all other Christian truths. This view is the subject of the author's inquiry, and an exceedingly interesting and important one it is. Whilst we agree with much that he advances, and find his suppositions and arguments often very suggestive, we cannot say that we have felt ourselves always satisfied. Perhaps it is our own fault. Perhaps one reason is that the style of the book is long-winded. The present volume (the first) deals with the following parts of the subject: 1. The Determination of the Task undertaken; 2. The Nature of Certitude in general; 3. Specifically Christian Certitude; 4. Antagonistic Elements; 5. Christian Certitude in its Relation to the Immanent Objects of Faith; 6. The Antagonism of Rationalism; 7. Christian Certitude in Relation to the Transcendental Objects of Faith; 8. The Antagonism of Pantheism.

We commend the work to the careful attention of our German scholars. We know of no subject more deserving of investigation in these days of positivism; and Dr. Frank's is the only attempt at a scientific solution of the problem with which we are acquainted.

History of Jesus of Nazareth.[1] — Of the first volume of this new Life of Jesus we gave a long notice in the Bibliotheca Sacra for April, 1869, pp. 373–381. Since that time three other volumes or parts have appeared, entitled, respectively: The Galilean Spring; The Galilean Storms; The Messianic March. The principles pursued in these later parts are the same as those laid down in the first; and yet, somehow or other, we lay down these parts with greater dissatisfaction than the first. There was more construction in the first; here there is more criticism. We shall not now attempt to give a detailed view of the results set forth, for we should require a volume to do that; but will give our readers a specimen or two of this author's treatment of the miracles. Of the miracles of the loaves and fishes the explanation is adopted which Paulus advanced and Ewald has approved, namely, that through the influence and management of Jesus, the well-to-do Galileans and others of the entire neighborhood were induced to provide the thousands with a frugal repast, which was made to appear more complete and satisfactory than it was in reality by the good humor and sociality that prevailed. The miracle of Cana of Galilee he considers would be quite unworthy of Jesus, if he had performed it, and would lay him open to the charge on which Venturini laid stress, that he was a "glutton and winebibber." He accordingly calls the narrative in question. The account of Christ's walking on the sea is explained away into a kind of allegory: The sea is an image of life; Job spoke of God's walking on the sea; perhaps, too, Jesus may at some time or other

[1] Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesammtleben Seines Volkes frei untersucht u. ausführlich erzählt von Dr. T. Keim. Zürich: Orell and Co. 1870–1871. Three Volumes.

have said that faith would enable any one to walk on the sea, just as he said it would enable him to cast mountains into the sea; and in this way the story may have arisen. And so on. We must confess we find these so-called critical discussions altogether dreary and unreal. They make one feel as though by such methods one would be able to be persuaded that blue is yellow, and yellow red, and anything anything else; nay, more, that one is one's self nothing, or, at all events, nothing fixed — "everything by turns, and nothing long."

Where the miraculous element does not come in to give Dr. Keim a wrong direction, his remarks are frequently acute and suggestive, if not fully satisfactory. When finished, Dr. Keim's will certainly be the ablest attempt to write a Life of Jesus, without a denial of the supernatural in principle, but with its almost complete denial in practice, that has hitherto been produced. It is characterized, also, by considerable warmth, though we imagine there is not quite so much as one of the chapters of the first volume would have led us to anticipate.

CHILIASM.[1] — Dr. Volck, Professor of Theology at the University of Dorpat, here undertakes to defend Chiliasm against the attacks, in particular, of his colleague, Professor Keil, contained in the latter's Commentary on Ezekiel. Keil interprets the prophecies which relate to Israel and the land of Canaan typically. Dr. Volck says: "No; Israel as a nation has a vocation in the history of redemption, and that not only for Old Testament, but also for New Testament times. If we recognize the prerogative given by God to Israel, we must also recognize the significance of the land of Canaan; for it was bestowed in order to the fulfilment of the vocation. The unbelief of Israel has led to his loss of the kingdom; but a time will come when the people, as a people, will turn to God and thus bring about the consummation of the great history of redemption." We do not accept these views ourselves, but must allow that Dr. Volck expounds them with force and in a very fair spirit, especially toward his antagonist, Keil. The ablest essays we know on the subject of the Messianic prophecies are those by Professor Riehm of the University of Halle, printed in the "Studien und Kritiken" for the years 1865 and 1869. He takes neither Keil's nor Volck's view, but pursues an independent course.

COMMENTARY ON THE PROPHETS HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, AND MALACHI.[2] — As is usual, at the present day, the author of this Commentary discusses, in his prolegomena, The Literature; the Historical Circumstances or Background of the Prophecies; the Language; the Composition

[1] Der Chiliasmus seiner neuesten Bestreitung gegenüber. Von Dr. W. Volck. Dorpat: Gläser. 1870. Price, 24 sgr.

[2] Commentar zu den Schriften der Propheten Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi. Von W. Pressel. Gotha: Schlöszmann. 1870. Price, 2 Thaler.

of the Three Writings and the Authorship of the Last Three Chapters of Zechariah. He assigns the first eight chapters to a post-exile prophet; the last six to Zechariah, the friend of Isaiah, as their author, and to the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah as their date — and that on account of the text, not merely on account of the style and diction. The commentary proper consists of a new translation, exegetical remarks, fundamental theological ideas, and homiletic suggestions. The work is commended as a reverential and thorough, though free and unbiased, contribution to the understanding of these difficult portions of the Old Testament.

Deutschland *(Germany)*.[1] — The first volume or number of a new periodical, intended to appear at irregular intervals (we believe), under the editorship of Dr. Hoffmann, the well-known court chaplain in Berlin. It will somewhat resemble the American and English quarterlies, only, as might be anticipated, will be larger. The present volume comprises four hundred and thirty pages. Its contents are: Introductory Words, by the Editor; a German Letter to the Princes of Germany, by Germanus Sincerus; an essay on Idealism and Realism, by von Bethmann-Hollweg; one on The History of the Establishment of the German Zollverein; another by the Editor, on The Causes of the Present Alienation from the Church in Germany; one on Goethe and German Women, by a lady; and finally, one on Natural Science and the Bible, by Fürer. The volume is almost more than solid. The two essays by Fürer and the editor deserve special attention.

The Sufferings of Messiah.[2] — In this work the author undertakes to show, in opposition to rationalistic Christianity and modern Judaism, that the doctrine of a suffering Messiah forms a genuine part of the Old Testament; and that not only the early Christian church, but also the old Jewish synagogue, in all its undisputed productions, — the Talmudic Haggadah, the Midrashim, and the more recent Sohar and Jalkut, — give expression to this conviction. It is divided into two parts; the first of which contains the proofs from the Old Testament, in two sections, treating, respectively, of the doctrine of the bloody sacrifices of the Bible, and of the verbal prophecies of a suffering and dying Messiah. The second part adduces and discusses the passages from the Talmud and the Midrashim which bear upon a suffering and dying Messiah. An appendix contains an examination of the later Jewish doctrine of a double Messiah — Messias ben-Joseph (or even ben-Ephraim), and Messias ben-David; the former living in poverty and misery, and at last dying; the latter undying, and ruling his people in everlasting glory.

[1] Deutschland. Eine periodische Schrift zur Beleuchtung deutschen Lebens in Staat, Gesellschaft, etc. Berlin: Stilke and Co. 1870. Price, 2 Thaler.

[2] Die Leiden des Messias in ihrer Uebereinstimmung mit der Lehre des A. T. und den Aussprüchen der Rabbinen, etc. Leipzig: Fues. 1870. Price 1 Thaler.

With regard to the bloody sacrifices of the Old Testament, he says that their design was propitiatory, and that there was connected with them the idea of a *satisfactio vicaria*. Hence the Jews, after the destruction of the Temple, were in the habit, in their prayers in the synagogue, of deeply bewailing the cessation of the Levitical sacrifices, and even of beseeching God to accept the diminution of their own fat and blood caused by fasting as a substitute for sacrifices. Hence, too, the prayers for the re-establishment of sacrifices, the longing for an intercessor, — yea, even for the *intercessio patriarcharum*, — and the sacrifice of a cock on the evening before the great day of atonement by orthodox Jews even down to the present day. The passages from Jewish writings are accompanied by a German translation, and are exceedingly interesting. Dr. Wünsche may be fairly said to have established his point, and thus to have rendered a good service to theology.

The Social and Economic Legislation of the Old Testament.[1] — A splendid subject is the one that Herr Kübel has undertaken to discuss. To our mind it is a great pity that theologians, and especially preachers, do not more frequently and prominently set forth the regulations, social, political, and politico-economical, laid down in the Old Testament. We should, perhaps, find that whatever is good in Adam Smith and Carey, and the rest of our political economists, had been to a large extent anticipated in that despised old book, the Bible, and that what they advanced of new was scarcely good. The work is divided into five chapters, treating, 1. The Political and Social Constitution of the Israelitish Nation; 2. Property and Gain; 3. Poor and Rich; 4. Labor and Laborers; 5. Taxes and the Public Service. The author makes constant references to modern arrangements and ideas.

B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by Rev. F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. I. Part 1. Genesis–Exodus. 8vo. pp. 928. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

We suppose that most readers are familiar with the history of this Commentary, so that there is no necessity for its being given here. This work possesses an advantage over certain other works of the same class, with which it would be quite natural to compare it, in that it is not a translation but was prepared by English scholars for the use of English readers.

[1] Die Sociale und volkswirthschaftliche Gesetzgebung des alten Testaments unter Berücksichtigung moderner Anschauungen. Wiesbaden: Niedner. 1870. Price, 16 sgr.

It is hence much more readable; its meaning is much more readily apprehended.

If asked whether it will satisfy thoroughly the wants of critical scholars, we may, perhaps, be obliged to answer in the negative; but we might add, by way of apology, that it was not prepared for the purpose of meeting these wants. It appeared to the Speaker of the English House of Commons, by whom the idea of this work was first suggested, "that there was a want of some commentary in which the latest information might be made accessible to men of ordinary culture." This purpose it answers as well, in our judgment, as any other work of the kind.

We have been at the pains of examining, with a good deal of care, what is said in this work in regard to several matters, which have of late been warmly discussed. As already hinted, we do not find any exhaustive treatment of such points; yet we do find, on the whole, a sufficiently fair presentation of them, with such an account of the arguments on opposite sides, as to enable the judicious reader to form a safe and correct conclusion. In the Introduction, for instance, considerable space is taken up with a discussion of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch; and while we think the point conclusively proved, a good deal is said which does not add anything to the strength of the argument. The argument would be much more forcible, if condensed into a shorter space.

The Commentary deals with scientific points in a candid and liberal spirit. It makes concessions sufficiently large, and yet nothing is advanced that conflicts with just theories of inspiration. It is admitted that the phrase "In the beginning," in Gen. i. may cover a period of time of indefinite length; that the word "day," in the same chapter, is not to be taken in its ordinary meaning, and thus the earth might have been brought into its present form without the operations of any other than natural causes. The flood is represented as having been sent for the purpose of effecting the destruction of the human race, and there is hence no necessity for supposing it to have extended beyond those portions of the earth's surface which were inhabited by men. We give these as illustrations of the manner in which certain difficult questions are dealt with in this work. Without aiming at the highest excellences of biblical commentary, this work, we repeat, will accomplish a very good purpose. It is one which ministers and intelligent laymen can consult with much profit.

Biblical Commentary on the Psalms. By Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis, Leipsic. Translated from the German (from the Second Edition, Revised throughout) by the Rev. Francis Bolton, B.A., Prizeman in Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the University of London. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. pp. 428 and 420. Edinburgh T. and T. Clark. 1871.

The reading of this work will awaken in some minds a grave doubt as

to the desirableness of its having been published in its present form. They may raise no question as to the general correctness of the opinions which it sets forth, or the eminent qualifications of Dr. Delitzsch as a biblical scholar; yet they will ask, whether it would not have been as well to let his Commentary remain untranslated. There are, or ought to be, ministers enough by whom it could be read in the original; and the many things it contains which ought to be known, would in this way soon be promulgated. We must admit that few readers will have the patience to give this work anything like a thorough perusal. Its style, though the words are English, is still so thoroughly German; it costs so much effort, in many cases, to find out the meaning intended to be conveyed, that the work may by even a plurality of readers be laid down in despair. Perhaps it would have been better to attempt a *transfusion* rather than a *translation* of the work, to put Dr. Delitzsch's thoughts into a purely English form, and so make the work more attractive to the many, and less repulsive to even the superficial.

Nothing we have said has been meant to intimate any doubt as to the substantial merits of Dr. Delitzsch's Commentary. The Commentary proper is preceded by an Introduction of considerable length, giving, among other matters a valuable history of the exposition of the Psalms, and laying down also certain theological considerations by which an interpreter of the Psalms should be guided. The whole spirit of the work is decidedly evangelical and in this respect superior to the great work of Hupfeld. More prominence is given to the Messianic idea running through the Psalms than is usual; far more than in such commentaries as that of Professor Addison Alexander. Its views of sin, as developed, among other places, in the notes on the fifty-first Psalm, are deep and scriptural. The translations of the Psalms strike us as on the whole very happy. They altogether excel those of the American commentator just named. We cannot see, indeed, any adequate reason why in these translations the words Elohim and Jahve (Jehovah) should be used in the place of their ordinary English equivalents. In what respects, we ask, is the following rendering of Ps. lxxx. 5:

> "Jahve Elohim Tsebaôth,
> How long wilt thou be angry when thy people pray."

preferable to the ordinary version? Is the meaning of the verse made any clearer or more impressive?

A Key to the Pentateuch, explanatory of the Text and the Grammatical Forms. By Solomon Deutsch, A.M., Ph. D.; Author of "A New Practical Hebrew Grammar." Part I. Genesis. New York: Holt and Williams. 1871.

Deutsch's "Practical Hebrew Grammar" has been favorably known to the public since 1868. The present work is intended to aid beginners in

Hebrew who, having acquired some knowledge of the grammatical principles of the language, wish to pass to the reading of the Bible. The Key is designed to serve the office of a Lexicon, every word that occurs for the first time in any particular conjugation being translated in the form in which it appears, and referred to its ground form, as far as the necessity of the case requires. The grammatical analysis is aided by references to the appropriate sections of the Grammar; and explanatory notes are also added, where this is made necessary by any peculiarity in the form or syntactical connection of a word. A valuable collection of Paradigms is added. The work is well adapted to the end proposed by the author; and will be particularly serviceable to students who are not able to command the help of a teacher. The present part contains the book of Genesis, to be followed by two more parts devoted to the remainder of the Pentateuch.

The Training of the Twelve; or, Passages out of the Gospels. Exhibiting the Twelve Disciples of Jesus Christ under Discipline for the Apostleship. By the Rev. Alexander Balmain Bruce, Broughty Ferry. 8vo. pp. 548. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

This volume is divided into thirty-one chapters, each of which was probably an expository sermon, as each indicates the aim of a preacher, rather than a mere essayist. The chapters contain many good specimens of the pulpit expository style; particularly the chapters on Current Opinion and Eternal Truth; The Transfiguration; The Anointing in Bethany; O Jerusalem, Jerusalem; The Master serving; In Memoriam. They are written in a clear style and enriched with classical quotations; although sometimes they are too intensely figurative, as on pp. 329, 330. They betray the writer's familiarity with the German expositors, particularly with Hoffmann. The various scenes in our Lord's life are depicted graphically, as far as they illustrate the education of the apostles. The writer glides easily from narrative to doctrinal statements. Thus, on pp. 308, 309, he describes Mary's waste of the ointment, and represents Jesus as defending himself while defending her, and "answering by anticipation such questions as these: To what purpose weep over doomed Jerusalem? Why sorrow for souls that are after all to perish? Why trouble himself about men not elected to salvation? Why command his gospel to be preached to every creature, with an emphasis which seems to say he wishes every one to be saved, when he knows only a definite number will believe the report? Why not confine his sympathies and his solicitudes to those who shall be effectually benefited by them? Why not restrict his love to the channel of the covenant? Why allow it to overflow the embankments, like a river in full flood?" The author then proceeds to make such statements as are commonly made by the advocates

of the general atonement. Throughout the work a liberal and catholic spirit is manifested. It is just such a work as needs a good index, which it has not.

The Revelation of John; with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D.D. 12mo. pp. 254. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1871.

The reader of Professor Cowles's Commentaries is favorably impressed, first, by their good sense; secondly, by their modesty of expression; thirdly, by the perspicuousness with which recondite theories are stated; fourthly, by the Christian spirit pervading the exegesis. His Commentary on the Apocalypse, like his other Commentaries, is the result of much learning, but makes no display of it. He does wisely in introducing few references to other commentators; for the majority of readers for whom his work is designed would be simply confused by such references. We think, indeed, that exegetes, like Alford, are often themselves bewildered by their own abundant references. Dr. Cowles's remarks on the first resurrection (Rev. xx. 5, 6) are eminently sensible. His dissertation (pp. 247–254) on the "day-for-a-year theory" is also sound. In fact, we do not know where "both pastors and people" can find so much of judicious comment on the Apocalypse within so brief a space as they can find in this volume.

The Conservative Reformation and its Theology: as represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. By Charles P. Krauth, D.D., Norton Professor of Theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo. pp. 840. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co. 1871.

We suppose that Dr. Krauth is of German descent. His present work betrays characteristics of a German and an American. It exhibits the German patience and strength, as well as the American energy and enterprise. The institutions, the national *air*, the very climate of our country, have an influence on the intellectual character. The volume of Dr. Krauth is written in a vigorous and animated style, and with an enthusiasm for the Lutheran theology and church. His acquaintance with the literature of Lutheranism is extensive. His quotations from Lutheran writers are very numerous. We do not know any work in the English language which gives so full and clear a view of Lutheranism, especially in its ancient form.

The title, the design, and also the spirit of Dr. Krauth's volume are illustrated in the following paragraph: "The object of this book is not to

delineate the spirit and doctrines of the Reformation as a general movement over against the doctrinal and practical errors of the Roman church, but to state and vindicate the faith and spirit of that part of the movement which was conservative, as over against the part which was radical. It is the Lutheran Reformation in those features which distinguish it from the Zwinglian and Calvinistic Reformation, which forms the topic of this book. Wherever Calvin abandoned Zwinglianism he approximated Lutheranism. Hence, on important points, this book in defending Lutheranism over against Zwinglianism, defends Calvinism over against Zwinglianism also. It even defends Zwinglianism, so far as, in contrast with Anabaptism, it was relatively conservative. The Pelagianism of the Zwinglian theology was corrected by Calvin, who is the true father of the Reformed church, as distinguished from the Lutheran. The theoretical tendencies of Zwingle developed into Arminianism and Rationalism; his practical tendencies into the superstitious anti-ritualism of ultra-Puritanism: and both the theoretical and practical found their harmony and consummation in Unitarianism" (p. xii).

We have been particularly interested in Dr. Krauth's account of Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, and Zwingle. He says: "Zwingli was a patriot, and as such we admire him; but he was, as compared with Occolampadius, not to mention Calvin, an exceedingly poor theologian" (p. 448). We should have preferred to say that Zwingle was inferior to Oecolampadius and Calvin. In many instances the style of the volume is too intense for a sober and staid history. Our readers will be interested in Dr. Krauth's representation of the Lutheran doctrine concerning original sin. He says: "We argue that *original sin is truly sin*: 1. Because it has the *relations* and *connections* of sin: 2. It has the *name* and *synonymes* of sin: 3. It has the *essence* of sin: 4. It has the *attributes* of sin: 5. It does the *acts* of sin: 6. It incurs the penalties of sin: 7. It needs the *remedies* of sin: 8. Consequently, and finally, it is conformed to a true *definition* of sin" (pp. 398, 399). On page 429 he says: "It is not the doctrine of our confession that any human creature has ever been, or ever will be, lost purely on account of original sin. For while it supposes that original sin if *unarrested*, would bring death, it supposes it to be arrested, certainly and ordinarily by the Holy Spirit, through the divine means rightly received, and throws no obstacle in the way of our hearty faith that, in the case of infants dying without the means, the Holy Ghost, in his own blessed way, directly and extraordinarily, may make the change that delivers the child from the power of indwelling sin. Luther in his marginal note on John xv. 22, says: 'Denn durch Christum ist die Erbsünde auffgehaben, und verdamnet nach Christus zukunfft niemand. On wer sie nicht lassen, das ist, wer nicht gleuben wil? 'Through Christ original sin is annulled, and condemneth *no man* since Christ's coming, unless he will not forsake it (original sin), that is, will not believe.'"

Perhaps the most interesting, certainly a very able portion of this volume, is devoted to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and occupies two hundred and forty pages. Our limits do not allow us to give an analysis of this powerful chapter.

The Argument, a Priori, for the Being and the Attributes of the Absolute One and the First Cause of all Things. By William Honyman Gillespie, of Torbanehill, F.R.G.S., etc. Fifth edition. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. 166. London: Houlston and Sons. 1871.

Mr. Gillespie is the author of a work, familiar to some of our readers, entitled, "The Necessary Existence of a God." He aims to prove the being and attributes of Jehovah *a priori;* also to express his reasonings in a style approximate to the mathematical. At the same time, he introduces into his argument strains of rhapsody, and in several instances violates a delicate taste. The volume suggests many important ideas, as well as acute processes of reasoning. Some of his arguments are solid; others, overstrained.

History of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany, viewed according to its Fundamental Movement, and in connection with the Religious, Moral, and Intellectual Life. By Dr. J. A. Dorner, Oberconsistorialrath and Professor of Theology at Berlin. Translated by the Rev. George Robson, M.A., Inverness, and Sophia Taylor. With a Preface to the translation by the Author. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 429, 500.

Isaac Augustus Dorner was born in Würtemberg, in the year 1809, has been a professor in various German Universities, and is now one of the most attractive lecturers in the University of Berlin. He has acquired a European fame by his (translated) "History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," and by many of his contributions to the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie. The present work, published under the auspices of Maximillian II., King of Bavaria, will increase his already well-earned reputation. The first impression which he makes upon those who hear his lectures is that of his multifarious learning. He seems to have examined all the systems of all the theologians. Of course, some of his investigations have been more extensive than minute. The second impression which he makes upon his hearers is that of candor. He seems to divest himself of all personal feeling, and to be animated by the desire of presenting historical truth as it is. In his History of Protestant Theology he manifests, as usual, a vast erudition and a sincere love of the truth. His German style is by no means facile. The labor of translating it into English is great. Many sentences in the present translation are too literal for perspicuity. To one who is acquainted with the German their meaning is plain, but not to others. In some instances, the idea of Dorner is not given correctly. Still, the English edition, as a whole, is one of great value.

A History of the Christian Councils, from the Original Documents to the close of the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. By Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Translated from the German, and Edited by William R. Clark, M.A., Oxon., Prebendary of Wells and Vicar of Taunton. 8vo. pp. 500. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1871.

The minute history of a general or oecumenical council would often, if not uniformly, disclose the fact that various members of that council were not satisfied with its result. They accepted the result in the way of compromise; were led to acquiesce in it by the hope of personal good or the fear of personal evil. One of the most instructive books on the constitution and working of a council is the folio of Peter Sarpi on the Council of Trent. We admit that it is open to criticism, but it is still a work of great value. Richard Baxter's remarks on the Savoy Confession are applicable in some degree to the decisions of perhaps every council which has been held since the time of the apostles. From this point of view the readers of Hefele's history will look with singular interest upon his veneration for an oecumenical council, more especially as he was a member of the last council under Pius IX. at Rome. He quotes the expressions of Constantine the Great, Athanasius, Pope Leo the Great, Bellarmin in corroboration of the theory, that the voice of a council is the voice of God. Ambrose writes: "Sequor tractatum Nicaeni concilii a quo me nec mors nec gladius poterit separare" (pp. 52, 54).

It is needless to say that the work of Dr. Hefele is one of uncommon value. His statements are very perspicuous, and his citations singularly pertinent. We refer the reader for an illustration of this remark to chapter 2, section 6, pp. 98–116, where the decisions of Synods relative to the baptism of heretics are well stated. The volume is not only one of solid merit, but is also written in a style as attractive as the subject will allow. We have not critically compared the translation with the original, but are pleased with the translator's English style. The typographical execution of the work is also good.

Christianity and Positivism: a Series of Lectures to the Times on Natural Theology and Apologetics. Delivered in New York, January 16 to March 20 1871, on the "Ely Foundation" of the Union Theological Seminary. By James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton. 12mo. pp. 369. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1871.

This volume of Dr. McCosh, being in the form of lectures and designed for oral delivery, is less scientific in its form than the other works of the same author. The advocates of some theories which Dr. McCosh impugns will not accept his statement of those theories; will not regard them as either complete or exact. Still, the volume will repay a careful study;

for like the other works of Dr. McCosh, it is the result of deep thought. The style of the volume is better adapted to a popular audience than to secluded scholars.

We are happy to see that a new, the third, edition of Dr. McCosh's work on the Intuitions of the Mind has appeared. It is published by Robert Carter and Brothers, New York. It has been thoroughly revised but not much altered. We regard this work as the most valuable of all Dr. McCosh's writings.

Science, Philosophy, and Religion. Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston. By John Bascom, Professor in Williams College. Author of "Principles of Psychology," "Aesthetics," etc. 12mo. pp. 311. New York: G. P. Putman and Sons. 1871.

It is remarkable that a man who writes so much, and on so large a variety of themes, should write so well as Professor Bascom. In the present volume, which is full of valuable suggestions, he opposes the exclusively scientific spirit of the day; defends the doctrine that we have strictly intuitive ideas; explains these ideas, and shows the dependence of science upon them; discusses questions regarding force, cause, the nature of matter, of consciousness, of life; refutes various theories of Comte, Mill, Spencer, Darwin, Huxley; examines current speculations in regard to the liberty of the will, the nature of rectitude, the proof of the divine existence and attributes; and in the general illustrates the relation of a correct science to a correct philosophy, and of all science to religion. His views on the idea of virtue, of obligation, are very clear and just. We cannot subscribe to all his statements in relation to the will, although many of these are pithy as well as true. Professor Bascom has a rich imagination as well as an acute intellect, and sometimes gives us a highly poetical image where we are in want of a precise and exact theorem. His writings must be studied, not merely read; and they will not only reward a laborious investigation but also please an active fancy.

A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, regarded as the Basis of New Testament Exegesis. By Dr. G. B. Winer. Translated from the German, with large additions and full Indices, by Rev. W. F. Moulton, M.A., Classical Tutor, Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond, and Prizeman in Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the University of London. 8vo. pp. 880. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

The general merits of Winer's Grammar are too well-known to need any remarks. It is a commentary on the New Testament, as well as a Grammar of it. For many years there have been both English and American translations of Winer's Grammar. We do not intend, as it may seem invidious, to institute any comparison between them. We presume that the present English translation of Winer's sixth edition, will be used in Great Britain, and that the American translation of Winer's seventh edition will be used in the United States.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

LECKY ON MORALS.[1]

BY REV. DR. J. R. HERRICK, PROFESSOR IN BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

INSEPARABLE from each other as are morality and religion, the true principles of ethics, appreciated and embraced, are a great help to practical religion, while in many ways they modify or help to form our theological opinions. On the other hand, false or inadequate conceptions of morals, such, for example, as do not carry us beyond the ethics of interest, would lead us to treat religion and Christianity as *means* of human enjoyment, instead of subjecting man through religion and Christianity to the service of his Maker; and would satisfy us with a theology that makes the good of the individual or the created universe its highest thought and ultimate end! For instance, how different, how much more healthful, the influence of Cudworth's "Immutable Morality," which, instead of adapting the law of right to the sinful weakness and inclinations of man, vigorously refutes the popular notion of a conventional standard of right and wrong, and makes moral principles as changeless as the throne of God, and alike binding upon all, compared with Paley's system, grounded in happiness and drawing its sanction from personal interest. The former tended to purify the moral atmosphere

[1] History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. By Wm. Edward Hartpole Lecky, M.D. In 2 vols. D. Appleton and Co. 1870.

by raising men's minds from themselves to God and immutable truth; while the latter has actually exerted a very powerful and pernicious influence in fostering the spirit of utilitarianism through all the relations of life. In fact, whatever view of morals we hold, this must needs have a wide application and influence.

But in our day, as might be anticipated from the bold claim of naturalism and positivism that they contain the whole of truth, we have morals and Christianity treated as *natural* agents among many others in the development of mankind. It follows as a legitimate consequence of rejecting the supernatural, that men must be confined wholly to the sphere of nature, and that whatever comes under the name of morality will perforce conform to laws by which nature works. A very plausible method for this is, first to assume Christianity to be an agent for promoting public morals, and then to look at the external features of moral development.

Whether or not this was Lecky's conscious design we need not here affirm. But in his History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne he treats mainly of the moral condition of the Roman empire *before* and *after* it became nominally Christian, and with the intent, apparently, of showing thus the influence of Christianity as an agency, bad or good or mixed, in civilization. The design of the writer, which is not so clearly enounced as to prevent one of his critics[1] from pronouncing it "doubtful," is, where he proposes to state objections to the inductive theory of morals, intimated to be "to define and defend the opinions of those who believe that our moral feelings are an essential part of our constitution, developed by, but not derived from, education"; and then to inquire into the "order of their evolution, so that having obtained some notion of the natural history of morals, we may be able to judge how far this normal progress has been accelerated or retarded by religious or political agencies."[2]

We ought also to observe what the preface indicates: the

[1] See Edinburgh Review, July, 1869. [2] Vol. i. p. 34.

importance attached by the author himself to his long chapter on the natural history of morals, and the relation which it is evidently designed to bear to what succeeds. After saying that "in addition to the type and standard of morals inculcated by the teachers, an historian must investigate the realized morals of the people," and giving us to understand this to be his aim in examining the moral history of Europe between Augustus and Charlemagne, he adds: "As a preliminary to this inquiry, I have discussed at some length the rival theories concerning the nature and obligation of morals, and have also endeavored to show what virtues are especially appropriate to each successive stage of civilization, in order that we may afterwards ascertain to what extent the natural evolution has been effected by special agencies." It would thus appear that Lecky himself regards the introductory discussion as the key to his subsequent history. It is for this reason that we must reach the author's unsatisfactory treatment of Christianity through his view of morals; and although it is in the interest of the former, Christianity, mainly, that the book should be critically examined; its entire drift in the direction of modern thought may be better appreciated, if we first understand, so far as he gives us the data for doing this, his views of ethical principles themselves. This is all the more important, since we are to find here his rule or standard by which to measure the facts of history.

Lecky makes a simple classification of theories, distinguishing *ethics of interest* and *disinterested morality*, as before him Cousin had done in his lectures on "The Good." This classification might be objected to on psychological grounds.[1] But it is convenient as enabling the author to put into the first class all moralists, who more or less directly regard happiness as the *summum bonum*. It should be observed, however, that with Lecky, with whom the intellectual element everywhere predominates, *the mode of apprehending the rule* becomes the basis of division. Hence his two classes he denominates *inductive* and *intuitive* morals.

[1] It were well if all theories of morality could be tested by, and made to conform to, a true psychology.

The inductive moralists, since they have a sharp eye to the consequences of their conduct, might also be styled *utilitarianists*. Although they set forth their views in a variety of ways, they agree in looking for a reward, and in calling upon the understanding as judging from experience, to decide whether this or that is best as means of securing the desired result. Thus Bentham says: "By the principle of utility is meant that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question."[1] According to Locke, "Moral good and evil is only the conformity or disagreement of our voluntary actions to some law whereby good or evil is drawn on by the power of the law-maker. Good and evil are pleasure and pain, or that which occasions or procures pleasure or pain to us." Hobbes, with his uniform clearness, expresses his view thus: "I conceive that when a man deliberates whether he shall do a thing or not do it, he does nothing else but consider whether it is better *for himself* to do it or not to do it." And again: "Even the goodness which we apprehend in God Almighty is his goodness to us." Waterland puts the case in this manner: "To love God is, in effect, the same thing as to love happiness, eternal happiness; and the love of happiness is still the love of ourselves." And Mill affirms that "happiness is the sole end of human action, and the promotion of it the test by which to judge of all human conduct."

These are different expressions for a theory of morals essentially the same, and which our author may very well denominate inductive; for, according to Bentham, "Vice may be defined to be a miscalculation of chances, a mistake in estimating the value of pleasures and pains. It is false moral arithmetic."[2]

[1] References to the original authors are given sufficiently in foot-notes to Lecky's History, so that for this and the following none are added.

[2] And if we take Lecky's estimate of the moral character of intellectual error as elsewhere expressed, we see that the obligation to be moral in this sense cannot be very great; "considered abstractly and by the light of nature, it is as

Now, we can heartily endorse the most of what Lecky says in objecting to the ethics of interest. For one thing, against the acknowledged protest of its advocates, utilitarianism is rightly called a *selfish* system. "It is not, I think, a strained or unnatural use of language, to describe as selfish or interested, all actions which a man performs in order to avoid suffering or acquire the greatest possible enjoyment. If this be so, the term selfish is strictly applicable to all the branches of this system." [1]

Again, moral instinct and language as expressing the native and honest convictions of mankind, condemn utilitarianism, by making a sharp distinction between honor, justice, rectitude, and their equivalents, on the one hand, and such terms as prudence, sagacity, interest, and the like, on the other. "Selfish moralists," says our author, "deny the possibility of that which in all ages and nations, all popular judgments pronounce to have been the characteristic of every noble act that has ever been performed. A selfish act may be innocent, but cannot be virtuous; and to ascribe all good deeds to selfish motives, is not the distortion, but the negation of virtue. A feeling of satisfaction follows the accomplishment of duty for itself, but if the duty be performed through the expectation of mental pleasure, conscience refuses to ratify the bargain." [2]

unmeaning to speak of the immorality of an intellectual mistake as it would be to talk of the color of a sound." Vol. ii. p. 201.

[1] Vol. i. p. 32.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 35, 38. Cousin, in discussing this subject, says forcibly: "He who inscribes on his banner the name of right, by that alone interests us. . . . . The idea of right is a universal idea, graven in shining and ineffaceable characters, if not in the visible world, in that of thought and the soul." . . . . . "Individual consciousness, conceived and transferred to the entire species, is called common-sense. It is common-sense that has made, that sustains, that develops languages, natural and permanent beliefs, society and its fundamental institutions. Grammarians have not invented languages, nor legislators societies, nor philosophers general beliefs. All these things have not been personally done, but by the whole world — by the genius of humanity. Common-sense is deposited in its works. All languages and all human institutions contain the ideas and the sentiments that we have just called to mind and described, and especially the distinction between good and evil, between justice and injustice,

It may be objected to the ethics of interest, further, that, in order to be virtuous according to its reckoning, careful estimates in detail must be made of the consequences of our actions; and in order to prevent the possibility of mistake, so high a degree of intelligence would be required, that we might well despair of attaining it, or, of virtue either, if only attainable through it. Our knowledge and application of "moral arithmetic" must determine our advance up the scale of virtues. "It is obvious," says Lecky, "that if virtues are only good because they promote, and vices only evil because they impair, the happiness of mankind, the degrees of excellence or criminality must be strictly proportioned to the degrees of utility, or the reverse. Every action, every disposition, every class, every condition of society must take its place on the moral scale precisely in accordance with the degree in which it promotes or diminishes human happiness."[1]

Besides, if happiness is my end, who shall determine to what extent or in what way I am to seek it? I shall soon, on any such theory, find the obligation to be subjective as well as the rule. And it is not so strange that Lecky should question whether utilitarianism could thoroughly vindicate either chastity or an unswerving adherence to truth; for when we put virtue into the market, it must go to the highest bidder. Its value is what it will fetch. Virtue is valuable because useful; a kind of good, to be sure, a quite indispensable thing, since happiness cannot be bought with any other commodity; all is price; nothing is *worth*. On the other hand, say that virtue promotes happiness, or that happiness is impossible without virtue; is this the same thing, or does it follow, by whatever shift, that human conduct is virtuous simply *because*, and only *as*, it promotes happiness? Seek virtue directly and for itself, then you do not fail of the end you

between free-will and desire, between duty and interest, between virtue and happiness, with the profoundly rooted belief that happiness is a recompense due to virtue, and that crime in itself deserves to be punished, and calls for the reparation of a just suffering." — Lectures on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, pp. 226, 227.

[1] Vol. i. p. 40.

seek, and with it you have what you do *not* seek directly — harmony, peace, happiness. This is the order: virtue for its intrinsic worth and because of its immediate obligation, and without stopping to estimate the consequences of this, that, and the other; happiness, or rather blessedness, is the result or reward that follows unsought; it is like Bunyan's "palace Beautiful," which the Lord of the way "has erected for the relief of weary pilgrims."

From what we find true of Lecky's treatment of the ethics of interest, what he calls inductive morals, we should hope to find him taking a firm stand in what he denominates *intuitive* morals. But he is here much less satisfactory. It is but just, however, as we make the transition, to give him due credit for an appeal to consciousness against utilitarianism. In doing so he raises a question in natural theology worthy of consideration, viz. whether we can prove the supreme goodness of God from an induction of outward nature. "The reality of this moral nature," he writes, "is the one great question of natural theology, for it involves that connection between our own and a higher nature, without which the *existence* of a first cause were a mere question of archaeology, and religion but an exercise of the imagination."[1] The thought involves the existence not only of a moral consciousness, but of a *consciousness of God* also. This fully admitted, we are bound everywhere to recognize, in our philosophy as well as in our lives, a *personal God.* We may thank Lecky for saying this, although he has failed, as we think, to construct his history of morals in accordance with it. And whether we agree or disagree with him in his assertion, that no proposition can be more palpably or egregiously false than that the most virtuous course is invariably the most happy one — a question which, on the theory of utility, it might take not a little of Bentham's moral arithmetic to determine; still, we may well endorse his words, when he says: "That men have the power of preferring other

[1] Vol. i. p. 59.

objects than happiness, is a proposition which must ultimately be left to the attestation of consciousness; that the pursuit of virtue, however much happiness may eventually follow in its train, is in the first instance an example of this preference, must be established by that common voice of mankind which has invariably regarded a virtuous motive as generically different from an interested one."[1] And we cannot but regret that his book should not be, in its total impressions, according to the principles of that higher consciousness in man which speaks for God and immutable truth.

In maintaining the theory of "natural moral perceptions," our author feels it needful not only to answer the objection, that all moral judgments may be resolved into considerations of utility, which, as already said, is most satisfactorily met by an appeal to consciousness, moral approbation being peculiar in kind, distinct from any enjoyment resulting either from animal gratification, intellectual acquirements, or aesthetic taste; he also feels it needful to meet the objection which rests upon the diversity of moral judgments in different nations and stages of civilization, what it is said could not be explained on the supposition of an intuitive moral faculty. Such facts are referred to as these: that some savages kill their old parents; that infanticide has been practised without compunction even by civilized nations; that the best Romans saw nothing wrong in the gladiatorial shows; that slavery has been sometimes honored and sometimes condemned. Now, it may be true that some of these are intellectual rather than moral judgments, and "special circumstances" may have something to do in directing the judgments; but we are not relieved of the difficulty without making a careful distinction between the conscience as having to do with *motives*, and the practical judgment as applying principles and directing the conduct under the imperative of duty; nor can the objection be satisfactorily met till this is done.

Lecky comes nearest the truth when he says: "The prin-

[1] Vol. i. p. 70.

cipal difficulty, I imagine, which most men have in admitting that we possess certain moral perceptions, arises from the supposition that it implies the existence of some mysterious agent like the Daemon of Socrates, which gives specific and infallible information in particular. But this I conceive to be a complete mistake." So far, very well; but instead of distinguishing the elements of personality — the *reason* as apprehending the rule, the *conscience* as applying it in its highest form of obligation, and the *will* as embracing or refusing to obey the law of right; he gives the following as his exposition of the intuitive theory of morals; "All that is necessarily meant by the adherents of this school is comprised in two propositions. The first is, that the will is not governed exclusively by the law of pleasure and pain, but also by the law of duty, which we feel to be distinct from the former and to carry with it the sense of obligation. The second is, that the basis of our conception of duty is an intuitive perception, that among the various feelings, tendencies, and impulses that constitute our emotional being, there are some which are essentially good and ought to be encouraged, and some which are essentially bad and ought to be refused." But from all that Lecky admits or affirms, he does not properly recognize, as we think, either one *immutable rule of right* as seen by the reason, or award to man a capacity of true *moral self-determination*. Let us first ask, what is Lecky's conception of *human freedom*. Man, according to him, possesses emotions of duty which are intuitive, and should be, like all other faculties, regarded as constitutional. And, as we have seen, he affirms the will to be not governed exclusively by the law of pleasure and pain, but partly by the law of duty, which is distinct from the former and imposes obligation. The peculiar view of the author as to the law of duty we shall consider presently. Just here we are concerned with that vital point in ethics, the freedom of the will as a constitutional endowment of man.

The answer we bring to this question must determine

[1] Vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

whether we do or do not award to man a true moral freedom; viz. "Does the will originally possess the capability of freedom whereby it is distinguished in kind from all the activities of nature, which is throughout bound, 'governed,' by the law of cause and effect?" For if man, in the very make and constitution of his soul, has not this higher freedom, no matter what his instincts or his superior knowledge when compared with the brute creation, he is not morally free. Can Mr. Lecky give the affirmative answer to the above question? Interpreted by himself throughout, and not by some words here and there that might seem to imply the opposite, he certainly could not. And be it observed, this is not the only instance in which he seems to say in one place what is elsewhere unsaid, or what at least the work taken in its total bearing will not allow us to take in its full and ordinary sense.[1] But to proceed; if our author had taken and held firmly the true position in respect to moral freedom, he must, in doing so, have worked out of the natural into the spiritual realm, of which alone morality has any right to be predicated, and to which alone freedom belongs. Had he done this, his exposition of ethical principles might have been distinct and in all parts self-consistent; and the criticism now demanded of his treatment of Christianity would doubtless have been unnecessary. But far from doing this, he seems instead, to be disposed to bring man, with all his capabilities, after having recognized his higher instincts, wholly into the sphere of nature.

This demands that we consider Lecky's moral standard with which his moral types are closely connected. Evidently, for one thing, he does not recognize an *objective* standard in the divine reason or the divine revelation. This appears when he goes out of his way to make certain abuses of Christian doctrine appear odious, wherein he gives pre-intimation of his treatment of miracles in another connection. He is

[1] One of his English critics thinks it a charm of Lecky, that you know not in one part where he will take you in another. It might better be called, in such a work, *penumbra veritatis*.

careful to attack most violently exploded dogmas, such as consubstantiation and the damnation of infants; and yet he has no doubt some men are still in such a state as to consider it more irreligious to question the infallibility of an apostle, than to disfigure by any conceivable imputation the character of the Deity.[1] He also thinks "a dogmatic system which is accepted on rational or other grounds and *supported by rewards and punishments*, may teach a code of ethics differing from that of conscience,"[2] As if there were no retributive element in the conscience, which certainly does respond to the scripture law of retribution. Now, it is one thing to hold that reason may legitimately examine the *evidences* for the divine authority of scripture, but quite another for human reason to take upon itself to say *what as to matter* should be revealed. This last is to make the finite reason the standard and criterion of truth, and to deny both the need and possibility of a revelation from God alike binding upon all. Such a standard would not so well agree with our author's notion of a progressive morality as his interpretation of what he calls an original moral faculty.

Nor does he give us one common, immutable standard as affirmed in the reason, although his advocacy of intuitive morals would lead us to presume he was about to do this, at least. He says that, according to his theory, "the moral unity to be expected in different ages is not a unity of standard or of acts, but of tendency."[3] After this remark, we shall not be wrong if we assume that his "moral types" are intended by him, whether it be perceived by his readers, or not, to play a very important part in his interpretation of the history of morals. We should, therefore, if possible, here understand the author's key. "The prominence of each school," he says, "may be regarded as a mental phenomenon, due, in a great measure, to predispositions resulting from certain conditions of society."[4]

[1] Vol. i. p. 99. [2] Vol. i. p. 101. [3] Vol. i. p. 103.

[4] In a certain sense this is true; so is it also true that a utilitarian morality is connected with a sense-philosophy, and that psychological opinions have very much to do with morals, both theoretical and practical. It may be likewise said

It is affirmed that there is a perpetual change in the standard which is exacted, and also in the relative value attached to particular virtues. But, while Lecky attributes the changes of standard, etc., largely to intellectual agencies, he nevertheless declares it to be "one of the plainest of facts that neither the individuals nor the ages that have been most distinguished for intellectual achievements have been most distinguished for moral excellence, and that a high intellectual and material civilization has often coexisted with much depravity." In setting before us the types of morals, he will tell us that the Christian type is the glorification of the amiable, as the stoic type was that of the heroic, qualities; for which reason Christianity is more fitted than stoicism to preside over civilization; for the more society is organized and civilized, the greater is the scope for the amiable, and the less for the heroic, qualities.[1]

A passage from the chapter on the "Pagan Empire" may, perhaps, enable us better to appreciate how important and useful to our author are his moral types: "The history of Roman ethics represents a steady and uniform current, guided by the general conditions of society, and its progress may be marked by the ascendancy of the Roman, the Greek, and the Egyptian spirit. ..... Stoicism placed beyond cavil the great distinction between right and wrong. It inculcated the doctrine of universal brotherhood; it created a noble literature and a noble legislation; and it associated its moral system with the patriotic spirit, which was the

that an absorption of the mind in natural science — as is now strongly advocated by some — has two tendencies, both of which are very undesirable; (1) to discard the higher ideas of reason and beget a sense, if not a materialistic, philosophy; (2) to destroy religious reverence and a due regard for moral law. This influence of the study of natural science does not escape the notice of Lecky. "In a few minds the contemplation of the sublime order of Nature produces a reverential feeling; but to the great majority of mankind it is an incontrovertible though mournful fact, that the discovery of controlling and unchanging law deprives phenomena of their moral significance, and nearly all the social and political sphere in which reverence was fostered has passed away" (p. 149). But the fact, mournful as it is, is a part of the *natural history of morals.*

[1] Vol. i. p. 164.

animating spirit of Roman life. The early Platonists of the empire corrected the exaggerations of stoicism, gave free scope for the amiable qualities, and supplied a theory of right and wrong suited not merely for heroic characters and for extreme emergencies, but also for the characters and circumstances of common life. The Pythagorean and Neoplatonist schools revived the feeling of religious reverence, inculcated humility, prayerfulness, and purity of thought, and accustomed men to associate their moral ideals with the Deity, rather than with themselves."[1]

Now, let us observe what may be found in this finely wrought passage when examined by the help of what is said elsewhere. First, as the type of character of every individual depends partly upon innate temperament, and partly upon external circumstances, so there are various influences operating in society at different periods to develop the various types, "which it is the duty of the moral historian to depict." Secondly, through the various causes operating to produce the different types, it results that the *quantum* is about the same in different individuals and periods. "History is not a mere succession of events, connected only by chronology. It is a chain of causes and effects." And, doubtless, according to our author, the causes and effects operate in the *natural* history of morals just as everywhere else. But let us strictly notice what results from this "chain of causes and effects." "There is a great natural difference of degree and direction in both the moral and intellectual capacities of individuals; but it is not probable that the general average of natural morals in great bodies of men materially varies. When we find a society very virtuous, or very vicious, when some particular virtue or vice occupies a peculiar prominence, or when important changes pass over the moral conceptions or standard of the people, we learn to trace in these things simply the action of the circumstances that were dominant."[2] Thirdly, as from the last statement might be anticipated, we are com-

[1] Vol. i. pp. 352, 353.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 352, 353.

pelled to define Lecky's standard of morals to be the standard of society; that is, the type is the one best suited to the time. "As a man may be deficient in any virtue, and yet in other respects be moral and virtuous; and as a character may be perfect in its own kind, but no character can possibly possess all types of perfection; so all that can be expected in one ideal is, that it be perfect in its own kind, and should exhibit the type most needed in its age and most wisely useful to mankind."[1] With Bentham public opinion is the determinant of actions. How much does Lecky fall behind him, when he says: "Apart from positive commands, the sole external rule enabling men to designate acts, not simply as better or worse, but as positively right or wrong, is, I conceive, the standard of society."

Thus we have this learned writer's key, which appears not to be one that must be set to a definite number, as a "safe-key," but one that, like a "pass-key," will readily adapt itself to any door of a public house. But this standard is false, as it is variable. For if there is such a thing as morality at all, it must have an invariable. immutable standard, however much moral duties may change in their aspect; one, too, which of right is to regulate society, and that by first prescribing — or, rather, by itself being — the rule of rectitude for all society. Such a principle in its nature gives unity. Had it been consistently held and applied throughout, this work might have been a unit, which now, however, wanting the principle, wants the unity also.

And we may not unjustly complain of the author, that, having so well expressed the invalidity of what he calls inductive morals, — utilitarianism, — and after having affirmed it to be his purpose to advocate intuitive morals, he brings us by an ambiguous course to a position from which, instead of seeing what we had a right to expect, we are able to discern, after all, nothing better than inductive morals ingeniously decorated by him with a new veil.

[1] Vol. i. p. 163.

In passing to Lecky's unsatisfactory treatment of Christianity in his history of morals, — what we trust the criticism already made will prepare for and make more intelligible, — it is readily conceded that, through a multitude of facts, graphically presented, as if for a full and fair induction, he makes many valuable suggestions, and raises theories at least plausible. And yet his writings, under the show of great candor, are calculated to mislead in their total impressions as to the true nature and influence of Christianity. Indeed, to criticise fairly such a work is difficult; partly, because of its doubtful aim; partly, from the want of a fixed standard, according to which its opinions are promulgated; and partly, because things are said in one connection which seem not to comport well with what is said in other connections; not designedly, of course, but rather because the "standard of society" changes, we suppose.

It is not our aim, as it could hardly be profitable, to follow Lecky in detail. We desire the rather to mark certain features in which this work, taken in its total impressions, is unjust to Christianity. As already said, our author treats of the condition of the Roman empire, both before and after it became nominally Christian; and, although we could not accept his philosophical or theological stand-point, we might very well make our starting-point his transition to the conversion of Rome to Christianity, which is made in his best style, and indicates somewhat the drift of his work: "The moral improvement of society," he writes, "was now to pass into other hands. A religion which had long been increasing in obscurity began to emerge into the light. By the beauty of its moral precepts, by the systematic skill with which it governed the imagination and habits of its worshippers, by the strong religious motives to which it could appeal, by its admirable ecclesiastical organization, and, it must be added, by its unsparing use of the arm of power, Christianity soon eclipsed or destroyed all other sects, and became for many centuries the supreme ruler of the world. Combining the stoical doctrine of universal brotherhood, the Greek predi-

lection for the amiable qualities, and the Egyptian spirit of reverence and religious awe, it acquired, from the first, an intensity and universality of influence which none of the philosophies it had superseded had approached. I have now to examine the moral causes that governed the rise of this religion in Rome, the ideal virtue it presented, the degree and manner in which it stamped its image upon the characters of nations, and the distortions it underwent." [1]

After reading the long chapter on the moral state of the Pagan empire which precedes the above quotation, and comparing it with what is said in the third and fourth chapters of the morals connected with the ascendency of Christianity, in the implied contrast, we feel that the impression left in respect to the morality of Pagan Rome is too favorable, while that of the morality of Christian Rome is too unfavorable in comparison. This is here our first point of criticism.

In depicting the pagan morality, the author sets forth abundantly the high-toned instruction of teachers of morals, such as Cicero, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, Plutarch, etc., who abound in such sayings as these: "If you do anything to please men, you have fallen from your estate"; "A great man is not the less great when he lies vanquished and prostrate in the dust"; "That which is beautiful is beautiful in itself; the praise of men adds nothing to the quality"; "We do not love virtue because it gives us pleasure; but it gives us pleasure because we love it"; "All vice should be avoided, though it were concealed from the eyes of gods and men." [2] These moral sentiments, which would do honor to any time, and are more elevated than many now taught, might indicate a high tone of public morals, were it not for the well-known fact that the precepts of the moralists were not extensively practised. Indeed, our author himself says that there was a "broad chasm existing between the Roman moralists and the Roman people." "We find a system of ethics, of which, when we

[1] Vol. i. p. 356.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 195, 196 passim.

consider the range and beauty of its precepts, the sublimity of the motives to which it appealed, and its perfect freedom from superstitious elements," — from these Lecky does not, as we shall see, regard the Christian morals as free, — "it is not too much to say that, though it may have been equalled, it has never been surpassed." And yet, high and spiritual as was the conception of duty, "the philosopher with his group of disciples, or the writer with his few readers, had scarcely any point of contact with the people." [1] This want of contact with and influence over the popular mind, it may be observed in passing, is in striking contrast to the popular influence of the teachings of Christianity.

Just here distinct attention should be called to Lecky's glorification of stoicism. He dwells with peculiar delight on its elevating, invigorating influence, its unselfish ideal, its subjugation of the affections to the reason, and the noble patriotism which it engendered. He also speaks of it as if, in his view, it furnished to Christianity the "doctrine of universal brotherhood." [2] Now, that the brightest feature of pagan morality appears in its stoicism, and that its noted teachers and best characters were imbued by its spirit, we are not disposed to deny; but that its practical influence was as great and salutary as this writer represents, we are not prepared to believe. Least of all did stoicism beget a universal brotherhood. This was first fully taught, as a practical doctrine, by Jesus Christ. It is realized only through the influence of Christianity, which, unlike all other systems, knows how to recognize and perfect the individual, while it raises all to a higher and genuine unity. Paganism, when it undertook to use man for anything further than his isolated individualism, would subordinate him to the interest of the state or emperor, and because the state or emperor needed him. It did not know how, with all its stoical wisdom, to harmonize personal freedom with true civil freedom; much less, to reach beyond "my own Rome," and grasp the true idea of a common humanity. It is Chris-

[1] Vol. i. pp. 307, 308.

[2] Vol. i. p. 356.

tianity which teaches the doctrine of a universal brotherhood; this alone, since it enables us, as nothing else does, or can, to harmonize individual interest and patriotism and philanthropy, through those spiritual bonds which unite us as one before a common Father and Redeemer.

It is true, also, whatever the moral principles taught, or however high at any time the tone of morals may have been, that there was a great deterioration before the empire became Christian. This fact is recognized by Lecky. "We find," he says, "a society almost absolutely destitute of moralizing institutions, occupations, and beliefs, existing under an economical and political system which inevitably led to general depravity, and passionately addicted to the most brutalizing amusements." And again: "Such were the influences which acted, in turn, upon a society which, by despotism, by slavery, and by atrocious amusements, had been debased and corrupted to the very core."[1] This fact, it may be noted, — whatever it may declare as to the conservative influence, or the want of it, in pagan morals, — shows that Christianity did not plant its first seeds in a highly developed and moral community, when it took in hand the conversion of the Roman empire; but that its task was to revivify a society which "by despotism, by slavery, and by atrocious amusements had been debased and corrupted to the very core."

Thus, notwithstanding the concessions made, we think the total impression left in regard to the natural morals of pagan Rome too favorable. This will still further appear in the comparison, if we look at the other side of the picture. While speaking of the moral character and influence of Christian Rome, or of the church after the empire became Christian, Lecky, indeed, finds much to commend. The high conception formed of the sanctity of human life, the protection of infancy, the elevation and final emancipation of the slave classes, the suppression of barbarous games (the most important Christian influence exerted upon society is

[1] Vol. i. p. 355.

thought to be the extinction of the gladiatorial shows) — these, together with "the creation of a vast and multifarious organization of charity and the education of the imagination by the Christian type, constitute together a movement of philanthropy which has never been paralleled or approached in the pagan world." The movement has also been favorable to the promotion of happiness, and in determining character not less.[1] Nor yet can we be unmindful of the great missionary labors performed by the church at a later period.[2]

On the other hand, the author, having, as must be confessed, an excellent opportunity for portraying the evils of celibacy, asceticism, and ecclesiastical bigotry, avails himself of his opportunity, and occupies much space in setting forth these excrescences and their unhappy effects; which, however, must be here passed by, although his array of facts leaves an impression which can hardly be appreciated except by reading them in their connection.

Now, are we to suppose, whatever comments and concessions Lecky may make, that he intends, all things considered, to give the preference to the later morality? In one passage he gives us quite clearly his opinion on this point, which, in fact, is not very different from what his "moral types" might have led us to anticipate: "She [the church] exercised for many centuries an almost absolute empire over the thoughts and actions of mankind, and created a civilization which was permeated in every part with ecclesiastical influence. And the dark ages, as the period of Catholic ascendency is justly called, do undoubtedly display many features of great and genuine excellence. In active benevolence, in the spirit of reverence, in loyalty, in co-operative habits, they far transcend the noblest ages of pagan antiquity, while in that humanity which shrinks from the infliction of suffering they were superior to Roman, and in their respect for chastity to Greek, civilization. On the other hand, they rank immeasurably below the best pagan civilization in civic and patriotic virtues, in love of liberty, in the number and

[1] Vol. ii. p. 107. [2] Vol. ii. p. 261.

splendor of the great characters they produced, in the dignity and beauty of the type of character they formed. They had their full share of tumult, anarchy, injustice, and war; and they should probably be placed in all intellectual virtues lower than any other period in the history of mankind."[1]

And thus, when we have read and compared all that is said, in the two volumes, of the pagan and of the Christian morality, we feel that their author regards it as right to take the church as the exponent of Christianity.[2] We certainly cannot think him unwilling to have this conviction prevail; and we are sure he would not have us think of Christian morality as, on the whole, superior to pagan morality.

We find Mr. Lecky's history further unsatisfactory, and this in its bearing on Christianity, because of not recognizing the cycles of civilization as these appear from a true historic point of view. One long cycle, including Thebes, Carthage, and Rome, was passing away with the decay of pagan morality. A new one was introduced, with the introduction of Christianity, differing from the former in its principles and its method, as well as in the seat of its principal development. The former was that of the Mediterranean states; the latter, that of the Atlantic states. Mommsen, in the introduction to his History of Rome, presents this thought so well that, while we use his words, he shall be authority for the position here taken: "The distinction between ancient and modern history, therefore, is no mere accident, nor yet a mere matter of chronological convenience. What is called modern history is, in reality, the formation of a new cycle of culture, connected in several stages of its development with the perishing or perished civilization of the Mediterranean states, as this was connected with the primitive civilization of the Indo-Germanic

[1] Compare in Vol. ii. p. 44 and p. 148, with pp. 15, 16.

[2] The church *should* truly represent the Spirit of Christianity. Lecky implies that it does; that it *did*, notwithstanding its corruptions, during the period of which he treats. This is not fair, because not true.

stock, but destined, like the earlier cycle, to traverse an orbit of its own. ..... And yet this goal will only be temporary. The grandest system of civilization has its orbit, and may complete its course; but not so the human race, to which, just when it has reached its goal, the old task is ever set anew, with a wider range and with a deeper meaning." [1]

But the author of the History of European Morals, although this history extends from the last epoch of the Mediterranean cycle to the dawn of the new and Christian type of civilization which was to characterize the Atlantic states, does not recognize — perhaps his naturalistic stand-point would not allow him to appreciate — the fact of the transition from the one kind of civilization to the other, or the important difference between the two. At least, his treatment of the subject indicates that he would regard the later as a development from, and modification of, the earlier civilization. Hence the complaint that no more of the old was preserved — that Christianity did not immediately rebuild the decaying civilization.

Is it not in accordance with this view of development from the past, that, while Lecky finds Christianity for a long period too weak to regenerate Europe, he should make the pagan literature of antiquity and the Mohammedan schools of science the chief agencies in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom? [2] How could he so overlook or

[1] Mommsen's History of Rome, Vol. i. p. 24.

[2] In the passage referred to (Vol. ii. p. 17, 18), the author while giving his opinion on the point in hand, also affords some intimation of his opinion of theology and the church. "If we desire to form a just estimate of the realized improvement, we must compare the classical and ecclesiastical civilizations as wholes, and must observe in each case not only the vices that were repressed, but also the degree and variety of positive excellence obtained. In the first two centuries of the Christian church the moral elevation was extremely high, and was continually appealed to as proof of the divinity of the creed. In the century before the conversion of Constantine, a marked depression was already manifest. The two centuries after Constantine are uniformly represented by the Fathers as a period of general and scandalous vice. The ecclesiastical civilization that followed, though not without its distinctive merits, assuredly supplies no justification of the common boast about the regeneration of society by the church. That the civilization of the last three centuries has risen in most

ignore the fact that a new life appeared in the Atlantic civilization when the Reformation arose on Europe, when the doctrine of the grace of God was again preached, and when the New Testament was circulated, by the aid of the printing-press, and put into, or restored to, the masses, with the consequent knowledge and diffusion of its principles and precepts?

Let us not mistake the intimation here given that that modern culture, zealously advocated by many, is rather of the pagan than of the Christian type. The one treats man as the product of nature, and would educate him by natural agencies; the other recognizes man as spiritual, related to a personal God, and capable of being influenced by supernatural agencies. It also recognizes the Christian religion as divine, and the most efficient power in the advance of civilization, and essential to the true elevation of the race. If, then, we desire to return to paganism, let us discard Christianity, and adopt that "culture" which, in the view of some, is "demanded by modern life."

We are thus prepared to state another and radical defect in the history before us; viz. the assumption that Rome was converted and Christianity propagated by natural agencies, and without any help from the miraculous or supernatural. Or, in other words, Mr. Lecky represents Christianity as

respects to a higher level than any that had preceded it, I, at least, firmly believe." To what is this due? Lecky will tell us: "But theological ethics, though very important, form but one of the many and complex elements of its excellence. Mechanical inventions, the habits of industrialism, the discoveries of physical science, the improvements of government, the expansion of literature, *the traditions of pagan antiquity*, have all a distinguished place, which, the more fully its history is investigated, the more clearly two capital truths are disclosed. The first is, that the influence of theology having for centuries numbed and paralyzed the whole intellect of Christian Europe, the revival, which forms the starting-point of our modern civilization, was mainly due to the fact that two spheres of intellect still remained uncontrolled by the sceptre of Catholicism. *The Pagan literature of antiquity and the Mahommedan schools of science, were the chief agencies, in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom.* The second fact is, that for more than three centuries the decadence of theological influence has been one of the most invariable signs and measures of progress."

successful in converting the Roman empire through what he would call natural agencies, and hence, by implication, would have Christianity so regarded in civilization.

Nothing, perhaps, can better show the author's unfair treatment of the Christian religion than to bring together his positions, which, as gathered from his history and bearing on this point, are substantially as follows: Causes existed, without any help from the supernatural, for the entire transformation. "It may, indeed, be confidently asserted that the conversion of the Roman empire is so far from being of the nature of a miracle or suspension of the ordinary principles of human nature, that there is scarcely any other great movement on record in which the causes and effects so manifestly correspond." "Never before was a religious transformation so manifestly inevitable. No other religion ever combined so many forms of attraction as Christianity, both from its intrinsic excellence and from its manifest adaptation to the special wants of the time." "One great cause of its success was that it produced more heroic actions and formed more upright men than any other creed; but that it should do so was precisely what might have been expected."

In fact, it was quite strange that, *at the time*, the power of the new religion should not have been better appreciated. "That the greatest religious change in the history of mankind should have taken place under the eyes of a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and historians, who were profoundly conscious of the decomposition around them; that all these writers should have utterly failed to predict the issue of the movement they were observing; and that, during the space of three centuries, they should have treated as simply contemptible an agency which all men must now admit to have been, for good or for evil, the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men, are facts well worthy of meditation in any period of religious transition."[1] But this makes the matter so easy that the author would deserve little praise for solving a riddle that others in

[1] Vol. i. p. 359.

their ignorance had failed to solve; and he admits it to be a surprising fact that the barbarous nations should have been converted to Christianity as they were. "Still more wonderful," says he, "is the rapid conversion of the barbarous tribes. Of whole tribes or nations it may be truly said that they are absolutely ignorant of the cause of their change. Unfortunately this, which is one of the most important, is also one of the most obscure, pages in the history of the church."

And yet a sagacious observation and application of natural laws will explain all. The nations converted to Christianity, "disconnected from old associations, bowed before the majesty of civilization; and the Latin religion, like the Latin language, though with many adulterations, reigned over the new society." More particularly "the doctrine of exclusive salvation and the doctrine of demons had an admirable missionary power. The first produced an ardor of proselytism which the polytheist can never rival; while the pagan, who was easily led to recognize the Christian God, was menaced with eternal fire, if he did not take the further step of breaking off from his old divinities. The second dispensed the convert from the perhaps impossible task of believing his former religion; for it was only necessary for him to degrade it, attributing its prodigies to infernal beings."[1] It might be well to ask, just here, whether Lecky really believes in the validity of the doctrine of an "exclusive salvation," and, if not, whether he would seriously affirm that the great missionary power of the church really lay in the promulgation of a doctrine wholly groundless. And when he says: "To a world, in fine, distracted by hostile creeds and colliding philosophies, it [Christianity] taught its doctrines, not as a human speculation, but as a divine revelation, authenticated much less by reason than by faith," we would like to ask, again, whether this learned author believes in a religion whose authority and power over men lie in its being a "divine revelation"? or, whether "a religion under

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 190, 191.

pretence" of deriving its authority directly from God, is simply what he holds the Christian religion to be? and so, whether the power of the Christian religion lay in its *reality*, or in its *pretence?*

The force of these queries will more fully appear when we find how he regards the miracles connected with the introduction of Christianity. When Mr. Lecky says that, "like all great religions, Christianity was more concerned with modes of feeling than with modes of thought," if he means with the character and the life, rather than with speculation, then we agree with him. But the religion of the New Testament is very far from being indifferent to modes of thought; it would affect the character and life by rectifying the intellect. In other words, Christianity is a doctrine, — a very definite and positive doctrine, — as well as a life.

The following deserves careful notice, as combining something of truth with more of error in one short paragraph: "The true cause of its success was the congruity of its teaching with the spiritual nature of mankind. It was because it was true to the moral sentiments of the age, because it represented faithfully the supreme type of excellence to which men were then tending, because it corresponded with their religious wants, aims, and emotions, because the whole spiritual being could then expand and expatiate under its influence, that it planted its roots so deeply in the hearts of men." Now, that the teachings of Jesus Christ are adapted to the spiritual nature of mankind and correspond with our religious wants, is true; but history shows but too plainly that they did not meet with a popular reception on this account. But the moral sentiments of the age were very far from being one with the gospel; nor was the supreme type of excellence to which men were then tending, the Christian type. It is not true, therefore, that Christianity became successful because "true to the moral sentiments of the age," or because it "represented faithfully the supreme type of excellence to which men were then

tending." But Lecky knows of only natural agencies, and admits nothing supernatural.

His treatment of miracles, however, is instructive. They were generally accepted. "Christianity floated into the Roman empire on the wave of credulity that brought with it this long train of oriental superstitions and legends. In its moral aspect it was broadly distinguished from the systems around it; but its miracles were accepted, by both friend and foe, as the ordinary accompaniments of religious teaching." This is, then, why miracles were pretended. But "to suppose that men who held these opinions were capable, in the second or third centuries, of ascertaining with any degree of just confidence whether miracles had taken place in Judea in the first century, is grossly absurd; nor would the conviction of their reality have made any great impression on their minds at a time when miracles were supposed to be so abundantly diffused."[1] This, surely, is to dispose of miracles summarily, if not satisfactorily.

And, of course, with miracles in general, *the great miracle of the incarnation* must be discarded, and, with the incarnation, that positive Christianity which Lecky is somewhat troubled to treat as a natural agent. And yet a positivist or naturalist has in his system no place for miracles. And why should he trouble himself to examine the evidence on which they rest their claim. On the other hand, a supernatural religion cannot be appreciated from the mere standpoint of nature; nor can its working and its results be apprehended aright, if separated from its principles.

But, observe how the absurdities and non-realities of Christianity become, nevertheless, according to our author, real forces in the natural world. He sees that the teachers of this new religion "enforced their distinctive tenets as absolutely essential to salvation," and he affirms that they *thus* "assailed at great advantage the supporters of all other creeds which did not claim this exclusive authority." And this — although by him it must be regarded as utterly ab-

[1] Vol. i. 397, 398.

surd — this teaching of the gospel as the only salvation, he holds to be one leading cause of the rapid progress of the church.[1] He also affirms that "Christianity floated into the Roman empire on the wave of credulity that brought with it this long train of oriental superstitions and legends,"[2] referring to miracles. Behold, then, the result — the world converted by miracles which in themselves were not realities, and by a claim which in itself is unreasonable!

And yet, from his point of view, how could this writer see that a religion revealed from heaven should and must be positive, and appeal to faith; be exclusive, and claim the assent of all? or, that precisely by being the one and doing the other, it exerted an influence and begat a morality peculiarly its own? And, not recognizing the fact that God has in the gospel of his Son proclaimed an evangel, and provided a supernatural power which is to revolutionize the world, he could not present, as he has not presented, the legitimate influence of Christianity — separating it from its human imperfections, and thus making it the vital element of the new civilization of the Atlantic states, which, because of this vital element, we denominate Christian.

It is refreshing to turn from such a treatment of Christianity as connected with civilization, and read these words from Guizot, who in the historic spirit and a knowledge of the world's history is certainly not inferior to the author of European Morals: "Who but will acknowledge that Christianity has been one of the greatest promoters of civilization? And wherefore? Because it has changed the interior condition of man, his opinions, his sentiments; because it has regenerated his intellectual and moral character."[3] And, while speaking of the immense advantage to European civilization, during the fifth century, of a moral power resting on moral convictions, he says: "Had not the Christian church existed at that time, the whole world must have fallen a prey to mere brute force. The Christian

[1] Vol. ii. p. 202. [2] Vol. i. p. 397.

[3] Guizot's History of Civilization, Vol. i. p. 26.

church alone possessed a moral power; it maintained and promulgated the idea of a precept, of a law superior to all human authority; it promulgated the great truth which forms the only foundation of our hope for humanity." [1]

The want of comparing the two systems of morals, pagan and Christian, in their fundamental *principles*, might be further urged against the history before us. This has appeared hitherto, but, as bearing on Christianity, especially, deserves, in concluding this criticism, a distinct notice. If Lecky aimed at giving us the fruits of the two systems, he has succeeded much better in showing how these sprang from their principles on the pagan, than on the Christian, side; while it is in their principles rightly represented that the true difference appears.

Now, we cannot be just to Christianity without regarding it as a *system of instruction of a unique and peculiar character*, which instruction is intended for the life, and which through the life reforms society and gives tone to public morals. While being examined at the bar of Pilate, Jesus

[1] Guizot's History of Civilization Vol. i. p. 54. We cannot refrain from quoting from many that might be selected, the following passage, that may be found in Vol. iii. p. 198: "It is in the alliance of intellectual liberty, as it shone in antiquity, with the intellectual power as it showed itself in Christian societies, that we find the great and original character of modern civilization; and it is, without doubt, in the bosom of the revolution effected by Christianity in the spiritual and temporal orders of thought and of the exterior world, that this new revolution has taken its origin and its first point of support." It is a fact for which we should be grateful, that the author of the "History of Civilization," when apparently through with the work of a long and useful life, employs his setting sun in defending Christianity against the assaults of naturalistic infidelity.

Of that book which is, and ever has been, the authority and instrument of the church, Coleridge says: "For more than a thousand years the Bible, collectively taken, has gone hand in hand with civilization, science, and law; in short, with the moral and intellectual cultivation of the species, always supporting, and often leading the way. Its very presence as a believed book, has rendered the nations emphatically a chosen race; and this too in exact proportion as it is more or less generally known and studied. . . . . Good and holy men, and the best and wisest of mankind, the kingly spirits of history, enthroned in the hearts of mighty nations have borne witness to its influence, have declared it to be beyond compare the most perfect instrument, the only adequate organ of humanity." — Coleridge's Works (Shedd's ed.), Vol. v. p. 611.

said: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth" (John xviii. 37). He bore witness, in word and deed, to the guilt and ruin of sin, on the one hand, and to the need and possibility of human salvation through a divine interposition, on the other. His disciples were to be witnesses of that truth which has *Himself* as its centre and validity. And it is certain that the apostles did preach salvation through Christ alone (Acts ii. 32–39; iv. 12; xx. 21). For the doctrines which they believed and taught, and which they held dearer than life, they were persecuted, and their principles became the seed of the martyr-church. And whenever it has been a power and life-giving in its influence, awakening and directing the moral instincts of society, this has been due to the pure doctrine of the gospel being embraced and taught by the church.

Had the author of the History of Morals started in his estimate of Christianity as a civilizing agent with the facts of the gospel history, he might have found these connected with, or themselves becoming, doctrines — constituent and inseparable parts of the Christian system. Finding — what the most thorough criticism, if it be candid, must admit — the gospel narrative credible, it would also follow that the recorded miracles, performed in the name or wrought by the direct power of that unique Person who is the leading character of the New Testament history, cannot be separated from it without destroying its integrity and impeaching its veracity. And, moreover, this "Christ of history" must be what he claims to be, and hence must have come into the world to save sinners, and this by bearing witness to God's holiness and man's guilt. And so of the *need* of redemption, on the one hand, and of the *fact* of redemption accomplished in his own person, including pardon, justification, and life, on the other. From this position, who can help seeing that these two cardinal truths — man ruined by sin and saved by the supernatural grace of God — have always constituted the life, power, and leavening influence

of the true church of Christ on earth? Having come so far, it had then been easy to eliminate from the genuine principles of Christianity those excrescences which had in various ways connected themselves therewith, and by which for a long period those principles were obscured. Nor could it have been difficult to perceive the salutary influence, operating directly and indirectly upon society, of the great central doctrine of the New Testament at the time of the Reformation; in which case one could hardly find it necessary, against the light of history, to affirm the pagan literature of antiquity and the Mohammedan schools of science" to be "the chief agents in resuscitating the dormant energies of Christendom." Nor would it then be needful to treat a belief in human guilt and future retribution as groundless, nor to declare theology to be in the way of civilization, nor to disregard the objective evidence on which this theology is based and the divine authority for the principles of Christianity, nor to speak of the preaching of an "exclusive salvation" as if this were groundless. Least of all could it have been required, after having rejected the supernatural as an agent in the conversion of the Roman empire, — then, both to admit and declare the preaching of this exclusive religion, with its rewards and punishments, its attestation by miracles, and its authoritative appeal to faith in divine revelation, to be, after all and in fact, a most important reason for the spread of Christianity. Such inconsistency might have been avoided by coupling the legitimate fruits of the gospel with its principles. Indeed, had the test of principles been applied, the contrast between the pagan and the Christian morality — if this was the leading aim of the writer, and very little is accomplished if it was not — might have been made clear and impressive with a tithe of the illustrative facts employed, which now, for want thereof, tend rather to obscure than illustrate truth.

The words of the great Neander have much force, and they may, perhaps, suggest the reason why Lecky could not appreciate — and not appreciating could not represent — the

true nature and influence of Christianity: "To understand history, it is supposed that we have some understanding of that which constitutes its working principle; but it is history which furnishes us the proper test by which to ascertain whether this principle has been rightly apprehended. Certainly, then, our understanding of the history of Christianity will depend on the conception we have formed to ourselves of Christianity itself. Now, Christianity we regard not as a power that has sprung up out of the hidden depths of man's nature, but as one which descended from above, because heaven opened itself for the rescue of revolted humanity — a power which, as it is exalted above all that human nature can create out of its own resources, must impart to that nature a new life, and change it from its inmost centre." [1]

To conclude this criticism, — for we do not speak of the chapter on the "Condition of Women," — we may express our opinion that the work will doubtless be read, partly because of its entertaining style and matter, and partly because it so thoroughly falls into the current of modern thought, which ignores the supernatural in behalf of naturalism; and for these reasons it will mislead. But, if Christianity is from God, and is capable of vindicating itself as such; and, if truth is consistent, and destined to triumph over inconsistency and error — then a work so unsatisfactory psychologically, logically, and morally, — so unsatisfactory as this is historically, theologically, and religiously — must soon give place to something better.

[1] Introduction to Neander's Church History.

ARTICLE II.

DARWINISM.

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Mr. Darwin had been long known to the scientific world before he propounded the theories which have now made his name familiar in every household. He was distinguished as a naturalist as well by the extent, variety, and accuracy of his observations as by the singular fairness of his statement of them. The most widely known among his many scientific works are probably his "Journal of Researches: Voyage of the Beagle," his investigations of the Orchids, and of the facts concerning climbing plants; the last accomplished during the author's confinement in a sick room. The first of these works has a more than technical interest, because the author compares the fauna and flora of many and diverse lands evidently with a mind already under the influence of those speculations which afterwards took form in the theory of "Natural Selection," and also because he recounts his experiences with the Fuegians and others of the lowest types of the human race. Of these experiences he makes large use in his "Descent of Man," and they have also afforded strong points to the assailants of his theory. His researches upon the Orchids have also served as the basis for opposite arguments. In both cases the faithfulness of his observations has been unquestioned; the controversy is on the inferences to be deduced from them.

The series of works, however, by which Mr. Darwin is most generally known are those in which he propounds, supports, and expands those theories which bear his name. The first of this series is entitled "The Origin of Species"

(in one volume) and has had a wide circulation. Its fifth carefully revised edition, published in this country, contains the most exact presentation of the author's views. This book promised a successor in which the facts on which the theory rested should be more fully presented. After a considerable delay this appeared, under the title of "Animals and Plants under Domestication," in two volumes. In this, besides presenting such facts as he had proposed to bring forward, the author also broached a new and remarkable theory called "Pangenesis," designed to be supplementary of his main hypothesis, of which more hereafter. These works, but especially the earlier one, excited a wide and profound interest. One point, however, was still left in some uncertainty: whether the author would extend his theory to include the origin of man, and if he did this in regard to man as an animal, whether he would also include under the operations of the same theory his higher intellectual and moral nature. Mr. Darwin's disciples were somewhat divided about the matter. All possibility of doubt has been finally removed by the publication of his two volumes on "The Descent of Man," in which the broadest ground is frankly taken of the derivation of man's whole nature from lower and still lower animal forms, until at last all organisms are ultimately derived by the simple process of "Natural Selection," or (as it is otherwise called) "the survival of the fittest," from one common source. In the case of man, Mr. Darwin traces back the probable line of the chain as far as some creature resembling "the larvae of marine Ascidians."

It is scarcely more than one quarter of this last work that is immediately concerned with the subject of its title; the remaining volume and a half being occupied with the development of a fresh supplementary hypothesis, entitled "Sexual Selection." The former supplementary hypothesis, although considered by its author as important to the completeness of his main theory, is yet one which he is willing to have set aside by those who still adhere to "Natural Selection"; the latter he makes essential as being, in all the higher forms of

life, an important co-operating agency in the change of hereditary structures.

The theory of Darwin is to be distinguished from the theory of evolution, as one special hypothesis is to be distinguished from a vastly more general one in which it is included. If Darwinism were proved true, it would of course establish, so far as the forms of life on this earth are concerned, the theory of evolution; but if Darwinism were proved false, evolution would have lost nothing but the discomfiture of one — and just now, perhaps, the most popular one — of the supposable theories of its *modus operandi*. Among the most able and zealous opponents of Darwinism are to be reckoned some of the strongest supporters of evolution. It is impossible, therefore, to discuss the Darwinian theory without saying something on the general subject of evolution, and it should be kept in mind that, on the one hand, while arguments in favor of Darwinism all go to establish evolution, those in favor of evolution generally do but afford standing ground for, and do not enter on the proof of, Darwinism; and, on the other hand, arguments against evolution are equally conclusive against Darwinism, while those against Darwinism specifically, scarcely affect the more general subject of evolution.

Mr. Darwin's main theory may be thus stated: every plant as well as animal transmits to its offspring a general likeness to itself; along with the general likeness thus inherited, each individual has also slight differences which may be of any kind and tending in any direction (the causes of these variations being scarcely at all understood, Mr. Darwin frequently speaks of them as "accidental," although fully believing them to be under the control of laws not yet discovered); all plants and animals tending to increase in number in geometrical progression, while the total vegetable and animal population of the world (apart from man and his agency) remains nearly stationary, there arises among them all a severe struggle for existence; in this struggle those individuals will survive and transmit offspring which are best adapted to the conditions of life in which they are placed, that is, "the fittest will sur-

vive"; if now there come about any change in the conditions of life, either from a change in the earth itself, or from the spread of any species into a different part of the earth, the slight variations among the offspring of any plant or animal will determine which individuals will be most likely to survive, and so again among their offspring, until these "slight individual differences" have been gradually accumulated into races, species, genera, etc., etc.; at the same time a portion of the offspring continuing ordinarily under unchanged conditions, will continue itself unchanged, and thus, for the most part, the old species will in some localities be continued along with the new under other conditions; theoretically, such a process should present every possible gradation of plant and animal from the lowest to the highest, but practically so small a part of their remains is preserved, and of that part science has as yet examined only such a minute fraction, that the absence of the connecting links is sufficiently explained; the time during which organic life has existed upon our globe is practically infinite.

Mr. Darwin by no means denies that other causes, such, e.g. as outward circumstances of heat and cold, etc., may have had a direct effect in the modification of species; but these he considers as altogether secondary, the main law by which all diversities of plants and animals have been produced being natural selection, or the survival of the fittest.

It will be observed that the theory rests upon a number of data, some of which will be universally admitted, while others are more or less seriously questioned by scientific men. It may be well in advance to call attention to two points as those in which the theory stands most in need of evidence — first, the extent to which the accumulation of differences is possible, and secondly, the length of time required for the purpose; while the absence of remains of intermediate forms will doubtless be considered as a further point which requires a fuller explanation. To these points we shall recur.

The reception accorded to this and to Mr. Darwin's other hypotheses has been various. Among those exclusively devo-

ted to natural science, "Natural Selection" has awakened universal attention. Perhaps by the larger, certainly by the more demonstrative, portion of them it has been fully accepted, and in Germany more fully than anywhere else, and it has called forth an already considerable literature in its defence and support. By others, and those among men entitled to speak confidently upon such a subject, it is more or less completely rejected. By Mr. Wallace, who was himself an independent originator of the same theory, and by others, its general truth is fully admitted, but its applicability to man is denied. Some distinguished men of science, as Huxley, accept it ardently, but with the reserve that certain facts — such as the infertility of hybrids — which now militate against the theory shall hereafter receive an explanation. It is probably accepted by all naturalists as explaining more satisfactorily than had previously been done the variation within narrow limits of species under changed conditions of life; but this can hardly be called an acceptance of the theory, since it does not at all reach to the dimensions of the subject with which Mr. Darwin has undertaken to grapple. Among men devoted to other branches of science there has been less occasion for an expression of opinion; but, on mathematical and astronomical grounds, Sir W. Thompson has undertaken to show that the demands it makes upon time are quite inadmissible.

With the general public it has had what may be called "an immense run." Theories of evolution or of transmutation of species in various forms have always obtained a transient popularity on their first enunciation, as undertaking to bring some of the most obscure problems of the world under the operation of familiar causes, and as definitely extending the region of Law over what it was supposed must in some unknown way lie within its boundaries. None of these theories have rested upon so large a portion of known truth, none have been worked out in connection with such an immense observation of facts, and none have found an advocate whose candor so won upon our confidence; while

his command of style fixed our attention, and his own untiring earnestness enlisted our sympathy. When to this is added the open adhesion to, and strenuous advocacy of, the theory by several men already well-known in their successful attempts to popularize the teachings of other branches of science, it is not to be wondered at that Darwinism should have almost at once occupied the public ear, without regard to the evidence on which it rests or the real cogency of the arguments by which it is sustained. So far as the reception of a theory by those competent to pronounce upon it is to be regarded as a test of its truth, it is evident that this test has in this case only very lately begun to be applied. The sifting of the evidence, argument upon the proper inferences to be drawn from it, the questioning of the force of its analogies, the weighing of objections, are processes which are not to be accomplished in a moment, nor to be satisfactorily concluded by the application of a very few minds. What is to be the ultimate issue yet remains to be seen, and it is by no means inconceivable that another ten years may see the Darwinian theories considered as insufficient to include within their generalizations the broader domain of observation. This has already repeatedly occurred with the more or less similar theories that have preceded them, as those of Lamarck and of the author of the Vestiges of Creation.

There is one feature of the discussion, as hitherto conducted, which cannot be left quite unnoticed — the absence of any reference to the scriptures by the disputants on either side. We must rejoice that doctrinal statements and the language of sacred devotion are not bandied about in such a discussion, as they might once have been. But the scriptures have also a purely historical value, and that in regard to a period of which there is no other authentic record, and which is of importance in the present controversy. The monuments of Egypt are appealed to; but of the scriptural representations of man's primeval state, of the bearing of its histories upon the extent and the diffusion of the population of the world, and a multitude of kindred topics, we hear almost nothing.

Several of the more prominent advocates of Darwinism have evidently made up their minds to admit of no aid in the investigation from any source outside of their own limited department of the field of science. They will have nothing to do either with the formulas of mathematics or with the records of history. Such men are entitled to a careful hearing as to the testimony of their own speciality, but are quite incompetent to determine how much weight is to be attached to that testimony when in conflict with other data, or to decide upon the entire merits of the theory. They will be carefully listened to until they have fully exhibited the evidence within their own knowledge, and explained its bearing upon the questions at issue. Then the world will surely, in forming its final conclusions, avail itself of all the light within its reach, coming from whatever source; for, after all, in the long run, what men want to know is the real truth, and not merely what any particular set of men, however distinguished, may happen to think. Specialists are seldom in a position to appreciate the modifying influence which the advance of the sciences in a thousand directions brings to bear upon their own views; they catch a glimpse of nature's vast cathedral through loop-holes they have laboriously cut in the walls of the prison-house of our ignorance; they give us one, but only one, view of the glorious whole; and experience has long since proved that partial truth becomes a synonyme for partial error. As this discussion advances, and takes in broader and broader generalizations, Darwinism must necessarily lose its peculiar vigor as a new and aggressive theory, and, being put upon its defence, may be found to present assailable points on sides that have not yet been considered.

Meantime theologians, having learned something of wisdom from the experience of past controversies, have in great degree stood aloof from the discussion. Begun as a scientific theory, discussed on scientific grounds, Darwinism must be finally accepted or rejected on scientific evidence. It has been felt that former cases of theological intermeddling,

from the days of Galileo down to those of the geologists, have not been of advantage either to science or to theology, until science had gone far enough to know what its own teaching really meant. But there is one feature characteristic of the Darwinian and of several other recent scientific theories which, it seems to us, very broadly distinguishes them from the cases above referred to, and gives the non-scientific observer a full title to take part in the discussion. It is this: Scientific conclusions have acquired their weight and authority in the past as being the result of induction. All along, theories have been formed as a means of generalizing observations and advancing to further knowledge; but those theories, before being accepted, ordinarily before being propounded, have been subjected to rigid inductive tests. Newton conceived of the law of gravity, but, having tested it by the observations then made upon the moon, and finding it did not agree with them, laid it aside. Afterwards, when those observations had been rectified, he again made the comparison, and, the agreement being now found satisfactory, he announced his theory. This process has been so often repeated, in great matters and in small, that men have come to rest very implicitly upon the announcements of science, and men of science have come to occupy something of the position once held by the religious teacher, and to feel that whatever they taught would be accepted by the hearer as certain truth. This position has proved, in the one case, as in the other, to offer temptations too strong for human nature. In the hurry of advancing knowledge it has come to be more and more common to put forth, in various departments of science, and especially in those in which the general public take the liveliest interest, imperfectly tested theories as ascertained truths. *Deductive* reasoning has been largely substituted for *inductive*, and it is precisely here that the opportunity and the duty occur for the non-scientific observer to come in and examine the cogency of the deductive process. We are quite aware that Huxley, in treating of this very subject, in his little book on the

"Origin of Species," scouts the distinction, and repudiates the objection made to his argument on this ground. Nevertheless, it remains true that an almost exclusive training in the nice observation of facts and consideration of the inductions they sustain does not fit the mind to be a master in the art of deductive reasoning, nor entitle its deductive conclusions to implicit acceptance, without further examination. At all events, when once the process of deduction is entered upon, the man whose daily life is occupied with such processes, and with the weighing of the conclusions derived from them, may claim to come in, and, accepting the facts and the inductions sustained by them, to examine for himself, and with as much authority as the scientist, the deduction of conclusions. We take it, therefore, there is no presumption in dealing freely with the arguments of men so eminent in their respective positions as Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Wallace, Lubbock, and Lyell. They are all eminent in observation in their own departments of science, in inductions, and in clear enunciation of their facts and their conclusions; but it can hardly be said of any of them that they are pre-eminent in the art of reasoning.

It remains to say a word on the reception which has been thus far accorded to Mr. Darwin's subsidiary theories of "pangenesis" and "sexual selection." It is as well to do this now, because there will be little occasion to refer to them again. The former seems to be generally looked upon by the advocates of "natural selection" as an unnecessary hypothesis, and they do not care to encumber the main argument with the grave difficulties attaching to the subsidiary theory. The theory itself is somewhat difficult of a brief and satisfactory statement; but its chief points are as follows: Every part of every living thing is ultimately made up of a vast number of "gemmules," or minute living particles or organic atoms, and each one of these has the inherent power of reproducing its kind. These "gemmules," or any number of them, may at once exert their reproductive powers, or they may pass on in a dormant state from parent

to offspring for a series of generations. In order to this it is necessary that there should be a general aggregation of all varieties of "gemmules" in each ovum and spermatozoon in the higher animals, and in each part capable of reproducing by "budding" in the lower animals and plants; and to effect such aggregation there must necessarily be a free circulation of the "gemmules" from every organ through the system. These "gemmules" are further supposed to be formed and transmitted, not only from each part of every organ in every state and stage of its existence, but also from various states and stages of the organs of some generations of ancestors. Finally, they are supposed to reproduce in certain definite relations to other "gemmules" with which they may be brought into contact. The extent to which the multiplication of such "gemmules" is supposed to be carried is best seen in the words of Mr. Darwin himself: "In a highly organized and complex animal ..... the gemmules thrown off from each cell or unit throughout the body must be inconceivably numerous and minute. Each unit of each part, as it changes during development, — and we know that some insects undergo at least twenty metamorphoses, — must throw off its gemmules. All organic beings, moreover, include many dormant gemmules, derived from their grandparents and more remote progenitors. These *almost infinitely numerous* and minute gemmules must be included in each bud, ovule, spermatozoon, and pollen-grain." [1] It will be seen that this hypothesis is of the nature of an almost pure speculation, having but the slenderest possible support in any facts of observation. For the most part, therefore, it has been simply left out of consideration in the discussion, although sometimes a shaft is aimed at the main hypothesis winged with the evident airiness of the subsidiary theory. It is objected to by Professor Delphino and other scientific men, on the ground of requiring for its support many subordinate hypotheses, some of which are simply untenable. The absurdity of its practical application can hardly be

[1] "Animals and Plants under Domestication," Vol. ii. p. 366.

shown better than by an example given by Mivart: "On the hypothesis of pangenesis, no creature can develop an organ unless it possesses the component gemmules which serve for its formation. No creature can possess such gemmules unless it inherits them from its parents, grandparents, or less remote ancestors. Now, the Jews are remarkably scrupulous as to marriage, and rarely contract such a union with individuals not of their own race. This practice has gone on for thousands of years: and similarly, also, for thousands of years, the rite of circumcision has been unfailingly and carefully performed. If, then, the hypothesis of the pangenesis is well founded, that rite ought to be now absolutely or nearly superfluous, from the necessarily continuous absence of certain gemmules through so many centuries and so many generations." [1]

The theory of sexual selection has been so lately propounded that its reception is a matter rather of prediction than of record. The method of its support, however, is so similar to that of natural selection, there is so much of likeness between the two theories themselves, and it is so cleverly fitted in to supply gaps in the main theory and to remove some of its more obvious difficulties, and, altogether, it is made by its author so much an integral part of his way of accounting for the origin of species, that it is likely to be accepted or rejected along with the main hypothesis. It has, of course, its own especial difficulties; but these are so much of the same character with those that surround the principal theory, that minds which are able to overcome the one will not be likely to be appalled by the other. In no part of Mr. Darwin's works does his candor appear more conspicuously than here. Facts in endless profusion are indifferently marshalled upon his pages, whether they are antagonistic to, or accordant with, his theory. Is it to be proved that the beautiful plumage of the male bird has come about by selection, in consequence of its power to captivate

[1] "The Genesis of Species," p. 227.

the female at the breeding season? It is shown that in a multitude of cases it happens that this plumage is most fully developed just at that time; but, with perfect candor, it is added that in a multitude of other cases it does not appear at all, while in others it continues equally brilliant at all seasons. These various facts are impartially given; such as make in favor of the theory are gathered up; those which make against it are sometimes more or less explained, sometimes quite let alone. Mr. Darwin does not disguise that he has a theory to prove which may affect his judgment, but states that to his mind the balance of the evidence lies in such a direction. There is something heroic in the unflinching fairness with which so ardent a theorist is ready to give his readers the benefit of all the facts which make against himself. It is even chivalric, when he takes those facts, and, without any perversion or explanation of them, arrays them, just as they are, among the supports of his theory. One instance, in passing, must be given. His theory is, that certain peculiarities in individual males, having been found attractive to the females, have given them an advantage over their rivals; and these peculiarities, having been accumulated in a long succession of generations, in the same way as in "natural selection," have gradually produced the ornaments and other developments in which the sexes differ. (These may, however, be transmitted to both sexes, in which case they will lead to a change in species.) These peculiarities, he tells us, have come to be transmitted by inheritance during a long course of generations; yet it often occurs that after they have been developed in the growth of an individual male, they may be made to disappear again by the process of emasculation. To most persons this would be a conclusive proof that such peculiarities were immediately connected with and dependent upon the masculine functions; but Mr. Darwin refers to the fact, again and again,[1] as an evidence of his theory of sexual selection, i.e. that these characters have been originally gradually ac-

[1] E.g. Descent of Man, Vol. ii. pp. 275, 283, 299, 380.

quired as being attractive to the females, and then transmitted by inheritance through a long course of generations. He even attaches so much weight to the fact as to include it in his short summary of the principal points of his argument at the close of his work.

It is time to return to the principal theory itself, and review, as briefly as may be, the chief points in the arguments for and against its truth. Both Mr. Darwin and his friends have so generally discussed his hypothesis as if it were identical with the general theory of evolution, that it is somewhat difficult to do justice to their reasoning, without allowing them the advantage of arguments which make only in favor of evolution in some form or other, and not at all in favor of "natural selection" in particular. In order to do this as fairly as possible, it is necessary to glance, very briefly however, at the general subject of evolution, and, having taken a bird's eye view of its position, so as to see what arguments and objections belong to the whole subject, then to come to those which belong specifically to Darwinism. It will be found that all the more important arguments so commonly urged for the latter really belong to the former, while most of the difficulties are the peculiar property of the latter.

Evolution, in its most general sense, is simply the "evolving" of one thing out of another, without reference to the power by which this is accomplished, the means by which it is effected, or the resulting differences in the product. In this sense, probably, no one would object to its use in connection with the creative work, after the original fact of creation itself. The Mosaic narrative itself is certainly open to, even if not absolutely requiring, such an interpretation. The formation of land and of sea was by the separation of previously existing material. Vegetable life was ushered in by the mandate: "Let the earth bring forth grass," etc., and its accomplishment is accordingly recorded: "And the earth brought forth grass," etc. The phraseology in regard to the

origin of marine and of land animals is the same: "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life"; "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind." Even of man, while in the first account of his creation it is simply declared that God made him in his own image, yet afterwards it is more specifically declared: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground" (Gen. ii. 7). The doctrine of the production of the entire series of organic forms from pre-existing inorganic material is, therefore, to say the least, not in opposition to the scriptural record. And that record was so understood centuries before modern scientific discoveries came into being. The patristic view of creation was as far as possible from that of the direct creation of each species *ex nihilo*. On the contrary, it was generally held that the Creator had constituted the water and the land with such inherent forces that they produced from themselves the various creatures appertaining to them. Often these views were carried so far as to assert the still active operation of these forces, and thus to set forth explicitly the doctrine of "spontaneous generation," which modern researches have as yet failed to establish. This may be seen with especial clearness in St. Basil;[1] but in a limited space it is better to confine the attention to the writings of a single master mind. St. Augustine not only treats expressly and at length of the creation, but frequently refers back to it in his other works. He tells us that the creation on the third day of vegetation, and on the sixth of terrestrial animals, was potential only.[2] He draws a parallel between the origin of plants and of animals: As, in the case of the former, it may be questioned whether the seed is from the tree, or the tree from the seed, yet the earth is the parent of both; so, in the case of animals, it may be doubted whether they proceed from the embryo, or the embryo from

[1] Basil, Hexaemeron, Hom. ix. c. 1.

[2] Augustine de Genesi ad lit. lib. v. c. 5. 14. — Tertio, species maris et terrae, atque in terra potentialiter, ut ita dicam, natura herbarum atque lignorum..... Sexto, terrestria similiter animalia, tanquam ex ultimo elemento mundi, ultima; nihilominus potentialiter, quorum numeros tempus postea visibiliter explicaret.

them; but whichever is the earlier, that is most certainly from the earth.[1] He argues that, as all things are already invisibly in the seed which are hereafter to develop into the tree, so, also, with the world itself, all things are said to be created at once by the divine command, because the water and the land produced them under the operation of the same divine laws which are still in operation.[2] In his work on the Trinity he teaches very fully that the creation of animals has taken place after the analogy of agricultural growth: God is the ultimate Author of all things; but he works through secondary causes. He has given to the earth forces in virtue of which it has evolved from itself the various forms of life.[3] Such views, as already said, were common

[1] Augustine de Genesi ad lit. lib. v. c. xxiii. 44. Ergo et semen ex arbore, et arbor ex semine..... Alternis igitur successionibus alterum ex altero, sed utrumque ex terra, nec ex ipsis terra; prior igitur eorum parens terra. Sic et animalia, potest incertum esse utrum ex ipsis semina, an ipsa ex seminibus; quodlibet tamen horum prius, ex terra esse certissimum est.

[2] Ibid. 45. Sicut autem in ipso grano invisibiliter erant omnia simul quae per tempora in arborem surgerent; ita ipse mundus cogitandus est, cum Deus simul omnia creavit, habuisse simul omnia quae in illo et cum illo facta sunt, quando factus est dies; non solum coelum..... sed etiam illa quae aqua et terra produxit potentialiter atque causaliter, priusquam per temporum moras ita exorirentur, quomodo nobis jam nota sunt in eis operibus, quae Deus usque nunc operatur.

[3] De Trinitate, lib. iii. c. viii. 13. Omnium quippe rerum quae corporaliter visibiliterque nascuntur, occulta quaedam semina in istis corporeis mundi hujus elementis latent. Alia sunt enim haec jam conspicua oculis nostris ex fructibus et animantibus, alia vero illa occulta istorum seminum semina, unde jubente Creatore produxit aqua prima natatilia et volatilia, terra autem prima sui generis germina, et prima sui generis animalia. And a little further on, ib. 14. — Ita creationem rerum visibilium Deus interius operatur; exteriores autem operationes sive bonorum sive malorum, vel angelorum vel hominum, sive etiam quorumcumque animalium, secundum imperium suum et a se impertitas distributiones potestatum et appetitiones commoditatum, ita rerum naturae adhibet in qua creat omnia, quemadmodum terrae agriculturam.

And again, ib. c. ix. 16. Aliud est ex intimo ac summo causarum cardine condere ac administrare creaturam, quod qui facit, solus Creator est Deus: aliud autem pro distributis ab illo viribus et facultatibus aliquam operationem forinsecus admovere, ut tunc vel tunc, sic vel sic, exeat quod creatur. Ista quippe originaliter ac primordialiter in quadam textura elementorum cuncta jam creata sunt; sed acceptis opportunitatibus prodeunt. Nam sicut matres gravidae sunt foetibus, sic ipse mundus gravidus est causis nascentium: *quae in illo non creantur,*

among the Christian Fathers. In their ignorance of science, their opinions upon details were often grotesque in the extreme; but, such as they were, they naturally impressed themselves, both in detail and in general principle, upon the scholastic writers, and thence they passed on to the writers of the Reformation period, and so into the common belief of the people of that time.

Just here is one of the most curious and instructive facts in the whole history of the relations of theology and science. When thought was set free by the great theological revolution of the sixteenth century, men's minds were possessed with the idea of spontaneous generation, and the popular belief was firm that frogs were originated in the clouds, and were rained down upon the earth, and many such like phantasies. But the freedom acquired by the upheaval in theology became the means of the growth of science, and by that growth these crude notions were rudely scattered. The scientific maxim became "Omne ex ovo," and this maxim was at last so firmly established as to be regarded as in some sort a religious truth. When, therefore, the most modern science undertook to reinvestigate the question of spontaneous generation, a cry of sacrilege arose. By many devout minds that science was considered as infidel which could suggest — although it has not yet adopted — a theory which, a few generations before, this same science had dislodged from its position as a commonly received dogma!

To return: evolution, as the term is now understood in scientific treatises, means something more than the very general conception held by Augustine. It means, not only that all organic forms have been created ultimately out of inorganic material, but that they have been evolved one

nisi ab illa summa essentia, ubi nec oritur, nec moritur aliquid, nec incipit esse nec desinit. Adhibere autem forinsecus accedentes causas, quae tamenetsi non sunt naturales, tamen secundam naturam adhibentur, ut ea quae secreto naturae sinu abdita continentur, erumpant et foris creentur quodam modo explicando mensuras et numeros et pondera sua quae in occulto acceperunt ab illo, qui omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuit; non solum mali angeli, sed etiam mali homines possunt, sicut exemplo agriculturae supra docui.

from another in lines of their ascending scale in rank. It does not mean that they have been thus self-evolved, or evolved by any natural forces of which we have knowledge; these are the doctrines of special theories, as when Mr. Darwin contends that the producing force has been natural (in combination with sexual) selection. Evolution itself simply maintains the fact of a genetic relation between the different forms of life, leaving us free to believe that the cause of that fact must be sought in a superior Power. The question is thus removed from theological objection, and becomes simply one of evidence.

In its favor it is urged that both in the vegetable and the animal kingdoms there is a manifest gradation of rank, and that, in general, the series of gradation is also the series of the appearance in time of the several forms upon the earth. This fact has always attracted the attention of the intelligent observer, and its force of late years has been greatly increased, and still increases with the ever-widening observations of science. It leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the world has been hitherto, and is therefore likely to continue, progressive. It harmonizes with the Mosaic order of creation, and prepares us to look forward to the realization of the promises of scripture. The difficulty of applying it to the support of evolution lies in the fact that, while this law of progress is most manifest upon a broad and general view, it fails very often, when we descend to details, where "evolution" most needs its support. It is not found true of each order and class, of each family and genus, that its lowest forms first appeared, and then, subsequently, the higher; but frequently the exact reverse is true, as has been often shown, and especially by Dana, in his Geology. In accordance with these facts, the law of evolution would be, not one of uniform progression, but one which, with a marked tendency on the whole to advance, yet allows of many minor retrograde steps; these steps being often the comparatively small ones, while the advance is as often by great and sudden strides.

It is further urged that there is a marked analogy between evolution and embryonic development. The embryos of the higher animals in the successive stages of development pass in succession through forms which represent the various grades of animal life below them. It is not meant, here, to refer to that egregious fallacy of certain Darwinian philosophers who argue that because the embryo of a man at some stages cannot be distinguished, or "can hardly be distinguished," from the embryo of a dog at a corresponding stage, therefore man has once been a dog; for it is obvious, here, that the want of distinction lies simply in our powers of observation. The two embryos, by all Darwinian laws of inheritance, must be different essentially, and that difference is made manifest in their different development. It would seem as rational to say that because nitro-glycerine looks very much like water they had a common genesis, or because brass looks like gold, therefore they have common properties. But, setting aside such inferences, which are among the examples of the curious methods of reasoning employed by some natural philosophers when they stray beyond their accustomed sphere, it remains that there is an obvious analogy between the development of the individual and that of the whole kingdom to which he belongs. There is a somewhat similar analogy between the intellectual development of the individual man and that of his whole race. Such analogies excite interest and attention; they indicate the existence of general laws, under which each kind of development takes place, whether in the individual and the race, or, in the case of physical development, the individual and the whole kingdom to which he physically belongs. Whether they do more than this is a question on which there may be a difference of opinion. The evolutionist argues that these analogies indicate a genetic connection between the various members of the animal kingdom. It may be so; but the point is not proved, and the hypothesis is certainly tenable that by the laws of organic life development takes place in certain lines. The circumstance that in some classes

of beings this development extends only a certain way along the line, in others it extends further, and in still others further still, by no means proves, or even renders in any degree probable, a genetic connection between them. It is especially to be remembered that at no stage of embryonic development are different animals really the same. The most that can be said of them is that they are yet too undeveloped for us to distinguish them; there is certainly an essential difference between them; they are advancing in different lines; but as yet neither has moved far enough from the point of departure for our powers of observation to come into play. Just in proportion as the development enables us to see and understand what is really going on, the embryos become differentiated. The hypothesis of the possibility of the transmutation of perfect animals has long since been laid aside. Nevertheless, this point of similarity in embryonic development is set forth as one of the strong grounds on which the theory of evolution rests.

Another point much insisted on is "the similarity in points of structure and constitution." This is very striking in the study of animal forms, and is the basis of the classifications of naturalists. The animal kingdom; its great divisions of radiata, mollusca, crustacea, and vertebrata; their subdivisions into classes, orders, families, genera, and species, are the expression of the greater or less degrees of this similarity observed. But, in this case, as in the former, it remains an open question, whether this similarity indicates a genetic connection, or only the existence of common laws of growth. Naturalists differ about the matter; but it does not seem necessary to be a scientific naturalist, or, indeed, a specialist of any kind, to determine whether the fact is to be considered as conclusive evidence of evolution.

We come now to a more difficult and less understood fact which, at the first view, certainly weighs heavily on the side of the evolutionists. Very many animals have what are called "rudimentary structures," i.e. structures which in these animals are apparently without function or use, but

which correspond to important parts of other animals. Such are the minute teeth in the embryo of the whale which afterward disappear; the mammary glands of all male animals; the radius and ulna in the foreleg of the horse and other quadrupeds, so imperfect as to have no power of revolution; the rudimentary wing in the New Zealand Apteryx; and a great multitude of similar instances. If these rudimentary structures were seen only in animals of a higher grade, answering to fully developed structures in the lower, the argument from them would be more obvious than it is, since these may be considered as "atrophied," i.e. as having been passed on to the higher animal by descent, but from disuse, having been gradually diminished until they have become rudimentary. The fact, however, that such structures often appear in rudimentary and apparently useless forms in the lower animals, and then in their full development and use in the higher, has often been cited as among the "prophecies" of nature. But if the argument thus becomes less obvious, it loses nothing of its real force. The theory of evolution does not suppose the descent of creatures to have been in one continuous line, but rather with frequent branches and offshoots from that line, so that a particular organ might go on becoming more developed in one branch and more rudimentary in another, thus indicating not the descent of the one from the other, but the genetic connection of both with a common stock. To many minds the evidence of these facts in favor of evolution is almost overwhelming; to others it is simply proof of the existence of laws of growth and of correlations of growth leading to an imperfect production of structures even in animals in which such structures serve, as far as we at present see, no useful purpose. It may be urged that evolution goes behind those laws and gives a rational explanation of them; it is answered that it does so simply as an hypothesis, resting for proof only on changes observed in animals under domestication, so slight that they are far overborne by the negative evidence on the other side.

The same things may be said of the argument from

"Homology." Essential structural resemblances are found to underlie great superficial differences in animals belonging to the same group, although of different form and external appearance and of different habits of life. Thus the arm of man, the foreleg of the ox, the paddle of the whale and the seal, the wing of the bat, are all formed essentially on the same type. Such homologies are at the foundation of the classificatory system of naturalists, and on the theory of evolution, classification becomes the expression of a genealogical relationship; but whether these homologies indicate a genetic connection or only show the existence of common laws of growth, they are in either case far too important to be overlooked.

The geographical distribution of animals in connection with their geological succession is a very curious and interesting subject. It is found that there are certain general characteristics of animals belonging to each larger region of the world which distinguish them from animals of the same classes in other parts, and that these characteristics have been persistent in the same regions through past geologic periods. Thus Australia is now, and has been in the past, the home of the marsupials, or pouched beasts, and the fossils of creatures closely allied to the kangaroo, etc., are found below the surface over which the kangaroo itself now roams. So sloths and armadillos appear only in South America, and there, and nowhere else, are found the fossils of species and genera, differing from existing sloths and armadillos, but more like them than any kinds of animals elsewhere. And not only are these characteristics of continents carried out on a great scale, but in adjacent islands where there is a probability of a former connection between them, the animals are nearly alike, while if there is evidence (from the depth of the sea and other indications) of a more ancient separation, their animals show a corresponding divergence.

An argument of less force is founded upon what are called "abnormal reversions." The muscles in man, for example,

are somewhat variable in their number, their form and their attachments; sometimes one is found which does not properly belong to man but to the anthropoid apes. So also with the growth of hair upon the body, and many such like variations. These are considered as "reversions" to the characters of a remote ancestor and as, therefore, evidences of descent. Mr. Darwin even finds a slight point occasionally developed on the outermost fold of the human ear an evidence of the descent of man from a pointed-eared animal.[1] But as it does not appear that such variations are uniformly or even generally in any one direction, it is of course illogical to single out a few of them which present evidence of one kind to the neglect of others which ought, if they indicate anything, to point the opposite way.

Many naturalists feel that these various lines of argument are not to be considered singly, but that they have a cumulative force; that there is a vast series of important facts stretching through the whole realm of nature, which evolution enables us to understand and co-ordinate; and even more than this, it serves as a basis of future research and guides to the discovery of new facts, forming the means of inference from the unknown to the known. That it offers a rational explanation of the vast harmonies of organic life and explains, as nothing else can explain, the endless and intricate relations of the almost countless forms of organic life to one another. For these and such like reasons it has made a rapid progress, not, however, without some eminent protests, to general scientific acceptance. In this point of view it is to be considered like other scientific hypotheses which have from time to time been proposed to generalize the facts known at the time, and to be the instrument of further progress. Such hypotheses, like the Ptolemaic system in astronomy, Newton's theory of the emission of light in physics, the atomic theory in chemistry, etc., may or may not be discarded in the progress of science and others substituted for them; they do not rest upon an induction of facts by which their truth is

[1] Descent of Man, Vol. i. pp. 21, 22.

proved, but they suggest a possible method by means of which the facts as yet known may be correlated and a step in advance gained. If the theory should hereafter be proved false, its present value is not diminished; only as soon as facts inconsistent with its truth become known, a further adherence to it becomes destructive of progress.

Thus the general and fundamental theory, of which that of Mr. Darwin is a particular expression, does not itself appear to rest either upon an assured basis of evidence nor upon a universal provisional acceptance. It may hereafter be proved true or untrue, or it may always remain an hypothesis the ground-work of which is beyond the reach of science. Theologically, it does not touch on the fact of creation; it only proposes to furnish a probable account of the *modus operandi* of creation. By a large number of scientific investigators it is accepted as an invaluable conception of utmost use to the progress of science; by others it is rejected as baseless and delusive.

It is only from this somewhat uncertain position that we can in reality consider the especial merits or demerits of what is properly Darwinism. Yet in order to treat this theory fairly, it will be better for the sake of argument, to assume the truth of the more or less uncertain doctrine of evolution.

The Darwinian theory undertakes to give us a rational account of the process of evolution, and it is at present the only theory entertained which proposes to do this upon scientific grounds. Its starting-point is the observed greater or less variability of all plants and animals. No two of them are exactly alike. In the same species the child always differs somewhat from the parent and the several individuals of the offspring from one another. Now it has been observed that in domestic animals man can select such variations as suit his purpose, and by breeding from them can increase these variations, which may have been comparatively slight at the outset, until he has produced a race which is persistent.

This has been over and over again accomplished in cattle, in dogs, sheep, horses, pigeons, etc. etc., until the fact is thoroughly familiar, and this is the very corner-stone of Darwinism. It is argued that if man's selection were replaced by any other agency the same results would follow, and thus far there can be no dispute. Further, the conditions under which animals exist in a state of nature present such an agency. They tend to multiply in a ratio which makes it impossible that they should all continue to live. As long as the conditions of life remain the same the species will con-continue unchanged; this we know as a matter of observation, and should expect because the species being already sufficiently well adapted to its conditions, the comparatively slight variations occurring will give their possessor no especial advantage, and being balanced by variations in all directions which cross with one another, the average result remains unchanged. But when any unusual state of things occurs, such as a very dry or very wet season, changing the normal supply of food, or the excessive multiplication of enemies, or the forcing of any particular species or part of it into new countries whether by its own increase or by the increase of its enemies, or by seasons of uncommon severity, then the species as it has hitherto existed will be somewhat out of harmony with its conditions, and in the struggle for existence those will survive and have offspring which are best adapted to the altered circumstances. The result will be a variety; and such varieties have in several instances been known actually to occur, especially with shell-fish transplanted to another locality, or when a material change has been effected in the locality where they were. Here we have an agency analogous to that of man in breeding by selection and producing similar results. Thus far then, the point is proved. But the question now occurs, what is the extent of such variation either in the hands of man, or as far as it is *actually known* to occur in nature? To this but one answer can possibly be given: it extends to those minor differences which constitute varieties, breeds, or races, but so far as

observation has yet gone it does not extend to species. We are well aware that Mr. Darwin and his followers feel the pressure of this limitation and have devoted much thought and argument to overcoming its consequences. They dwell upon the points of difference between races; they compare endless anatomic measurements of varieties; they speak of differences between domestic breeds as so great that, had they been discovered wild, any naturalist would have ranked them as species; and they have this great advantage, that the limits of many species are still unsettled, and often what is classed by one observer as a distinct species is determined by another to be only a variety. Still further, the law of the infertility of hybrids between different species and of the fertility of crosses between varieties is in some exceptional cases rendered uncertain by this want of definiteness in regard to the limits of species. But for all this, there is a great natural barrier between certain groups of animals, generally known as species, which is quite impassable: their hybrids are infertile, so that it is impossible to perpetuate by generation a cross between them. The difficulty cannot be better expressed than in the words of Mr. Huxley, himself an earnest advocate of Darwinism: "It must not be forgotten that the really important fact, so far as the origin of species goes is, that there are such things in nature as groups of animals and of plants, whose members are incapable of fertile union with those of other groups; and that there are such things as hybrids, which are absolutely sterile when crossed with other hybrids. For if such phenomena as these were exhibited by only two of those assemblages of living objects, to which the name of species (whether it be used in its physiological or its morphological sense) is given, it would have to be accounted for by any theory of the origin of species, and every theory which could not account for it would be, so far, imperfect."[1] This barrier of infertility, so far as

[1] "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews," xii. "The Origin of Species" (American edition), p. 275. In an earlier separate publication under the same title Mr. Huxley speaks of the difficulty in much stronger terms, but hopes with advancing knowledge its explanation will be found.

known, has never been reached by the accumulation of differences under any form of human or natural selection. It appears, then, that at this point Mr. Darwin's analogy breaks down. It may be, and very likely is, the best way of accounting for certain minor differences between different varieties of plants and animals; but all the evidence is thus far negative as to the competency of the cause to accomplish the effects for which it is proposed.

The geological succession of plants and animals has already been spoken of in connection with the general theory of evolution. Darwinism, distinctively so called, has much to say of this, chiefly in an apologetic way, to account for the absence of the remains of intermediate and transitional forms which were to have been expected on the supposition of the truth of its theory. There are, however, a very few fossil remains which have been claimed as supplying the missing links of which Darwinism stands in need. So much attention has been called to these that they have been examined with more than usual care, and it has been scientifically proved, in every case, that such forms are not truly intermediate or transitional, but belong essentially and fundamentally to one or other of the groups which they were supposed to connect, with certain additional characters giving them a superficial resemblance to the other. The geological evidence, therefore, remains upon the face of it distinctly contradictory to Darwinism, and the task of the advocates of that theory is simply to explain away its force. Whether they have been able to accomplish this, whether the argument from our ignorance is sufficient to offset the argument from our knowledge, may be a matter of difference of opinion. The gaps to be accounted for occur at almost every link in the long chain of organic life. In regard to the last and most important of these Mr. Huxley may again be quoted: "The fossil remains of man hitherto discovered do not seem to me to take us appreciably nearer to that lower pithecoid form, by the modification of which he has, probably, become what he is. And considering what is now known of the

most ancient races of men; seeing that they fashioned flint axes and flint knives and bone skewers of much the same pattern as those fabricated by the lowest savages at the present day, and that we have every reason to believe the habits and modes of living of such people to have remained the same from the time of the mammoth and the tichorhine Rhinoceros till now, I do not know that this result is other than might be expected. Where, then, must we look for primeval man? Was the oldest *Homo sapiens* pliocene or miocene, or yet more ancient? In still older strata, do the fossilized bones of an ape more anthropoid, or a man more pithecoid, than any yet known, await the researches of some unborn palaeontologist? Time will show. But, in the meanwhile, if any form of the doctrine of progressive development is correct, we must extend by long epochs the most liberal estimate that has yet been made of the antiquity of man." [1]

To this matter of time we shall recur presently. Meanwhile let it be noted what, in Mr. Huxley's opinion, is required by the theory.

There is one curious fact in natural history, called "mimicry," which is explained by the Darwinian theory, and thus far by this alone. This fact may therefore be considered, as far as it goes, as an actual evidence in favor of that theory. The observation of these facts is comparatively recent, and remains to be more thoroughly investigated; still, such as it is, it must be set down as on the side of Darwinism. Mimicry is a close, yet merely external, resemblance existing between different kinds of plants and animals, the essential differences of structure and of life being often great between objects which bear the closest outward likeness. The so-called "walking leaf" insect is an instance of an animal assuming the most curious resemblance to a vegetable structure. Mr. Wallace details many marvellous instances of such resemblance. Of a "walking-stick" he says, "one of these creatures, obtained by myself in Borneo (*Ceroxylus laceratus*), was covered over with foliaceous excrescences of a clear olive-

[1] Conclusion of "Man's Place in Nature."

green color, so as exactly to resemble a stick grown over by a creeping moss or jungermannia. The Dyak who brought it to me assured me it was grown over with moss, although alive, and it was only after a most minute examination that I could convince myself that it was not so." And again he says of the leaf-butterfly, "we come to a still more extraordinary part of the imitation, for we find representations of leaves in every stage of decay, variously blotched and mildewed and pierced with holes, and in many cases irregularly covered with powdery black dots, gathered into patches and spots, so closely resembling the various kinds of minute fungi that grow on dead leaves, that it is impossible to avoid think- at first sight that the butterflies themselves have been attacked by real fungi." [1] The bee, fly, and spider orchids are further striking instances of mimicry, and sometimes reptiles and even fish are found to bear this same sort of resemblance to others of distinct kinds. Such mimicries are exceedingly curious and seem at first inexplicable; but natural selection suggests that certain varieties have had a better chance of life in consequence of these resemblances. The insect is able to elude the search of its enemies by its likeness to a leaf or a stick; or is avoided by them in consequence of its resemblance to some other insect having a disgusting taste or smell. Similarly with other animals, their resemblances have afforded either means of protection for themselves, or advantage in the pursuit of their prey. In the case of plants, mimicry has been of advantage in attracting the visits of insects, whereby they have been fertilized, and thus enabled to perpetuate their kind. In consequence of these advantages such resemblances in plants and animals have been gradually accumulated until the actual surprising results have been obtained. It is observed in nature that these resemblances are found precisely in the case of those species which stood in need of them, while the species imitated are provided otherwise with sufficient protection or other means of success in the struggle for existence.

[1] As quoted by Mivart, "Genesis of Species," p. 48.

Much the same conclusions are to be drawn from observations on the distribution of colors, and of powers of speed, and of weapons of offence and defence among the various kinds of animals. Conspicuous and beautiful colors are abundantly possessed by those animals which can "afford" to display them; the great multitude, on the other hand, are inconspicuously colored, as if for the sake of protection. What gives force to this argument is the fact that wild animals thus marked, or rather obscured, by colors assimilated to their surroundings, as soon as they are brought under domestication, and thus artificially protected, produce varieties of color, which either never occur in their wild state or else are immediately destroyed. Considerable doubt, indeed, is thrown over the value of the inference from these facts when it is observed that if animals thus artificially varied in various ways are exposed to their natural enemies, as, for instance, a dove-cote to the inroads of hawks, it is not the varieties which are assumed to have resulted from natural selection, but rather those which have acquired greater speed under human selection which escape the longest. The doubt concerns only the inference; the general fact remains.

These and a large mass of other arguments drawn from acknowledged facts of observation resolve themselves into the broad truth of the general harmony and adaptation of nature. It is for this that Darwinism undertakes to account, and since it attempts this, and holds out a hope of its accomplishment, it has attracted many active and earnest minds. Whether it is successful or not in the attempt is simply a question of evidence, and thus far, on most points, the evidence seems either wanting or insufficient. The facts of harmony and adaptation remain, and a debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Darwin and his co-laborers for bringing them so abundantly and so attractively before us; but when we ask for proof of the theory he has proposed to account for it, it is not so satisfactory to be answered chiefly by suggestions of possible reasons which may or may not be true.

Before proceeding further, and especially before taking up

the application of this theory to the origin of man, it will be well to cite a few examples of Mr. Darwin's mode of reasoning, that we may the better judge of its cogency apart from the conclusions to which it is applied. The examples are all taken from his last work, "The Descent of Man," and at hap-hazard, simply in the order of the pages.

Almost at the outset of the work (p. 34) occurs the following passage: "We must also admit that there is a much wider interval in mental power between one of the lowest fishes, as a lamprey or lancelet, and one of the higher apes, than between an ape and man; yet this immense interval is filled up by numberless gradations. Nor is the difference slight in moral disposition between a barbarian ..... and a Howard or Clarkson; and in intellect, between a savage who does not use any abstract terms and a Newton or a Shakespeare. Differences of this kind, between the highest men of the highest races and the lowest savages, are connected by the finest gradations. *Therefore, it is possible that they might be developed into each other.*" Mr. Darwin appears to think that both cases must be of differences of degree, and not of kind, because they are connected by "the finest gradations." To the mere logician the absolute *non sequitur* of this *ergo* would be palpable. To his apprehension it would be as well to argue that night may be developed into its opposite day, because they are connected by "the finest gradations"; or that the prismatic red may for the same reason be developed into its complementary green. The argument has been happily illustrated by dissolving views, in which, by "imperceptible gradations," the Alps pass into Dotheboys' hall. Yet there must be some fascination in the argument; for this is one of the most fundamental and often recurring processes of reasoning in Mr. Darwin's works.

On page 51 he says: "The Duke of Argyll remarks that the fashioning of an implement for a special purpose is absolutely peculiar to man; and he considers that this forms an immeasurable gulf between him and the brutes. It is, no

doubt, a very important distinction; but there appears to me much truth in Sir I. Lubbock's suggestion, that, when primeval man first used flint-stones for any purpose, he would have accidentally splintered them, and would then have used the sharp fragments. From this step it would have been a small one to intentionally break the flints, and not a very wide step to rudely fashion them." The point to be met is an actual and universal distinction existing between man and the brute. The answer is a purely hypothetical suggestion of what might have occurred with men. The real question, whether it did occur, is not touched; nor the other side of it, why it does not also occur with the brutes. In Mr. Darwin's arguments omissions of this kind do not appear to be regarded; for this, again, is a fair example of his method of dealing with facts which make against his theory, although he is always ready, with the utmost candor, to recognize them. Often, in such cases, the mind is led off by a long series of conceivable or inconceivable "ifs," until the original point is lost from sight.

In reasoning upon the gradual development of man's moral faculties from those conceived to exist in the lower animals, Mr. Darwin says (p. 158): "Primeval man, at a very remote period, would have been influenced by the praise and blame of his fellows. It is obvious that the members of the same tribe would approve of conduct which appeared to them to be for the general good, and would reprobate that which appeared evil. To do good unto others — 'to do unto others as ye would they should do unto you' — is the foundation-stone of morality. It is, therefore, hardly possible to exaggerate the importance, during rude times, of the love of praise and the dread of blame." One cannot but regret that Whately should have written his logic too soon to avail himself of such an example of confusion at once of terms and of ideas, and thus to have introduced a new distinction concerning the legitimateness in some kinds of reasoning of processes which are forbidden in others. Nevertheless, what value shall we attach to an argument on the development of the

moral faculties in which the golden rule is based on the love of applause? We cannot refrain from turning back, in the volume, to page 84, to notice another similar instance: "An action repeatedly performed by us will at last be done without deliberation or hesitation, and can then hardly be distinguished from an instinct; yet surely no one will pretend that an action thus done ceases to be moral." This is the gist of an argument to show that the instinctive actions of brutes admit of being described as having a moral character. Once more, to quote an instance cited in an able Article in the London Quarterly for July, 1871, Mr. Darwin "says that if a man has gratified a passing instinct, to the neglect of an enduring instinct, he 'will then feel dissatisfied with himself, and will resolve with more or less force to act differently for the future. This is conscience; for conscience looks backwards and judges past actions, inducing that kind of dissatisfaction which if weak we call regret, and if severe, remorse' (vol. i. p. 87). 'Conscience,' certainly, 'looks back and judges,' but not all that 'looks back and judges' is 'conscience.' A judgment of conscience is one of a particular kind, namely, a judgment according to the standard of moral worth. But for this, a *gourmand*, looking back and judging that a particular sauce had occasioned him dyspepsia, would, in the dissatisfaction arising from his having eaten the wrong dish at dinner, exercise his conscience."

The examples of what, in other matters, would be called "petitio principii" are extremely numerous; but these seem to have been fallen into unconsciously, the mind of the author being so preoccupied with the truth of his theory that, even while arguing in its favor, he considers it as already demonstrated. Thus, on p. 181, in speaking of classification, he says: "Naturalists have long felt a profound conviction that there is a natural system. This system, it is now generally admitted [*sic*], must be, as far as possible, genealogical in arrangement, that is, the co-descendants of the same form must be kept together in one group, separate from the co-

descendants of any other form; but, if the parent forms are related, so will be their descendants, and the two groups together will form a larger group. The amount of difference between the several groups — that is, the amount of modification which each has undergone — will be expressed by such terms as genera, families, orders, and classes. As we have no record of the lines of descent (!), these lines can be discovered only by observing the degrees of resemblance between the beings which are to be classed," etc.

One of the most common, as well as curious, of what appear to the unscientific mind as Mr. Darwin's fallacies, consists in first stating such facts as he can obtain, but which make the slenderest possible basis for the superstructure to be reared upon them, and then, further on, referring to this as a settled point already proved. This so pervades Mr. Darwin's volumes that it is quite useless to refer to special examples. Whether he be arguing the cause of natural or of sexual selection, the point in question is continually assumed as a *vera causa;* and so of the details of the argument. It is probably this curious habit of mind which has led Mr. Darwin into a kind of dogmatism and unworthy attributing of motives to those who differ from him in opinion, which seems quite at variance with his usual candor. Thus, in the same paragraph (vol. i. pp. 31, 32), he says, of the doctrine of the descent of man from the brutes: "It is only our natural prejudice and that arrogance which made our forefathers declare that they were descended from demi-gods which lead us to demur to this conclusion." Surely, Mr. Darwin cannot believe that the many who reject his theory on professedly scientific grounds are insincere in their declarations, and in reality influenced by the motives here attributed to them. But just before he had said, still more unfortunately: "To take any other view is to admit that our own structure, and that of all the animals around us, is a mere snare laid to entrap our judgment." On page 198 he says: "The early progenitors of man were, *no doubt*, once covered with hair, both sexes

having beards; their ears were pointed and capable of movement, and their bodies were provided with a tail having the proper muscles." On page 205: "Unless we *wilfully close our eyes*, we may, with our present knowledge, approximately recognize our parentage." Once more: "He who is not content to look, like a savage, at the phenomena of nature as disconnected, cannot any longer believe that man is the work of a separate act of creation. He will be forced to admit the contrary."[1]

But our limits warn us to stop. On a memorandum at hand are noted down many more examples of a kind of reasoning which appears to have been satisfactory to the author, but which would present to a mind trained in deductive processes only fresh forms of fallacy. We can only give references to his curious array of facts in relation to the effect upon the race of marriages among different classes of human society (pp. 167, 168); his way of arraying on his side a mass of evidence, each particular of which he acknowledges to be worthless, though from the addition of these many zeros he seems to expect some positive sum. This process is applied to the question of the sterility of crosses between the human races, on page 213. Closely akin to this is the habit (of which an example may be found on page 222) of quoting some opinion which he himself rejects, and then proceeding, "If this be true," etc., as if the opinion, notwithstanding its condemnation, still possessed some power in the argument. Frequently he relies upon a balance of facts, some making one way, some the other, apparently content if he can secure what seems to be the majority on his side (e.g. see pp. 284–286. So, also, in regard to the differences between the sexes of the hemiptera, on p. 339). We had supposed it necessary — absolutely necessary — to the establishment of a scientific hypothesis that it should be consistent with all the facts within its range, and, therefore, that to show its agreement with many, or even with most,

[1] Several of these instances are pointed out in the Article in the London Quarterly already quoted.

of them, was of no avail. A hypothetical cause which still leaves an unknown cause to be sought for precisely similar phenomena, we had supposed to be nothing. But these things must be passed by, together with many more examples of which the want of training in this kind of reasoning does not allow us to appreciate the force. Indeed, it may be questioned whether Mr. Darwin himself, in some cases, really intended them as arguments, since he uses so frequently terms indicative of their being mere matters of opinion. Thus, on pages 54, 55, he says: "Primeval man, or rather some early progenitor of man, *probably* used his voice largely, as does one of the gibbon-apes at the present day, in producing true musical cadences, that is, in singing. *We may conclude*, from a wide-spread analogy, that this power *would have been* especially exercised during the courtship of the sexes, serving to express various emotions, as love, jealousy, triumph, and serving as a challenge to their rivals. The imitation by articulate sounds of musical cries *might have given* rise to words expressive of various complex emotions. ..... It does not *appear altogether incredible* that some unusually wise, ape-like animal *should have* thought of imitating the growl of a beast of prey," etc. But, if all the "may-be"s were removed from the chain of Mr. Darwin's argument, it would be difficult to reconnect the widely-sundered links.

We wish to make room for one piece of proof of the descent of man not given by Mr. Darwin, but taken from so eminent a disciple of the same school, Dr. Maudsley, that it may be important to the general argument. In his brief work on "Body and Mind," republished by the Appletons, in the part consisting of lectures delivered before the Royal College of Physicians in London, he seeks to show, in the second lecture, that certain forms of insanity and idiocy afford strong confirmation of the views of Mr. Darwin, by giving evidence of the descent of man from the brutes in his reversion to animal characters and propensities. Among other almost equally interesting cases, he cites the following (pp.

48, 49): "There is now under care, in the West Riding Asylum, a deformed idiot girl, who, in general appearance and habits, has, according to Dr. Brown, striking features of resemblance to a goose; so much so, that the nurses who received her described her as just like 'a plucked goose.'..... The lower jaw is large, projecting more than one inch beyond the contracted upper jaw, ... the whole configuration of the face having a somewhat bill-like appearance. The neck is unusually long and flexible, and is capable of being bent backward so as actually to touch the back between the scapulae. The cutis anserina is general over the body, but is most marked on the back and dorsal aspects of the limbs, where it looks exactly as if it had just been deprived of feathers. The inferior angles of the scapulae stand prominently out, and, moving freely with the movements of the arms, have precisely the appearance of rudimentary wings. The girl utters no articulate sounds, but expresses pleasure by cackling like a goose, or perhaps like a macaw. When angry, she flaps her arms against her sides, and beats her feet upon the floor. ..... She is very fond of her bath, cackling when she is put into it," etc. We have hitherto refused to believe many 'old wives' fables'; we have even been hindered from giving full credence to the charming legend of St. Denis, because we supposed there were grave physical objections to the account of the decapitated saint walking off with his head in his hands; but hereafter, instructed by these new processes of physical reasoning, and knowing that the bisected worm still lives and flourishes, we shall feel free to waive such insignificant difficulties. The descent of man from this particular variety of feathered fowl suggested by Mr. Maudsley is in a different line from that pointed out as probable by Mr. Darwin; but that is a secondary point, and on reading this chapter the evidence accumulates, for the reasoning upon this story shows traits of the ancestral goose no less palpable than the story itself.

This leads to the very serious question as to the extension of Mr. Darwin's theory to the origin of man. He would

himself fully include man in his whole nature in the operation of natural selection, and many of his followers agree with him. His argument as to man's body needs no especial consideration, since it is of the same kind, and rests upon the same sort of evidence, as that respecting the origin of the lower animals. It is, however, open to some especial objections, of which mention will be made presently. His argument as to man's higher nature rests upon the assumption, as he himself distinctly states, that man's intellectual and moral faculties are identical in kind, and differ only in degree from those of the brutes. If this assumption be admitted, and if it be allowed that man's body can have been produced by natural selection, then, if that theory be a true account of the origin of the brutes, it is also a true account of the origin of man. We propose to reject utterly this assumption, and to give some grounds for this rejection; then, to show very briefly some reasons why, even if the general theory be true, man can hardly be considered the result of its operation; and finally, to offer one or two considerations which at least require more satisfactory explanation before this hypothesis can be admitted even to a provisional place among the truths of science.

In the first place, the question of the homogeneousness of the mind of man and brutes is not one which belongs exclusively to the province of natural science, nor is it possible to determine it without the sanctions of philosophy. Now, it happens that all the differing schools of philosophy, excepting the extreme sensationalist, agree in deciding this point in opposition to Mr. Darwin, and holding the intelligence of man to differ, not merely in degree, but in kind, from that of brutes. Aristotle makes two distinct breaks in the chain of life, — first, where sensation comes in and differentiates the animal from the plant, and secondly, where reason comes in and differentiates man from all other creatures; and, from his day to the present, philosophy has adhered consistently to this essential fact. It is of no avail to emphasize the intelligence of animals. All that Mr. Darwin asserts in this way, and even more, has long been recognized and repeated;

but it still remains that the brute has no conception of abstract ideas, and no power of referring thought to an absolute standard. The distinction between man and the brute is a functional one, and is as complete as the distinction between day and night. Animals, it has been well said by a writer in the Contemporary Review,[1] are restricted to finding means of bodily preservation and enjoyment. In some a "false dawn" occurs, a glimmering of reason, as may be seen in the pastimes of parrots and the curiosity of monkeys; but "all such tendencies are stopped dead by the want of the faculty of apprehending universals." The great gulf which no reasoning on the part of man can bridge over is his possession of a faculty entirely wanting in the brutes.

By the "struggle for existence," a creature "might have become conceivably more crafty than the fox, more constructive than the beaver, more socially organized than the ant or the bee; but, having thus established his position, he could not have been impelled to abstract ideas and to continued work, while all other creatures rest in their sphere." And this consideration gains fresh force when we consider that his work is often directed to what is far from being immediately beneficial to himself, but rather to what is designed for the good of others, and that, too, in its highest reach, looking forward to a future stage of existence.

The question whether reason is the effect or the cause of the difference in the past history of man and of animals Mr. Darwin would decide in favor of the former, and he argues at length that man has been brought forward by the mutual reaction of language and of the brain. But he elsewhere shows conclusively that animals have a sort of language — a power of communication enough for their wants. Why, then, should not the same thing have happened with them? The answer is obvious: Because they had the impulse to express only certain ideas, and, this expression being attained, they have no impulse to carry them beyond. "Did a parrot chatter the whole vocabulary of mankind, he would not be

[1] Republished in Littell's Living Age, No. 1409.

gifted with language. Nay, further, did he call names, and attach simple ideas to spoken words, he would still be as incapable of speech as the dog who begs of his master, and expresses his wants in a score of touching ways. Animals have signs; but they have no proper language. That a close observation of their habits discovers a power of communicating information which cannot be explained by known facts is doubtless true; but that such power is not connate with human speech is equally true. Let those who doubt it tell us how to explain to a dog lamenting the absence of his master the simple fact that he will return. It is barely possible that by sympathetic actions a similar fact could be communicated by one animal to another; but no brute could inform another that an event would take place in three days, or in any stated time, because they have no measures and no method of conventional representation."[1] Mr. Darwin, in apparently unconscious contradiction to his own hypothesis, allows that when man had begun to surpass other creatures, his brain unconsciously grew in excess of his needs, and thus new mental powers came unconsciously to be developed; but he leaves unexplained the curious fact that this has never occurred with other species of brutes. Again, he holds that all essentially human faculties exist, latent, in the savage. This fact is unquestionably true; but it shows that the human race is one, and is strongly differentiated from the lower animals. The same fact also shows that the savage is not a link between the ape and civilized man, but is really man, and so forbids his being used as a support to the theory. The indications from the unprogressive character of savage society is rather that the "savages belong to the slums and backwaters of the stream of humanity than to its advancing tide."

In regard to man's moral faculties we have nothing to say. To us it seems simply a parody of terms to speak of the moral faculties of brutes, who can have no abstract standard of right and wrong.

[1] Mediation, pp. 47, 48. A fragment recently anonymously published by W. F. Draper.

In regard to both these points, however, we wish to make one more quotation from the clear statements of Professor Huxley: "I hardly imagine that any profound scientific thinker who has reflected upon the subject exists who would not admit the extreme probability of the hypothesis that for every fact of consciousness, whether in the domain of sense, of thought, or of emotion, a certain definite molecular condition is set up in the brain; that this relation of physics to consciousness is invariable, so that, given the state of the brain, the corresponding thought or feeling might be inferred; or, given the thought or feeling, the corresponding state of the brain might be inferred. But how inferred? It is, at bottom, not a case of logical inference at all, but of empirical association. ..... Were our minds and senses so expanded, strengthened, and illuminated as to enable us to see and feel the very molecules of the brain; were we capable of following all their motions, all their groupings, all their electric discharges, if such there be; and were we intimately acquainted with the corresponding states of thought and feeling, we should be as far as ever from the solution of the problem, 'How are these physical processes connected with the facts of consciousness?' The chasm between the two classes of phenomena would still remain intellectually impassable. ..... The problem of the connection of body and soul is as insoluble in its modern form as it was in the pre-scientific ages."[1]

It is well known, and attention has already been called to the fact, that some of the most powerful advocates of Darwinism deny the applicability of the theory to man. This is notably the case with Mr. Wallace, himself an eminent naturalist and an independent originator of the Darwinian hypothesis. Under the necessary limitations of this article, nothing better can be done than to give a brief abstract of his argument.[2] Mr. Darwin says that natural selection has

[1] Huxley's Address "On the Methods and Tendencies of Scientific Investigation," pp. 16, 17.

[2] "What Natural Selection cannot do," by A. R. Wallace. Republished in Littell, No. 1410.

no power to produce absolute, but only relative, perfection; it can only advance the creature just far enough beyond its fellows to perpetuate it in the struggle for life; and he allows that a single case of the production of injurious modification would be fatal to the theory. If, then, we find in man characters which all obtainable evidence shows to have been actually injurious to him on their first appearance, they could not have been produced by natural selection. Further: If these modifications, hurtful on their first appearance, became very useful afterwards, we should infer the action of a mind foreseeing and preparing for the future, just as in the case of a breeder of domestic animals. The inquiry in regard to this is a strictly scientific one. Now, the brain of savages is confessedly larger than is needed. The size of the brain is associated with mental power; for, while individual brains differ somewhat in quality and power, without reference to minor differences in size, yet in the average of a race size is universally acknowledged to be important. The brains of the various human races are estimated as follows: Teutonic, 94 inches; Esquimaux, 91; Negroes, 85; Australians, 82(?); Bushmen, 77(?); the last two being uncertain, from the limited number of examples. In individual cases, the brain of an Esquimaux has been found as large as that of the largest European. The remains of so-called 'prehistoric' man indicate no diminution of size. Anything less than 65 inches in man is invariably idiotic. Now, the average size of brain in the anthropoid apes is from 28 to 32 inches, or one third the size of civilized man. Proportionally stated, it would be, apes, 10; savages, 26; civilized man, 32. Yet the range of intellectual power in man, from the highest civilization to the lowest barbarism, is so vast that the savage evidently has more brain than he needs. If we compare the lower savages with the higher brutes in regard to their modes of life, their wants, etc., it appears that at present the one has occasion for a brain but very little larger than the other; yet he possesses one widely separated from theirs, and very near that of the civilized

man. Again, a hairy covering is generally possessed by all the mammalia, especially on the back; it is totally absent from all races of men. Yet the want of it is felt, and, in one way or another, at least an occasional shelter for the back is supplied by all mankind. If it was originally possessed by man, it would seem certain that he must somewhere, and in some cross-breeds, have reverted to it, especially in cold climates. These two facts — the brain and the hairy covering — are totally distinct from one another; yet both point to some other cause than natural selection for the differentiation of man from the brutes.

Mr. Wallace goes on to argue, in the same way, from man's hands and feet. It would require very rigid selection to convert the thumb into a great toe (opposability being entirely lost in all races of men), and yet the only obvious advantage would be a very slight gain in erect locomotion; that locomotion itself being of no especial use to man as a brute. The hand, however, contains vast latent capacities, of which little use is made by the savage or the ape.

So, also, in regard to voice. The peculiar power in song of the female voice only comes into play under civilization. It is unused by savages; yet the organ is there, ready to be used when demanded by man's progress. Thus it could not have been the result of natural selection.

Many of the mental faculties could never have been produced by the law of the survival of the fittest. Supposing that justice and benevolence could have been so produced, as being beneficial to the tribe; yet ideal conceptions of space, time, eternity, infinity, etc., could have been of no possible use to man in the early stages of barbarism, and even now, in their highest development, can hardly be considered of direct and immediate advantage to their possessor.

We have no space to follow Mr. Wallace further into his consideration of the origin of the moral sense. All these things, he justly argues, are important to civilized man, but not of use to the savage in the lowest stage of barbarism.

Hence it is impossible that they could have been developed by the agency of natural selection.

And this suggests a question as to whether man's primeval state was that of the savage, as is assumed by the Darwinians. There is a vast difference, apt to be overlooked by them, between a savage and an infant condition of the human race. The question is too large a one to be here entered upon; but it is a question of fact and a question of history. If we have not greatly misunderstood the teaching of all history, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, it is that man as a moral being does not tend to rise, but rather to fall, and that with a geometric progress, except he be elevated and sustained by some force from without and from above himself. Such universal teachings of all experience it is idle to attempt to set aside.

In conclusion, we have a few words to say on one or two important points not yet touched. One of these is the evidence of the antiquity of man, and another the more general question of the antiquity of our earth as a fit habitation for the system of organic beings.

Geologists are entitled to great credit for the care and pains with which they have investigated the former question in various parts of the earth; but the means of prosecuting the inquiry are for the most part extremely limited, and cannot be compared with the resources sometimes brought to bear upon the same data for purely utilitarian purposes. When this occurs, science will, of course, gladly avail itself of the improved opportunity to rectify its former hypothetical conclusions. Sir C. Lyell examined the delta of the Mississippi, as well as the means at his command allowed, with an especial view to its bearing upon the question of the antiquity of the human race. He has repeatedly announced his conclusion, both in his geological works and in his "Antiquity of Man." That conclusion is, that the age of the delta is to be reckoned by an unknown number of tens of thousands of years; but he mentions one hundred thousand years as a minimum. A few years ago Messrs. Humphreys and Abbott,

engineers in the United States service, were requried to make an examination of the Mississippi, with the resources of the government at their command, with a view to devise means to prevent the enormous losses occasioned by its overflow. In the course of their investigation they came upon the same question which had already occupied the attention of Lyell. They assumed as their basis, whether reliable or not, the same as had been assumed by Lyell, viz. the same rate of deposition of material at former times as at present; and on this basis, in a report which has become a model for the thoroughness and accuracy of its scientific investigation, they fix the age of the delta at four thousand four hundred years.[1]

Again: A few years ago much interest was excited by the discovery in a railroad cutting at Villeneuve, near the head of the lake of Geneva, first of Roman remains, and then, at a greater depth, of the remains of ancient pottery. The depth of each was carefully measured; the date of the Roman remains was sufficiently well known, and thence the age of the pottery was calculated by the simple rule of three. This was an exceedingly interesting discovery, because the remains were found in the delta or detritus of a mountain torrent, and had never been disturbed. On it were founded very confident estimates of the antiquity of man, and these estimates are still current. An American man of science, visiting the locality, observed two things, however, which had been overlooked, and which are essential factors in the argument. In the first place, the amount of the detritus of a stream, and hence the period required for its deposition, cannot be measured perpendicularly, because each added layer extends itself over a wider surface. It must be measured by its cubic contents. The perpendicular accumulation above the pottery on a comparatively small delta was therefore much more rapid than above the Roman ruins

[1] Report upon the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River. By Capt. A. A. Humphreys and Lieut. H. L. Abbott. Philadelphia: J. Lippincott and Co. 1861. The processes by which the above conclusion was reached are extremely interesting, but there is not room here to detail them.

on a far larger one. Secondly, a careful examination of the delta itself, and of the stream above, showed that the size of the stream, and therefore of the detritus brought down by it, had enormously shrunk in the course of the accumulation of the cone or delta.[1] It is not known that Sir C. Lyell and other European advocates of the antiquity of man have as yet, in these instances, revised their calculations with these necessary corrections.

Once more: The discovery of remains of human art at Amiens and Abbeville, in the north of France, has elicited many volumes of scientific discussion. Indications were supposed to be found of two valley gravels of distinct ages, each of them very slowly deposited, and it was further seen that between the times of their deposition the valley of the Somme had been gradually excavated to a depth of forty or fifty feet. Still above the gravel was a peat formation twenty-six feet in depth, and the rate of its growth was carefully determined by a comparison with similar growth now in progress, and ascertained to be from one and a half to two inches in a century. Now, in and under the earlier, as well as the later, gravel, the remains of human art were found. On the above data it was easy to calculate approximately their age, and the results obtained are among the most important and reliable of the evidences of the antiquity of man. An English physicist, however, Alfred Tylor, F.G.S., a few years ago, caused a careful survey of these interesting deposits to be made by competent engineers with careful levelling along the sections of the railroad passing through them. The results were presented to the (British) Geological Society, in a paper read before them, and subsequently printed in their journal.[2] They showed that the supposed distinct deposits of gravel were in reality one and the same, and of course there had been no period of excavation between them; and that the deposits had been largely drawn from the immediate

[1] American Journal of Science, Vol. xlv. pp. 187–190.

[2] Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society for May, 1867, reprinted in American Journal of Science, Vol. xlvi. p. 302.

neighborhood, and not accumulated as slowly as had been supposed. The same locality was also visited, at another time, by an American, E. Andrews, Professor of Surgery in the Chicago Medical College, who brought to bear upon it knowledge derived from the circumstances of the region in which he himself lived. He found that the deposition of the gravel had been at so rapid a rate that three or four feet had accumulated before masses of ice, or of mixed ice and frozen gravel, of that diameter could have had time to thaw; for thin seams of a distinctly marked layer of other material above had here and there broken down abruptly into the layer below in a way that could only be accounted for by the melting of masses of ice in the lower layer subsequently to the deposition of the upper. He also examined the peat, and was told by Mr. Perthes of the existence in it of alder and birch stumps standing upright, and of horizontal logs of birch three feet in diameter, and he also found logs of oak even four feet in diameter. He knew that such woods cannot bear exposure to the air for a very long time. In much less than a century they would have decayed, unless they had been covered up by the accumulation of the peat. Hence he concluded that in their time the growth of the peat must have been three or four feet, instead of one or two inches, in a century. He does not leave the subject without pointing out causes for the retardation of the growth within the historical period.[1]

These instances, which might be multiplied, are given to show on how very imperfect a basis the calculations as to the antiquity of man rest. In all these cases, and others which could be adduced, the original, evidently over-hasty, inferences still form the staple of the argument. And it is by the conclusions based upon these arguments that Darwinism has felt authorized to make its necessary drafts upon "an unlimited bank of time."

One point, affecting the whole Darwinian theory yet requires to be noted. On the hypothesis of natural selection

[1] American Journal of Science, Vol. xlv. pp. 181–187.

not only is an enormous period required for the slow development of man from the brute, but corresponding periods must have been consumed in the production of each link of the long chain of which he is the culmination. The time demanded by some forms of the uniformitarian geology had already confounded the imagination; but Mr. Darwin required it to be multiplied, and now we find Mr. Huxley suggesting, in a passage already referred to, that even this is insufficient, and that, "if any form of the doctrine of progressive development is correct, we must extend by long epochs the most liberal estimate that has yet been made of the antiquity of man." This is doubtless true, and, in its truth, will be found to require a proportional enlargement of the periods of all earlier links in the chain. But may there not be some limits to the past duration of the earth, in approximately its present form, inconsistent with such vast demands? There are facts in regard to the retardation of the rotation of the earth upon its axis, to the gradual exhaustion of the supply of heat from the sun, and to the secular cooling of the earth, which, if fully understood, would supply some tolerably definite data for a calculation of the age of the existing state of our cosmos. At present these facts are imperfectly investigated, so that the calculation of the maximum duration possible can only be made with a very large margin of probable future reduction. Sir W. Thomson has made these calculations with great care, and, in several papers noted below,[1] has given his conclusions to the world. There are three lines of argument. That on the age of the sun's heat is the most vague, from the imperfection of the data. Still, such conclusions as can be reached are sufficiently in accordance with the results obtained in the other lines. The

[1] On the Age of the Sun's heat. By Sir W. Thomson. Macmillian's Magazine, 1862. On the Secular Cooling of the Earth. By the same. Trans. R.S.E., 1862, and Philosophical Magazine, 1863, ii. The Uniformitarian Theory of Geology briefly refuted. By the same. Proc. R.S.E., 1865. On Geological Time. By the same. Transactions of the Geological Society, of Glasgow, 1868. Of Geological Dynamics. By the same. Transactions of the Geological Society of Glasgow, 1869.

argument from the retardation of the revolution of the earth upon its axis, taken in connection with the oblateness of its spheroid, points to a hundred million of years as the utmost limit of time within which the earth must have assumed its present form. More exact observation of the data may, and probably will, enormously reduce this limit; but there it stands at present, if the mathematician can be trusted, as the outside boundary of geologic time. Mr. Huxley, notwithstanding what he has elsewhere said, in his Presidential Address to the Geological Society of London, in 1869, professes his willingness to accept the limitation, especially if it be taken with such a degree of elasticity as to allow of its being stretched two or threefold; but even this is obviously felt as a serious and objectionable restraint by the advocates of Darwinism. Mr. Darwin himself has claimed, in his "Origin of Species," "that, in all probability, a *far longer* period than three hundred million years has elapsed since the *latter part of the secondary period*." But demands for vast and practically boundless time are too familiar to the readers of this class of works to require quotation.

Sir W. Thomson's third line of argument, drawn from the time required for the cooling of the earth from a molten mass, still leads substantially to the same conclusion, although indicating a considerably inferior limit for the date of the introduction to our earth of any known form of organic life. There is — here put in, it is true, in arrest of judgment — a sort of perpetual-motion theory of chemical action, by Sir C. Lyell, to account for the internal heat of the earth; but it does not seem sufficiently tenable to require consideration. It remains that all these lines of mathematical calculation converge to a limit for the whole, far within that which Mr. Darwin has claimed as probably too small for a mere fraction of geologic time.

But we have already exceeded our limits. The following is the list of charges brought forward against Darwinism by Mr. Mivart, who fully commits himself to the general theory of evolution: "That 'natural selection' is incompetent to

account for the incipient stages of useful structures. That it does not harmonize with the co-existence of closely similar structures of diverse origin. That there are grounds for thinking that specific differences may be developed suddenly instead of gradually. That the opinion that species have definite, though very different, limits to their variability is still tenable. That certain fossil transitional forms are absent which might have been expected to be present. That some facts of geographical distribution supplement other difficulties. That the objection drawn from the physiological difference between 'species' and 'races' still exists unrefuted. That there are many remarkable phenomena in organic forms upon which 'natural selection' throws no light whatever; but the explanations of which, if they could be attained, might throw light upon specific organization."[1] Other at least equally serious difficulties are brought forward incidentally in the body of the work.

Mr. Chauncy Wright, in a late (July, 1871) number of the North American has replied to Mr. Mivart; but the reply is to our mind insufficient. We do not intend, however, now to discuss either Mr. Wright's or Mr. Mivart's arguments. The palpable fact, which stands boldly out from this, as from all other repetitions of the discussion, is that Mr. Darwin's theories are simply theories. They may be more or less plausible; they may be met by more or less of objection; and these objections may be more or less perfectly answered. It remains that they are *theories;* they do not rest upon positive evidence.

If the propounding of such theories can be of advantage to the progress of human knowledge, by all means let them be propounded. Only let it be remembered that there are subjects on which natural science is incompetent to pronounce an opinion, because they lie outside of the range of its investigation. Yet truths may there be firmly established by their own appropriate evidence which are not without an important bearing even upon the studies of the naturalist. Froude well says: "There is no proof such as will satisfy

[1] Genesis of Species. By St. George Mivart, F.R.S. Close of chap. i.

the scientific inquirer that there is any such thing as moral truth — any such thing as absolute right and wrong at all."[1] Above all, we ask that the biologist and the physicist alike may not so narrow their investigations of natural phenomena and their relations as to exclude from view the positive and stupendous evidence in nature, in history, and in revelation, of an intelligent Force, external and superior to the natural forces, constituting, guiding, and himself the Final Cause of all.

ARTICLE III.

WHAT IS TRUTH?[2]

BY J. C. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, BELFAST, IRELAND.

A BRIEF answer to this comprehensive question may not be unseasonable at the present time, even though it may be expected to partake in some measure of the idiosyncrasy of the respondent. We misunderstand one another very often, simply because we do not speak out, frankly and plainly, what we think. Let us divest the question of the technicalities of the schools, treat it as a matter of vital interest to every child of man, and endeavor to find at least the first principles of a direct, explicit, and veritable reply. The question came, at first, from a strange quarter, whence we should least of all have expected any reference to things so high. But we bear in mind that Pilate had the rare advantage of coming into contact with a perfect mind — the mind of him who had come down from heaven to solve this very problem, to give a new turn to the philosophy of man, and to open up to the mind of humanity a new, practical, and hopeful view of the relation of God to man. Pilate said to this wonderful visitor of our nether sphere: "Art thou the

[1] Short Studies on Great Subjects. Times of Erasmus and Luther, Lect. iii. p. 97.

[2] This paper is the expansion of a thought thrown out in the Preface to a forthcoming work on Leviticus.

king of the Jews?" His prisoner replied: "My kingdom is not of this world." Pilate rejoined: "Art thou a king, then?" The stranger then said: "I am a King. To this end am I born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I may bear witness of *the truth*. Every one that is *of the truth* heareth my voice." Thus we find that Pilate's mind was raised, for the moment, to the contemplation of this great question, by being thrown into converse with the eternal Son of God, now born of a woman and come into the world for the express purpose of giving a practical answer to this very question. Pilate, the spokesman of the fourth and last world-monarchy, now stands face to face with the eternal King of that fifth monarchy which shall not be moved, whose wand of spiritual power is the truth, and in profound bewilderment of mind puts the natural question: WHAT IS TRUTH?

2. It is manifest that we must arrive at some one general governing principle, if we are to shape an adequate answer in any brief compass to this momentous question. Every fact, every art or science, every chapter of history, is part of the complex answer to this inquiry in its most unlimited range. But all the arts and sciences of the physical world form only a subordinate part of the great system of things. The history of man and the phases of the human mind yield the materials of that metaphysical science which is the sublimest theme that can engage the attention of man. Mind surpasses matter. But even in the study of the mind there is a lower and a higher stage. The philosophy of the intellectual and potential is secondary in importance to the philosophy of the ethical faculty in man. And in the realm of ethics the relation of man to God infinitely transcends his moral relation to his fellow-men. Thus we have reached our governing principle. What is the moral relation of man to God in the present condition of things? This is the theme to which we are to bend our minds, when we propose to make a brief fundamental reply to the all-embracing question, What is truth? All other existing relations are

merely the accessory circumstances that afford scope and verge for the working out of this primary relation. The answer to this question will diverge into two very distinguishable branches: I. What reason may gather from intuition and experience, without revelation. II. What more reason may learn from revelation, beyond what intuition and experience disclose. The former is the answer of philosophy; the two combined are the answer of theology to this fundamental question. Theology is that higher philosophy which entertains the facts of revelation, as well as those of observation, and by the principles of intuition combines them into a systematic unity.

3. I. Reason may gather from intuition and experience, without revelation, the following three facts: I am guilty; God is holy; and therefore I am doomed to die. These three propositions we may reduce to a unity by putting them into the form of a syllogism: I am guilty; the guilty are doomed by the God of holiness to die; and therefore I am doomed to die. It is here asserted that reason may go thus far, to intimate, on the one hand, that these steps are possible, and, on the other, that no more are possible for unaided human reason. Many, no doubt, fall short of these three conclusions, from want of thought or want of will; but all who have a sound mind are capable of arriving at these elementary principles of truth. Many will be disposed to demur against both sides of this intimation — some holding that it is not possible for reason to go so far, and others insisting that it can proceed further, than the limit here proposed. This divergence of opinion, however, is a presumption in favor of the limit so fixed, as it holds the position of a mean between two extremes. The further examination of these propositions will tend more and more to turn this presumption into a demonstration.

4. The minor premise is, I am guilty. It implies that I am a moral being. This follows both from experience and intuition. I find myself thinking, willing, acting, as a moral being. I apprehend and acknowledge moral obligation. I

detect and make account of moral motives in myself and others. I am familiar with the ideas of merit and demerit, of right and duty. Such is my experience. Moreover, I am a rational being. Reason, by its very nature, judges of the morality of actions, and assents to the fundamental principles of ethics. The axioms of ethics are as obvious to reason as those of mathematics. They are self-evident, because they receive the assent of the mind without any process of argumentation. They may need explanation, so as to make them patent to the understanding. But as soon as they are understood, they are accepted. So the axioms of mathematics may demand elucidation; but as soon as the mind clearly understands their meaning, they are admitted to be true. There is, indeed, an accidental difference in the way in which men may view mathematical and ethical axioms. The former are contemplated by the mind always in a state of cool indifference, unaffected by the bias of self-interest; and hence they meet with a prompt acquiescence. The latter are sometimes presented at a moment when they are felt to interfere with the aims of personal gratification, and this begets a reluctance to acknowledge their validity. To put the axioms of ethics on an equal footing with those of mathematics, therefore, it is necessary to exclude the element of self-interest; in which case it cannot be fairly denied that they are equally self-evident to the unbiased mind. Hence I perceive that my intuition entirely accords with my experience.

5. The presupposition that I have a moral nature being settled, I advance to the solemn affirmation that I am guilty. This is a matter of fact, and therefore can only be attested by experience. The history of man goes all the way to establish this fact. It is the history of war, of might overbearing right, of a struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor, in which the accident of preponderating power invariably determines, in the long run, which is the oppressor. It brings out the evidence, with more or less distinctness, that every man under the influence of some appetite gives way to a course of action or state of feeling which his own

conscience will, when the passion is over, pronounce to be wrong. We retreat, however, from the general to the individual. I find myself to be a microcosm — a little world within, corresponding to the wide world without. I stand by, and witness myself thinking, willing, acting. I am conscious of the secret dealings of my inmost heart. There is not a thought here that can be concealed from my knowledge. I am so made by the Author of my being that next to himself I know not only the outward appearance, but the inward workings, of my own heart. And I often condemn myself. I am not conscious of having sinned in all manner of ways, or against all manner of persons; but I know that I have sinned. I stand convicted at the bar of my own conscience. I am not aware that other men have sinned in the same way as I have done; but I am assured, from experience and from testimony, that other men have transgressed a law acknowledged by their own conscience, and I have no reason to suppose that there are any real exceptions to this general rule. Such being the case, my minor premise is a matter of fact, so far as I am concerned.

6. The next proposition is that God is holy. The holiness of God presupposes his existence. The existence of God is obvious to reason from experience and inference. The primeval intercourse of God with man, and the fall by which that intercourse was hindered, were matters of human experience, and have no doubt left their indelible trace in the memory of man. They do not belong to what is properly called revelation. The latter came in after and in consequence of the fall. Hence we acknowledge that man in his aboriginal state had some direct knowledge of God by experience. But since the fall, apart from revelation, the existence of God is known to us chiefly by inference, that is, by a combination of experience and intuition, in which the steps of reasoning are sometimes so few that intuition is at a maximum and experience at a minimum. The old maxim that from nothing nothing comes, combined with the experience that I myself am, leads me up to God. For, since

something is, something must have been from all eternity. And this eternal something needs at most to be no more than a Being having power to originate all else that is, and, of consequence, myself and all other rational beings. But the Author of reason must be himself rational. And hence there must have been from all eternity a Spirit, whose attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness all nature concurs, and from the beginning has continued, to attest. This is the outline of an argument for the existence of God, which is capable of endless expansion and illustration, and in some of its aspects, when we dive into the depths of things, approaches very near the intuitive. The apostle Paul touches upon this great theme when he affirms that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godlihood" (Rom. i. 20).

7. The holiness of God is a corollary from his reason and his power. Sin is not natural to reason. What is more, it is contrary to reason. It can have its rise only from the desire for that which one wants; and in its primary form it consists in appropriating, or having the disposition to appropriate, that which is not one's own, in defiance of the voice of conscience. Darker forms of malignity are only the habitual outgrowth of this germinating seed. But the infinite and eternal Spirit, who is not only rational, but omnipotent, cannot want anything, cannot behold anything, which is not his own, and therefore cannot be in the circumstances which constitute a temptation to sin; while, at the same time, his eternal sense of the right and the good constitutes in him the immutable essence of holiness.

8. The infinitely holy must condemn the guilty. This involves two propositions. He must disapprove of that which is wrong, and he must pronounce sentence of condemnation upon him that is guilty of sin. The former is a necessary consequence of the very nature of God. The essentially holy must abhor that which is unholy. This is a feeling common to all the holy. The latter is peculiar to God. It

involves the right and the obligation to judge. These belong, not to the creature, but intrinsically to the Creator, simply because he is the Creator, and therefore the only absolutely rightful Governor, who is bound by his very position to administer the law of equity. Having the legitimate authority, and being morally perfect, he must condemn the guilty. And, reciprocally, every moral agent is responsible to his Maker for his conduct. He has not himself the liberty, even if he had the ability, to take the law into his own hand, and enforce compensation. His only course is to appeal to him who has both the power and the right, as well as the obligation, to vindicate the law.

9. The holy God must doom the guilty to death. In the first place, it is a matter of experience that all men die. And, as this event befalls the whole animal and vegetable kingdom, as well as man, if it had not been for sin it would have had no penal significance. It would, in fact, have been, not death in the sense which we now attach to it, but a change by which unfallen man would have passed into a higher stage of being, for which his spiritual nature when duly developed would have fitted him. But when we learn from experience that man has sinned, a gloomy foreboding of inevitable evil associates itself with our thoughts of that solemn change, and we begin to ask ourselves: What is death? Man is an intelligent and susceptible agent. He lives in a body — the organ by which he begins to know, feel, and act. Death, in the literal sense, is the separation of the soul and the body, a change from which nature instinctively shrinks. It involves the cessation of that large share of his discoveries, pleasures, and activities of which the body is the medium. These are all essentially related one to another, and culminate in the activities for the sake of the susceptibilities of his nature. Sin is the abuse of these activities. As the change of man's physical nature, if he had maintained his integrity, would no doubt have been an advance in dignity and happiness, we cannot but anticipate that in the event of his fall it must be a descent into

that disgrace and suffering which is the just consequence of sin.

10. This opens the way to the next question: Is the punishment adequate? Is death neither more nor less than sin deserves? Death, in the penal sense, is not annihilation. It involves the suspension of all those exercises of volition in which the body is instrumental. The activities that are abused are withdrawn. This forfeiture is incurred by the simple fact of transgression, without regard to the degree of guilt. It is common, therefore, to all transgressors. But is this the whole of penal death? If a friend lend me an implement, by which I am enabled to accomplish an end which I could not attain without it, I am bound to return it, with thanks; and I feel myself, moreover, indebted to him in proportion to the value of the implement in effecting the desired end. If the Author of my being, to whom I am responsible for all my actions, give me a talent which is conducive to my well-being, and I employ it aright, I am indebted to him for the talent and for the good it has done me; but if I employ it in doing wrong, I am responsible to him, moreover, for the wrong I have done. By withdrawing the gift, he leaves me still indebted for the good I might have had, and accountable for the wrong I have committed; and his relation to me as Judge binds him to call me to account, and requite me for the wrong done. Hence it is plain that penal death involves not merely a negation of enjoyment, but a positive measure of suffering, in proportion to the offence. The fatal consequence of sin is twofold — one part internal, and the other external. The internal is the anguish of an accusing conscience, which will reach its full force when all delusions will have passed away, and the guilty soul stands face to face with God and with the truth of things. This will be exactly proportional to the guilt; for it will simply be the due sense of that guilt. The external is the amount of the penal suffering apportioned by the unerring judgment of God. This is the real penalty, as the internal inquietude is simply the sense of demerit, the

consciousness of deserving the precise measure of pain. We are guided to this conclusion by the simple principle of equity in the divine administration.

11. The retribution that awaits the sinner hereafter presupposes the existence of the individual after death. We learn from experience, and particularly from chemistry, that no particle of matter ceases to exist, whatever transformations it may undergo after the law of its kind. And we have no reason to doubt that the same perpetuity of existence belongs to that most subtile and potential of all essences, the organific principle of life in plants and animals. The far-reaching minds of Socrates and Plato perceived that the present question respected not merely men, but the diversified tribes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.[1] The vital principle existing in the first progenitor appears to be one for the whole species, not originating an indefinite series of wholly new entities resembling the primary individual, which would be, in sooth, an act of creation, but developing itself in a whole progeny of units, shrinking again into itself as member after member dies off, and only becoming physically inoperative when the last individual perishes. What becomes of this specific principle of vitality when thrown out of the gear of nature by the death of the last specimen in which it operated — whether it bides its time to reappear in some new sphere of activity, or recedes into the general reservoir of animal or vegetable vitality, is a question beyond the range of human experience. We merely know from geological facts that innumerable species of plants and animals have ceased to exist, and that new species have taken their places under the altered conditions of the superincumbent surface. And we are unable to assign any purpose which the specific form of the vital principle can serve when the individuals of the species have all died out. We have no reason to suppose that it is kept apart for revival in a higher stage of development, when we discover a new world of analogous species occupying the old ground

[1] Platonis Phaedo, 41.

with its successively diversified material of subsistence. This affords the shadow of a presumption that the vital principle disengaged by the extinction of a species, reverts to the general principle of vitality, whether animal or vegetable, to reappear in new forms on a differently constituted soil. And, as we have no experience, and cannot conceive the possibility of the naked principle of vitality, when detached from an organic form, constructing an organ for itself out of the raw material of things, we descry the necessity of the immediate intervention of the Creator, by a law which to us belongs to the miraculous, to bring the organific principle once more into connection with an organic form which will be the head of a new species.

12. There are manifest indications, however, that it is different with the rational principle in man — that the personal soul does not so merge into the special or the general element of life, but continues to have an individual existence. A person is a rational entity, a being possessed of an intellectual and moral nature. We may, therefore, sum up these indications under two heads — the intellectual and the moral. Under the head of the intellectual, we shall mention three things. 1. By an intuitive glance man penetrates the secret of creation, and discerns the Creator, dimly and afar off, it may be, as the source as well as the end of his being and his happiness. This raises him immeasurably above the plants of the field and the beasts that perish. He knows God. There is a metaphysical relationship, an intellectual intercourse, between him and his Maker, which does not hold for the inferior animals — a peculiar bond, in which man is for the Lord and the Lord for man. 2. He can form a purpose — a purpose which may reach beyond his animal wants and his present stage of existence — a purpose which would require many times the age of Methuselah to work out, and may therefore penetrate into the indefinite range of eternity. The natural philosopher forms plans of investigation which he is morally certain would demand ages to prosecute to their final issues. Now, though thousands of

human projects end in disappointment, yet it would be unphilosophical to suppose that the purposing faculty was given in vain. It plainly forebodes a perpetuity of existence for the individual soul. 3. The human soul is capable of progressive development, and has never arrived at a point of improvement beyond which it cannot go. It is not so with the inferior animals. It has been often remarked that the young bird builds its nest at the first attempt as perfectly as the parent, and that it never improves upon its first achievement. No real houyhnhnm has ever advanced beyond the instinct of the species. A few animals, domesticated and trained by man, have acquired some habits that were not common to the species; but they have never outstept a certain limit; they have never reached more than an instinctive reflection of human reason. On the contrary, when man arrives at his full stature of body, his mind continues to grow, not only in the appliances of art, but also in the generalizations of science. This progressive faculty argues a perpetuity of individual existence. When these three points of the intellectual character of the soul are weighed together, they vastly enhance the argumentative force of each, and form an undeniable indication of its individual perpetuity.

13. The moral nature of the soul presents a new and independent argument for the continuance of its individual existence. It is manifest that when the great change of death takes place, the moral account of the man has yet to be settled. This life has been but his probation. He has been permitted to run his course of free-will without any arrest, though not without due warning of the consequence of disobedience. The long-suffering Father has made the sun to shine and sent the rain upon him in the present life, without reference to his moral conduct. Yet in the kingdom of heaven the principles of justice are paramount in their authority and immutable in their force. The righteous Governor of the universe cannot fail to vindicate the law and require an account at last, and man cannot escape from

his accountability. Since these things must be so, the soul must survive the shock of dissolution, and at the close of its earthly career await its doom. To allow it to pass into annihilation would be contrary to the course both of nature and of justice. And to leave it to merge with its personal obligations into the specific principle of human life, and cease to be an individual, would defeat the ends of justice and confound the moral order of the universe. But if the soul survive this critical point of its history, there is no reason why it should at any after period of duration lose its existence or its individuality.

14. It is to be remembered that we are not now proving the perpetuity of the human principle of life. That has been already established on the common ground that that which has a hold of existence does not cease to exist. We have now been engaged in summing up the chief indications in the personal nature of a single scion of the human race that he must be destined to a perpetual individuality. We have noticed four of these indications, which appear decisive of this question — three of the intellectual, and one moral. The individual man is capable of making acquaintance with his Maker, of forming a purpose transcending the period of this earthly life, of making progress in knowledge and wisdom without any definable limit, and, lastly, of pursuing a course of moral conduct, the issues of which inevitably reach beyond the mortal stage of his existence. Thus the general law of the perpetuity of that which exists and the special fact of the personality of the soul combine to form an argument that cannot be set aside, for what is commonly called the immortality of the soul.

15. We have now endeavored to establish, by the aid of reason alone, the premises of this great syllogism: I am guilty; the holy God must doom the guilty to death. The conclusion, I am doomed to die, is manifestly inevitable, if the premises be conceded. We do not affirm that every man actually reaches these articulate propositions; we only hold that if he rightly use his reason in this momentous investiga-

tion, he cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion alleged. We believe, also, that in general he does not need to enter into abstruse argumentations in order to be convinced of these truths. By the instinct of right reason he will be ready to admit them as soon as they are understood. Some have been disposed to question whether reason can go so far. But the practical conclusions of the most cultivated, as well as of the most unsophisticated, nations of the earth go far to prove that man by some glimpse of intuition or rapid process of reasoning arrives at the two averments that man is guilty and that God is holy. And further meditation tends only to confirm and elucidate these statements. We may add that this is the utmost that reason at its best estate is able to demonstrate in this line of inquiry. It does not warrant us either to go beyond or aside from these premises. And hence we are compelled to conclude that the philosophy of unaided reason leaves man, when he comes to inquire into the moral relation in which he stands to his Maker, under the sentence of condemnation, and fails to whisper any word of consolation or hope. It is, at best, but a philosophy of blank despair. This is the dark answer which reason is constrained to give to the most momentous form of the question, What is truth ?

16. II. We have next to consider what reason may learn from revelation, beyond the intimations it has gathered from intuition and experience. The above dictates of reason are presupposed in revelation as the groundwork of its communications. The sum-total of revelation may be conveyed in the one word, "mercy"; just as the whole finding of reason appears to be concentrated in the one word, "judgment." It resolves itself into the three following brief propositions: the Father forgives; the Son redeems; the Holy Spirit sanctifies. Each of these may be set over against its counterpart, learned from intuition and experience: I am unholy; but the Holy Spirit makes holy. God is holy; but he is also merciful. I am doomed to die; but Jesus Christ has died for all those who trust in him. They may also be

connected in a logical series, thus: He that is born of the Spirit trusts in Jesus Christ; he that trusts in Jesus Christ is redeemed by him; he that is redeemed by Christ is accepted of the Father. From the last two of these propositions the conclusion is: He that trusts in Jesus Christ is accepted of the Father. And all the sons and daughters of Adam are invited to come to Jesus Christ, and to the Father through him. This is the gospel. We see it is the exact counterpart in every respect of the findings of reason. Reason speaks only of judgment; the Spirit speaks also of mercy. Reason says, I am unsanctified; God is holy; I am doomed to die. The Spirit says, The Holy Ghost sanctifies; God is also merciful; Jesus Christ has died for sinners. Reason leads to despair; the Spirit awakens hope. Here righteousness and peace have kissed each other. It remains only to make a few reflections on this signal display of divine wisdom and grace.

17. A sharp line is here drawn between observation and revelation. Imagination may conceive, and a vague opinion may prevail, that mercy may in some way be held out to the guilty. But it is obvious that this affords no firm ground to rest upon. Unless it could be shown that the Governor of the universe is under some moral obligation to show mercy to the offender, we want the foundation on which to build any assurance that he will do so. But reason evinces quite the contrary. The Judge of all the earth is not bound by any moral law to forgive the sinner; if he were, forgiveness would be a matter of justice, not of grace. On the other hand, he is bound to right the oppressed and vindicate the law; and this raises a seemingly insuperable barrier in the way of pardon. Hence there cannot be the shadow of evidence on the part of reason for the forgiveness of sins. Unless the Lord himself, therefore, speak forth from his own breast the word of invitation, there is no possible authority for a gospel of reconciliation. Hence the necessity and importance of revelation. It is a distinct and definite communication to the reason of man from the God of heaven and earth, shedding the light of hope on the desponding heart.

18. We learn from this sum of saving knowledge that all our salvation comes from the Father. His mercy prompts him to forgive on certain indispensable conditions. And hence it moves him to send his Son to make propitiation for sin, and his Spirit to create the new heart that will accept the invitation of the gospel and the Saviour it proclaims. As the Father thus makes over himself, his beloved Son, and his Holy Spirit to us to procure for us the full blessings of an everlasting salvation, so we are bound in the justice of gratitude to dedicate ourselves without reserve to him.

19. As soon as it is revealed that there is forgiveness of sins with God, two apparently insurmountable obstacles stand before us in the way of salvation. The one is on the part of God. How can he exercise mercy, and yet vindicate justice? This is removed by his Son Jesus Christ coming forward and satisfying justice by his obedience unto death in the stead of the sinner. The other obstacle is on the part of the sinner. How can the carnal mind, that is enmity against God, be turned to penitence and faith? This is removed by the Holy Ghost opening the heart of the sinner to receive the gospel.

20. Each of these three parts is essential to salvation. The sovereign mercy of the Father is essential. Though the Son were to redeem, and the Spirit were to sanctify, so that the sinner should willingly accept the good offices of the Substitute, yet the Father is not bound to accept the obedience of the Substitute. It is still of his free-will to forgive the sinner. The sanctifying work of the Spirit is equally essential. Though the Son have made propitiation, and the Father be ready to forgive, yet the sinner will not return until the Spirit make him willing. The atonement of the Son is no less essential. Though the Spirit were to sanctify, and the Father were prepared to forgive, yet the sinner cannot escape his doom unless the great High-Priest have satisfied the demands of justice.

21. It is consonant with reason that mercy can only take effect when the claims of equity are satisfied. Some, who

are ready enough to object that too great a scope has already been given to reason's unaided powers, are yet no less firmly assured that reason must indicate mercy as the most essential and attractive attribute in the sublime character of God. It is necessary to be explicit in regard to this somewhat general statement. It is to be observed that God is a Spirit, and therefore has the three great primary attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness. In the attribute of goodness are included holiness, on the one hand, and benevolence, on the other. That benevolence will disclose itself in deeds of compassion towards those who may suffer from want or pain, there cannot be the smallest doubt. But the question here is about forgiveness of sin. There is an essential difference here. The innocent sufferer may cry to the God of truth and love for deliverance, and will not cry in vain. For he is the Judge, and therefore bound by his authority, as well as his justice, to redress wrong. But the sinner, conscious of his guilt, is dumb before the God of holiness. He feels that all that is good in God is arrayed against him. The infinite holiness of God abhors his iniquity, and the infinite benevolence of the same God expends itself on behalf of the wrong-sufferer against the wrong-doer. Conscience is, in this case certainly, an unexceptionable witness; and what is conscience but reason in the soul of man pronouncing on the moral question? And until it be found to be the feeling of mankind that sympathy in the Supreme Governor should be extended to the offender, rather than to the party offended, it must be admitted that, apart from revelation, there is no reason to hope for the forgiveness of sin, and every reason to expect that the sinner will be adequately punished, and the sufferer from his sin duly compensated. The very provisions of salvation come in as corroborative witnesses of this indefeasible averment of reason. The propitiation for sin by an all-sufficient Redeemer is indispensable, simply because eternal justice must have its full vindication. The sanctification of the soul by the omnipotent Spirit is essential to salvation, because the rebel heart cannot bask in the sun-

shine of reconciliation. These conditions are the intuitive intimations of reason, whenever the case of disobedience to a moral law is placed before it. And, accordingly, whenever the purpose of mercy is announced, they have to be satisfied by the provisions devised by infinite wisdom and accomplished by infinite power.

22. The notion of redemption, propitiation, or vicarious satisfaction to the law, as it is variously called, is also agreeable to reason. When a wrong is done to a private individual, he has a right to redress; and if he receive it, no matter from what source it comes, it is manifest that the ends of justice are secured, so far as he is concerned. In point of fact, the compensation comes to him most frequently, not from the wrong-doer, but from the supreme magistrate, who asserts his right over the culprit, and by the strong arm of power compels restitution. But a third party, who has the means freely at his disposal, may tender restitution on behalf of the culprit, the acceptance of which on the part of the plaintiff satisfies his claim. Again, it cannot be denied that the wrong-sufferer, so far as he is personally concerned, may forgive the wrong-doer. These two personal rights belong to the magistrate, as well as to the private subject. He too has a right to redress, and yet may forgive. But, besides personal rights, the magistrate has judicial obligations. He is bound to secure all the ends of justice. These respect the party wronged, the mediator, and the wrong-doer. First, compensation must be made to the party wronged. Secondly, the mediator must make the amends out of means entirely at his own disposal, on the one hand, and, on the other, in such a way as not to diminish permanently or essentially his personal dignity or welfare. It would be manifestly unjust that the mediator, if he were of equal rank with the sinner, should undergo the doom of perpetual death that the sinner might enjoy the award of eternal bliss; both because the mediator would be giving what was not at his own disposal, and because the ends of justice would be reversed. Hence it is evident that the Mediator must be

divine, in order to be independent, and to be able to make compensation without sacrificing forever his essential dignity or blessedness. Thirdly, the offence must cease. This ceases when the sinner comes to his right mind, reposes faith in the Mediator, and turns with repentance towards the Father. On these conditions the absolute Judge is at liberty to pardon the sinner.

23. The Spirit and the word of revelation must go together, in order to bring about the conversion of the soul. If the Spirit were to come alone, without the gospel, and lift the veil from the darkened soul, the result would be precisely what has been described in the former part of this response, a philosophy ending in self-condemnation and despair. And this goes far to obviate the objection that reason cannot penetrate as far as is there presumed. The ultimate limit to which right reason can reach may be far beyond what the dimmed, biased, unbalanced reason of the fallen nature may actually descry. But if the Holy Spirit were to take away the dimness and the bias, and restore the balance, the result would simply be that hopeless remorse of conscience which is an essential ingredient in the doom of the guilty. On the other hand, if the gospel were to come without the Spirit that unclouds the mental vision and undoes the moral bondage of the will, it would be a sealed book and a dead letter, neither "enlightening the eyes" nor "converting the soul." Hence they are astray, on the one hand, who pray for the Spirit without searching the scriptures, and who, on the other hand, like Nicodemus, hunt after the teaching of the word without seeking for the regenerating work of the Spirit.

24. The threefold division of salvation is the occasion of drawing forth out of the bosom of God the great mystery of revelation, the threefold personality of the Divine Being. The word "person" is here used in a unique sense to denote a transcendent relative in the essence of God, the meaning of which revelation alone enables us in any measure to define. The persons or subsistents in the divine nature are called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The first

two are clearly terms of relation; and the last has, no doubt, a reference to the original meaning of spirit, and is therefore related to the others as breath is to him that breathes. It is to be remembered, however, that the word-maker, who first transferred the term "spirit" from breath to the intelligent principle, did not understand by it a transient puff of air, but the breath of life, without which a man will die. Hence it came to mean the principle of life, of intelligent voluntary activity in man. As the principle of life in the race is one, so is the uncreated principle of vitality one in the Father and the Son in that transcendent relation which subsists in the divine essence. As the spirit is to the man in the human being, so is the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son in the Divine Being. And as in passing from the natural breath to the breath of life or vital principle, we have to leave out everything which is merely physical, so in passing from the human to the divine Father and Son and Spirit we have to abstract from our conception everything which is merely temporal and dependent, and rise to that which is compatible with the eternal and the original. It is manifest that the trinity of persons incidentally disclosed in the economy of salvation is a particular aspect of a transcendent reality essentially and eternally subsisting in the Godhead. It has, therefore, a paramount interest on philosophical grounds, apart from its special import in demonstrating the possibility of salvation for the children of the fall.

25. Second only to the revelation of the Trinity in the Godhead is the historical fact of the incarnation of the Son of God. The atonement for the sin of man must be made by man. The man who makes it must be free from personal sin, and independent in his resources. This involves seemingly incompatible conditions. The Son of God becoming the Son of Man solves the moral problem. There is a profound metaphysical interest in the incarnation of the Messiah, subordinate only to that of the trinity of persons in the unity of the divine essence. This Son of Man is in all respects a man, and yet he is at the same time, in the fullest sense of

the term, the Son of God. Thus there is a hypostatical union of the divine and human natures in the second Adam. The divine in him is the uncreated Spirit; the human is the created spirit in its physical organ, the human body. We have made some progress in the chemistry of mineral and organic matter; but we have not advanced very far in the analysis or synthesis of the qualities of spirit. A long period of speculative controversy on the nature and properties of matter preceded the rise of chemistry. Let us hope that the age of endless and unprofitable surmisings and disputations regarding spirit will soon give way to the dawn of a metaphysical science that will penetrate into the nature, properties, and relations of spirit.

26. Forgiveness of sins by the Father, atonement by the Son, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost, and, involved in these, the trinity of persons in the Godhead and the incarnation of the Son of God, are the five cardinal points of revelation; as the guilt of man, the holiness of God, the doom of death, and, involved in these, the existence of God and the immortality of the soul of man, may be called the five points of the higher philosophy. Combined into one system, they constitute a brief, but adequate, answer to the sublime question proposed by the Roman governor to the King of kings. The development of these first principles in the book of scripture and the book of nature is a theme of study for all ages.

27. There are, indeed, two other themes of primary importance that have not fallen within the range of our observation. These are predestination and creation. They stand to one another in the relation of purpose and performance in man. But predestination extends to the conduct of free agents, and creation is effected without pre-existent materials. These transcendental powers belong exclusively to God. It tasks the utmost reach of the human mind to form any adequate conception of them; yet they hold a prominent place in the field of human speculation, as well as in that of divine revelation. As, to say the least, it is ex-

tremely difficult for the finite mind to see or show the harmony of the predestination of the Creator with the free-agency of the creature, it seems more conducive to the interests of ethical and metaphysical science to consider the laws of nature and the moral relation of the free agent with God apart from the higher question of predestination, lest the one warp or perplex the mind in the discussion of the other. It seems possible to pursue each line of investigation, distinctly from the other, with a fair hope of correct and useful results. But the combination of the two in the one process of discussion has been productive of confusion and misapprehension.

28. We cannot conclude without remarking that revelation, in harmony with its character as a philosophy of hope, contains an invitation to the sinner to return to God, who will have mercy on him. Away far back in the infancy of the race, the Lord had respect unto Abel and his offering, and he indicated a similar acceptance on the same terms to the only other son of Adam then living. This is a practical invitation to all the sons of Adam of all generations. And it is constantly repeated on all suitable occasions. Nothing could exceed the pathos of the following appeal: "As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel!" The Son of God, in the fulness of time, stood on earth in the form of man, to make atonement for man; and he said: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And in the parting word of the New Testament, we read: "And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." This expresses the spirit of the whole revelation. Coming from the God of sincerity and truth, it means all that it expresses, and warrants every child of man to put his trust in Jesus Christ, and lift the voice of repentance to the God of all grace with full assurance of being accepted.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHRISTIAN LAW OF SERVICE.

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THE Christian law of service is proclaimed by the Saviour: "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." To the ambitious request of the mother of James and John for the highest places in his kingdom for her sons, he had replied by propounding the Christian law of service, and enforcing it with these most touching words, in which he presents his own life of sacrifice and service as the type of all Christian life. This law presents itself in two aspects: Greatness for Service; Greatness by Service.

Greatness *for* service. — Greatness does not entitle its possessor to compel the service of others, while he lives in idleness, sustained by their compelled ministrations; but it binds its possessor to render service to others. Greatness in wealth, learning, talent, position, or power of any kind, is bound to a commensurate greatness of service.

Greatness *by* service. — Service, always degrading from the selfish and heathen point of view, is itself the true greatness, and is ennobled as such by Christianity. The most complete development of the individual and his greatest consideration in society to be attained by service; no artificial ranks in Christ's kingdom, exalting men merely by position — no pygmies on Alps; but greatness by service — an aristocracy of merit. The man who best serves society is to be the man of most weight in society — a king of men by divine right.

In considering this principle as the Christian law of service, we are primarily concerned with its first aspect: Greatness for Service.

I. The Significance of the Law.

1. The *principle* involved: Greatness carries in it the obligation to service.

Jesus refers to the contrary principle of heathen civilization: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them." This principle is, that superior power of any kind is to be used in compelling the services of inferiors; the weak must serve the strong. The position of honor is found in living idly and luxuriously on the enforced service of others. Hence despotism, wars of conquest, race-hatred and domination, slavery, the degradation of woman, characterize heathen civilization. Jesus says: "It shall not be so among you." The contrary principle must characterize the kingdom of Christ. Thus he calls our attention to the fact that in this declaration he not only propounds the Christian law of service as a law for the individual, but in it propounds the germinant principle of a new civilization. In Christian civilization the strong are to serve the weak; the nobility and blessedness of life are to be found in energetic and self-sacrificing work in rendering that service. Christianity recognizes superiority as imposing obligation to serve, and emblazons for every Christian the motto of nobility: "*Noblesse oblige.*"

This principle is set forth in the humiliation and sacrifice of Christ, the type and measure of all Christian love. It is the great law, which he exemplified, of the higher descending to the lower to lift it up; of the perfect seeking the imperfect, the richly-endowed seeking the poorly-endowed, bearing to them the gifts which they lack. It is always the shepherd going to the mountains to seek the lost sheep.

2. The *measure* of the service required is the ability to render it.

In transactions between parties having equal ability to render service, the services must be reciprocal, and the service rendered must be an equivalent for the service received. This may be called the law of reciprocity. This is the law of business exchanges. Every honest transaction in business secures an equivalent advantage to each of the parties. This implies, also, that so far as any one has the power of self-help he has no claim on the unrequited service of others.

But the world abounds in wretchedness which can neither help itself nor make compensation for the help of others, and which appeals for relief to those who are able to render it. Here we have the law of unrequited or gratuitous service — the strong must serve the weak. Human need creates a lien on the ability to relieve it: "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise; so, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also." Every man is debtor, *as much as in him is*, to use his superior power, of whatever kind, in uncompensated service to those who need. And the greater the power to serve, the greater the proportion of this kind of service that is due — pre-eminent ability, pre-eminent service; greatness, great service. Here we reach the Christian principle of stewardship — that men hold property and all means of influence not for selfish ends, but in trust for the advancement of Christ's kingdom and the promotion of the best interests of man.

3. The *applications* of the law are both to the choice and prosecution of business and to the use of its gains.

I shall consider first, and chiefly, the application of the law to the choice and prosecution of business. A man's business ought to be such that the whole action of his life in its prosecution be doing good, even when he is so absorbed in its cares and processes that he does not think of doing good.

The law of Christian benevolence is ordinarily treated as if it were applicable only to the use of the gains of business.

But, if so, then we do good only occasionally and with deliberate purpose; the only scope for Christian beneficence is outside of the business, while within it all is necessarily worldly and selfish; and it is only so far as one can give away something that he can be benevolent. If a mechanic spends nine tenths of his earnings in supporting his family, and gives away one tenth, then of every ten strokes of his hammer nine are for self, and only one for God — but a dribbling of his life for doing good. But a man's business is the main work of his life. When his life ends, the great bulk of what he has done for God and man is what he has done *in* his business, not what he has done outside of it. If that business in its prosecution affords no scope for Christian largeness of heart, if it is essentially a mephitic swamp in which every breath inhales miasma, we may well cry in despair: "Who, then, can be saved?" Then it is not surprising that men should reproach God for requiring them to serve him, while compelling them to spend life in business which consists essentially in serving themselves. Business must itself be such that every stroke in its prosecution shall be a Christian service to man — so much business done, so much service to humanity rendered. Business, therefore, should be chosen and prosecuted reverently and in Christian consecration; for it is the life-work. If chosen and prosecuted only for gain, it is chosen and prosecuted in covetousness, and not in Christian love.

And yet the common opinion is, that business is to be chosen and prosecuted only to make money. This opinion has so firm a hold that the majority of men would probably be surprised at the suggestion that a man should engage in business for any other end. Even good men think that Christian benevolence is to be exercised only in the giving of their gains, not in the prosecution of their business. The only exception is the business of a Christian minister, which all admit should be prosecuted not to get gain, but to render service. It is necessary, therefore, to show that every legitimate business is in its very prosecution a service to humanity,

and ought to be chosen and prosecuted in Christian love for the purpose of rendering the service, not in covetousness for the purpose of gain. This principle is as applicable to every business as it is to that of the Christian minister.

(1) Exchanges under the law of reciprocity give scope to Christian service. You say: "If I have any of my time or earnings to spare from my business, I am willing to show Christian charity to the needy. But business is business, and must be conducted on business principles, and with it Christian charity has nothing to do." But what are business principles? The fundamental one is the law of reciprocity: "The service rendered must be equivalent to the service received." The fact that, in a business transaction, for the service rendered an equivalent is received does not take away its character as a service, nor preclude Christian love as a motive in the transaction. Every Christian is bound in love to see that in every transaction of business he renders a service equivalent to that received. When in any exchange it is the aim of one party to secure all the advantage to himself, that intent is of the essence of all oppression; for it is using a superiority of some kind to compel the service of another without rendering an equivalent. It is of the essence of all dishonesty; for it is getting possession of another's property without rendering an equivalent. The highwayman does the same, with only the difference that he is rougher in his method of making the transfer. Thus the law of reciprocity exalts every business transaction into a Christian service, and requires every man in every transaction to be as intent on the service which he renders to another as on the equivalent service which he receives. In every transaction is scope for Christian greatness of soul; and the man of business is entitled to adopt the princely motto: "Ich dien," "I serve."

Political economy, the science of business exchanges, which is founded solely on enlightened self-interest, coincides with Christian ethics in this respect. Its fundamental principle is, that every legitimate exchange is the exchange of

equivalent services; it is coming to accept the word "service" as best expressing whatever is exchanged.

(2) Legitimate business is in its prosecution a service, because it is productive, and supplies human wants. The farmer raises food for man and beast, and material for clothing. The mechanic and manufacturer fit the raw material for use. The merchant transports products, and makes them accessible to those who want them. The peoples of the world serve each other by their productive labor — the Asiatic serves the European, and the European serves the Asiatic. Over all the world men are industriously serving each other, producing what meets human wants. Thus viewed, the creation and circulation of products through the world, beneficent as the circulation of air and water, rises to the sublime. The circulation of the products of all countries, passing in white-sailed ships over the ocean, millions of wealth always in motion from mart to mart, a circulation so noiseless that the products of the other hemisphere flow daily through the streets unnoticed as the wind, and so equable and complete that you have only to step across the street and the product of any country is stored ready for your hand, and the table is daily spread with the products of every quarter of the globe — this circulation, all-pervading as the flow of blood in the body, binds all nations in the unity of a common interest and life.

Here, again, political economy concurs with Christianity. Whatever advantages in productive industry any person may have over others, it is for his interest that others should have corresponding advantages over him, and should be prospered in their industry; for thereby both the demand for his own products and the supplies for his own wants are increased. For the same reason, every nation is interested in the industrial and commercial prosperity of other nations. The old doctrine that a nation is benefited by crippling other nations is seen to be fallacious.

Thus political economy coincides with the gospel in teaching that we are members one of another, and if one member

suffers all the members suffer with it. It coincides with Christian ethics in the law that business should be prosecuted as a service to others, and not merely to get gain for self.

An inference is, that the only legitimate business for a Christian man is one which by its very prosecution renders service to society. Dramsellers, gamblers, lottery-dealers, counterfeiters, adulterators of food and medicine work every day, and the product of every day's work and of the diligence of the life-time is the multiplication of human woes. Persons engaged in business serviceable to society are entitled to gains accruing from a rise of prices, because this is incidental to a legitimate business and a compensation for incidental losses from a similar cause. But speculators, who by combination force an advance, produce no value, and render no equivalent service for their gains. They only force money from the possession of others into their own. This, therefore, is analogous to gambling, and is not a legitimate business according to the Christian law of service.

(3) A man renders service in the prosecution of his business so far as he is able to improve its methods and results. The farmer who "manures his land with brains" not only increases his own gains, but improves the art of farming, increases the productiveness of the earth, multiplies and cheapens products, and puts an addition to the comforts of life within the reach of a larger number of human beings. Every mechanical invention produces similar results.

The result is, that industry, subduing nature, developing its resources, and using its powers, and multiplying and cheapening its products, is steadily advancing human welfare; the purchasing power of labor, measured not by its money-wages, but by its power to purchase the comforts of life, increases; and, in like manner, the value of raw material, measured by its power to purchase manufactured products, increases. Thus cottagers have now comforts and luxuries which two hundred years ago the wealthiest could not buy.

The industrial movement of modern times is a distinctive

characteristic of Christian civilization. Human thought and energy is directed to the study of nature, the mastery and use of its powers, and the development of its resources for the service of man. Industrial enterprise opens a sphere for the largest knowledge, the highest talent, and the greatest energy. Thus it gives scope in this peaceful service of man to the power which in ancient times found scope only in war and selfish ambition.

(4) Every man serves society in his business so far as he ennobles it by strict integrity and a high sense of honor, by a large benevolence, and all the beauty of a Christian character. What honor, for example, has been given to manufacturing by Lawrence and Williston, to mechanical pursuits by Safford and Washburn, and to mercantile life by Budgett and Thornton. Thus the man of business is to silence the sneer that a mercantile people are necessarily mercenary; that mechanics and meanness are inseparable; that earning a living deadens noble sentiments; that men must live at leisure on the labors of others in order to realize the nobility of life.

(5) Every man's general influence in society, outside of his business, is affected by his character in his business. Light must be embodied in some sun or star or candle or burning coal, or it cannot shine. A man's business is the body of his light. If he is not a Christian in his business, he can shed no light beyond it; there is not even a candle or glowing coal to radiate it.

The second application of the Christian law of service is to the use of the gains of business.

It is unnecessary to dwell on this application; because it is the one usually urged, and urged so exclusively that the churches have fallen into the one-sided opinion that Christian benevolence consists principally in giving money. It is necessary only to say that in the use of his gains a Christian will be governed by the law of service. If he would escape covetousness, he must give habitually, in proportion to his income, and with a willing heart. The same principle

applies to the use of power and influence of every kind acquired in business.

II. Reasons for the Christian Law of Service.

1. The first is that urged by our Saviour himself: "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." I sometimes think these the most touching and eloquent of our Saviour's words. As the brightness of the Father's glory, he discloses the love of God appearing under human limitations in service and sacrifice. As the ideal man, he reveals in service and sacrifice the image of God perfected in human character.

2. The best instincts and the moral intuitions of the human soul accord with this law.

If any accident happens, and the better impulses of the heart are roused, men run to help the weak and the suffering. The strong man who calls for help is thrust aside with scorn. It is not greatness and strength which establish a claim for service; it is weakness, helplessness, suffering.

The babe comes into the house, and by its very helplessness commands the service of all. It rules the heart by its weakness. See it waking from its day-nap, the coverlid just drawn off, described as only one who was at once a mother and a poet could describe it:

> "There he lies upon his back,
> The yearling creature; warm and moist with life
> To the bottom of his dimples, to the ends
> Of the lovely tumbled curls about his face.
> . . . . . Both his cheeks
> Were hot and scarlet as the first live rose;
> . . . . . The pretty baby mouth
> Shut close, as if for dreaming that it sucked;
> The little naked feet drawn up, the way
> Of nestled birdlings. Everything so soft
> And tender — to the little holdfast hands,
> Which, closing on a finger into sleep,
> Had kept the mould of it.....
> The light upon his eyelids pricked them wide,
> And, staring out at us with all their blue

> As half perplexed between the angelhood
> He had been away to visit in his sleep
> And our most mortal presence, gradually
> He saw his mother's face, accepting it,
> In change for heaven itself, with such a smile
> As might have well been learnt there; never moved,
> But smiled on, in a drowse of ecstasy;
> So happy (half with her and half with heaven)
> He could not have the trouble to be stirred,
> But smiled and lay there. Like a rose, I said.
> As red and still, indeed, as any rose,
> That blows in all the silence of its leaves,
> Content, in blowing, to fulfil its life."[1]

Infantile beauty, with power to command willing and loving service. But when the yearling has grown to be a great, strong boy, then, if he demands the service rendered to the babe, he is only laughed at. Thus the unperverted instincts and moral sentiments of human nature assent to the principle that the weak are entitled to the service of the strong. Whoever is growing rich and great with the belief that he is entitled to use his strength to compel the service of others, and to live only to be ministered unto, is in the family of God a sort of overgrown baby, like a stout, selfish boy, who uses the strength of youth to compel from all the family the service due only to the babe.

3. The third reason is found in the second aspect of the law — Greatness by Service.

By service a man attains his own highest intrinsic greatness; by service he also attains the greatest weight and influence in society.

It is commonly objected that the argument from Christian love is an appeal to sentimentality, which cannot be expected to have much influence on practical men. This very objection is an expression of the hard and cold realism of the age, which measures value only by its power to satisfy material wants, which reckons success to be the acquisition of wealth by whatever means, and which makes the crowd stare in admiration at the diamonds, the equipage, and all

[1] Mrs. Browning's Aurora Leigh, Book vi.

the gaudy ostentation of swindlers, thieves, and whoremongers, and calls that success in life.

Certainly, enlightened self-interest accords with the Christian law. But I do not appeal to it here. For what is needed is not merely a more enlightened self-interest, but the spirit of Christian love — the spirit which animated the life of Jesus our Lord — a spirit not of the world, but above it. What is needed is a new and Christian ideal of what constitutes success in life, displacing the low ideal of success by getting rich. And this our Saviour sets before us in this thought, greatness by service.

The giver is always the superior of the receiver. He that confers a favor is, so far as that particular is concerned, the superior of him who receives it. He that renders a service is, in that particular, superior to him to whom the service is rendered. The common opinion, that he who serves is the inferior, belongs to the civilization attending the reign of force, when service was rendered on compulsion. Christianity reverses this doctrine. He who needs and receives service is, in that particular, the inferior and the dependent. The condition of modern society is forcing this obvious, but forgotten fact on the attention.

The character expressed and developed in loving service is the highest and noblest type of character. Jesus reveals the divine in the human, and the human in its ideal perfection. That ideal is found in his life of service; he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. This Man of Sorrows, in "the form of a servant," is the perfect Man, in whom humanity, long smitten with spiritual death, and producing only degenerate beings, at last, touched by the divine, comes forth in absolute perfection. The first tempter promised: "Ye shall be as gods," and the promise was to be realized through self-indulgence and gratification: "She took, and did eat." It has been the mistake of the world, from that day until now, to expect to become as gods by getting and being ministered unto. The gospel gives us the same promise: "Ye shall be partakers of the divine

nature"; but it is by being, like Christ, a servant. The conception of the highest blessedness by being ministered unto is the conception of an everlasting babyhood, an everlasting need and enjoyment of the pap-spoon. The conception of greatness by ministering is the conception of manly strength and power to serve, of resources given without impoverishment. So we assent to the words of Jesus, seeing therein our highest dignity: "It is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord."

Christian service brings out all the energies into action, and is constantly developing the man to greatness. It is often said that among missionaries is an extraordinary number of distinguished persons. The reason cannot be that they are of a higher order of natural ability, but is rather that their work trains them to greatness. Also, by identifying them with the greatest of human enterprises, it lifts them to notice, and concentres on them the interest of all Christians. No men so act beneath the gaze of all the world. When Mr. Snow went to Micronesia, it seemed like burying him in the obscurest corner of the world. But this faithful missionary to that handful of savages has created an interest and extended an influence throughout Christendom. He is a greater and nobler man, more widely known and influential than he could have been in any parish at home. If Paul had remained a Pharisee, he would have been a prominent man of his city, and at his death would have been forgotten. But Paul the Christian becomes the most influential man in the Roman empire, and perpetuates his influence through all ages. If Luther had remained a monk, he would have been a student, inclined to despondency, having no aim higher than to keep his own conscience in peace. But Luther the Christian is a man of burning enthusiasm, dauntless courage, heroic enterprise, broad, hearty humor — the reformer of Europe. William of Orange, at the age of twenty-seven, was a Romanist, a favorite at the court, spending his immense revenues in magnificence and luxury. But William became a Protestant, and spent his

subsequent life, with almost superhuman energy, and against innumerable difficulties, in establishing the liberty of his country and defending the faith against the powerful and bigoted monarch of Spain. All history demonstrates that greatness is by service.

Great responsibilities develop greatness. A sea-captain may be ordinarily a commonplace man; but when his ship is in danger his responsibility ennobles him; his form seems to swell to grander proportions; his attitude becomes majestic; his eye kindles; his voice deepens; his mind acts with preternatural energy. Analogous to this transitory influence of a great crisis is the constant influence of Christianity, quickening and ennobling the whole life with the consciousness of a great trust, a grand responsibility, and an urgent service.

The greatest energy in the service of self fails to develop a character so noble, a power so grand, and an influence so wide and lasting. Contrast Paul and Napoleon — both conquerors; the one by force, the other by truth and love; the one for self-aggrandizement, the other for the welfare of man. Contrast them in the imprisonment in which their lives were ended, when, isolated from all factitious splendor and support, you see the men themselves; Napoleon, though surrounded by the comforts of life, querulous, morose, weak, not self-poised and self-sustained — like a rank vine grovelling on the ground when its prop is gone; Paul, imprisoned rigorously, yet how grand his bearing, how self-poised and self-sustained, how peaceful and triumphant.

It is a condition of abiding influence that the life be identified with truth, which lives forever. The life expended on selfish ends is transient as the selfish objects it seeks, and narrow in its scope as the interest of self. Contrast the influence of Paul and Nero, of Luther and Charles V. — when they lived, the Christian seemingly so insignificant in comparison with the emperor; but in the subsequent ages the emperor fading into insignificance, the Christian brightening with increasing glory.

Thus, whether we consider intrinsic nobleness, or the duration and scope of influence, it appears that greatness is by service. The man of greatness in the church is the man who greatly serves the church. These are bishops by divine right, pre-eminent by pre-eminent service, pre-eminent as Paul was, "in labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." Such are the men by God's own anointing great in the kingdom of heaven. Such is the true *ἀνὰξ ἀνδρῶν*, whom no revolution can dethrone.

The same thought is true of society. Society can attain its best condition only as it is governed by the law of love. The ambition which by force compels the service of inferiors which characterized ancient civilization, the greed of gain which characterizes modern civilization, must give place to the law of service before a Christian civilization can pervade the world. Obedience to this law is indispensable to produce the popular virtue and national character essential to self-government and Christian civilization.

Consider the different characters which the greed of gain and obedience to the Christian law of service respectively indicate and develop. If industry is merely for gain, it will be accepted as a drudgery, and shirked when practicable. The brightest dream of success will be realized in the acquisition of means to live luxuriously with exemption from work. But if industry is regarded as Christian service, the true man will covet the opportunity to work. Idleness will be counted a disgrace. No one's education is complete till he learns not to shrink from work as a drudgery, but to rejoice in it as a service.

If business is regarded as a service, the aim of the workman will be to do all work thoroughly, as for God. The mechanic will congratulate himself, when his day's work is done, not merely that he has received his earnings, but also that his work has been well done, and will render good service. The manufacturer will congratulate himself, not merely that he has made a profit on his contract, but

also that he has given employment to many hands, and paid them the full worth of their labor, and has turned out an article well made, which will do good service. The merchant will congratulate himself, not merely that he has made large and profitable sales, but that he has given his customers a full equivalent for their money, taking advantage of no man's ignorance, carelessness, or necessity. Thus work in every department develops a noble and generous character, inflexible in integrity, intent on rendering service to men.

But if work is only for gain, the only joy in the work done is in the gain acquired. The day-laborer works unfaithfully, and is idle, if not watched. The mechanic slights his work, and turns out articles that will not wear. The manufacturer grinds his operatives to the lowest wages which their necessity or his opportunity permits, and produces articles of inferior material and make. The trader adulterates or misrepresents his goods. The man no longer regards his employer, his workman, or his customer as a fellow-man to be served, but as a victim to be plundered, a goose to be plucked; and he plucks him as near to the life as he dares. Then he boasts how much he has made *out of him* — of the sharpness with which he cut his neighbor's property out of him without rendering an equivalent.

Work thus prosecuted strengthens the greed of gain. The man becomes rapacious. His life is a Sahara, sucking into burning sand the sunshine and the rain, but returning no green thing. He becomes unscrupulous, reckless of justice and honor. As Dr. South says, he retails heaven and salvation for pence and half-pence, and seldom sells a commodity but he sells his soul with it, like brown paper, into the bargain. He becomes mean in getting and niggardly in spending. He becomes hard, reckless of the rights and interests of others, incapable of compassion, heeding no appeal to help the wretched; diligent and energetic as an iron steam-engine at work, and as hard and heartless as it. He lives not to benefit society, but to prey upon

it — a pirate seizing prizes — a devil seeking whom he may devour.

If such a character pervades society, society is corrupt and its civilization decaying. Society becomes impotent to produce great men; its consummate flower is the smart man, keen, shrewd, and knowing; it does not produce great men, men of broad views and large hearts, whose names will be powers of beneficence forever.

In ancient civilization, families and races which had won power by the sword compelled the service of the inferiors subjected. It has been the struggle of modern times to break political tyranny, and to secure to individuals their rights. The motto of modern civilization is: "A career open to talents" — every man free to make the most of himself and for himself. But this is demonstrating itself to be but a half-truth. Society constituted on individualism perverts individual liberty into self-assertion — every one grasping all he can for himself, without care for the rights of others. Society says to the individual: "We open to you a career. Make of yourself and for yourself all that you can. But look out for yourself; for every member of society will make everything out of you that he can. But then we are Christian; if you cannot run this gauntlet, — if you break down into utter destitution, — we will send you to the poorhouse, and keep you from starving at the least possible expense to ourselves."

It has become plain to the thoughtful that this principle of individual liberty is inadequate. Under it the old principle of the domination of the strongest still creeps in; the tyranny wrested from government reappears in the social sphere; the purse is as forceful as the sword. When competition does not pay, the competitors combine to force prices above the natural level; the rich grow richer, and the poor poorer. Inequalities not only increase, but stiffen into castes; it becomes more and more difficult for the inferiors to rise by honest industry to independence. The whole tone of society becomes more and more vulgar and coarse-

grained; bent on sordid ends, and seeking them by sordid means.

The masses that have been the less successful in this selfish competition are becoming uneasily conscious of their inferiority. But they fall back into the old error that the strong may compel the service of the weak. They have discovered that ten are stronger than one, and that by combination the many can compel the action of the few. They are lifting their solid mass to take from the individual the open career which by the conflicts of centuries he has won, and to enslave him again to society. They proclaim that rights belong to society, to the individual only duties — that he is the creature and tool of society. They proclaim the old error (exposed by Jesus) that man exists for his institutions. But however excellent the sentiments embodied in institutions, if they are constituted on the error that man exists for his institutions, they only bring back the old oppression in a new form. The re-organization thus proposed by the socialists among the labor-reformers is the old tyranny in a new form, and the worst form in which it has ever appeared. It is the organization of mediocrity, the lifting of inferiority to rule by the power of mere mass; it restrains genius, ability, and industry from gaining more than imbecility, mediocrity, and indolence; it closes the career to talent; it makes human progress impossible.

The evil itself, and the greater evil of these methods of attempting to right it, can be met only by Christianity. Under the Christian law of service individual liberty and rights are respected; a career is open to talent; the strongest stimulus to individual enterprise and development exists; all that has been won by the struggles of modern times is retained. Yet every right is acknowledged to have its correlative duty; the individual is followed in his acquisition by the Christian law of service; he accepts the obligation to choose and prosecute his business, and to use all that he attains by it, to render service to man. Higher ideals of life are created; men live for higher ends, and seek better

things. The coarse and vulgarizing influence of the greed of gain abates, and, instead, "sweetness and light" pervade society. The tendency to inequality is arrested, and society advances towards equality, because all are engaged in productive, and therefore legitimate, business, and prosecute it as stewards of God's grace and for the service of man; and equality is ultimately realized, so far as the diversities of talent, and of diligence and skill in the use of talent and opportunity, permit. The evils growing in our civilization can be removed only by obedience to the Christian law of service. The progress of society is possible only so far as the individual members of society become freely conformed to the spirit and law of Christ.[1]

III. It remains to Determine the Dividing Line between Selfishness and Christian Benevolence.

1. Worldly business is not necessarily worldliness. Money is not an evil, but a good, indispensable in every enterprise, Christian or unchristian; and it is every man's duty to strive to acquire it. It is not money, but the love of money, which Paul says is a root of all evil. It is not proof of covetousness that a man is diligent in business, rising early and working late and working hard; nor that he is frugal, and eats the bread of carefulness; nor that his business absorbs his thoughts, his interest, and his energy; nor that he rejoices in success and is grieved at failure; nor that he is successful, and rapidly accumulating property. Because forecast, diligence, concentration, and energy are essential to success in all undertakings. Thoughtlessness, negligence, indolence cannot succeed; and on them Christianity pronounces no blessing. Besides, a man's business is his life-work; and if it is worthy to be his life-work, it is worthy of the concentration on it of his thoughts, his interest, and

[1] The terrible history of Communism in Paris confirms the views here presented. Dr. Maudsley advances the opinion, and maintains it at considerable length, that the existing greed of gain is a cause of insanity, and also is causing a physical degeneracy of the race. — Physiology and Pathology of the Mind, pp. 205, 206.

his energy. A man's business is like a warfare; and he feels an interest like that of a general in planning his campaigns and marshalling his forces, and similar joy in victory and sorrow in defeat. All these are characteristics of efficiency in business, not of covetousness.

Covetousness is not merely, as commonly defined, an excessive desire of acquisition. The difference between covetousness and Christian justice and benevolence is not of degree, but of kind.

Covetousness is the desire of gain for selfish ends, and not for its uses in the service of man. If a man is doing business simply to make money, he is covetous.

When Jesus says: "Take heed and beware of covetousness," he uses a Greek word, which literally means, a grasping for more. And this is a peculiarity of covetousness; it is a desire for more, rather than a desire for much; a desire to be richer, rather than a desire to be rich. A rich man who has riches already and a poor man who never expects to be rich may be equally covetous, grasping for more. This is the wolf in the breast, always ravening and always hungry; the fire in the soul, to which every acquisition is fuel, making it burn more fiercely.

The philosophy of it is this. In the nature of man is a radical and indestructible impulse to put forth his energies in action, to push out in every direction to his utmost capacity. A man's business is the work which he has chosen for life, in which this radical impulse must find sphere and scope. The success of any enterprise gives him joy, because it is a triumph of his skill and energy, and not necessarily because it is an acquisition of gain. But the very acquisition furnishes means for further and larger enterprise, and thus stimulates the impulse to further risk and larger undertakings. So that, however large the acquisitions, the man is still driven to strive for more, with the same forecast, frugality, and energy which have hitherto insured success; and to this the power of habit is added, impelling to continued action in the same direction.

The blame here does not rest on the impulse to enterprise; for that lies at the very root of our natures. Nor does the blame attach to the indestructibleness and insatiableness of the impulse; for these are inherent in it as a radical impulse of nature. The impulse to action, the same grasping for more, appears in Christian beneficence. Success in one Christian work stimulates to effort in another. The soul is insatiable in its zeal to do good. It is driven to new toils and new achievements. Xavier, thinking he served God by his own sufferings, when enduring severe privations and suffering, cried: "More, Lord, more." Paul counted it all joy to take the spoiling of his goods, or whatever suffering was incidental to his missionary enterprises, and was planning a mission to Spain, ever pressing on to enlarge the sphere of his Christian enterprise. A man who in the work of his life does not find his nature crying out for more, and driving him to new work, and does not find in that "fresh fields and pastures new," is enervated; so far his manhood is spent out of him. So profoundly is it true that a man is not to be ministered unto, but to minister; his blessedness is not by being indulged and receiving, but by achievement.

So far as eagerness and insatiableness in the enterprises of business are the result of the natural impulse to action they are not blameworthy. The blameworthiness is that the covetous man spends his energies for himself. He may hoard his gains, or invest them in larger enterprises, or use them to gain office or power, or spend them in ostentation and luxury. But in every case it is for self, using his superiority to insure being ministered unto, not to minister to others. Thus, working only for himself, he is like a steam-engine of a thousand horse power, driven night and day to manufacture fuel to feed its own fires.

2. The law of service is not fulfilled merely by consecrating to benevolence a part, however large, of the income. The business itself and its whole income are consecrated. Christianity teaches stewardship; we are not our own, but bought with a price; we are stewards of the manifold grace of God.

In every action, investment, and expenditure we are to determine how we can best use the powers and possessions which God has intrusted to us for the establishment of his kingdom on earth.

3. The line between benevolence and selfishness is not to be drawn between what one expends on himself and his family and what he gives away. This line is not marked by outward acts. What you expend on yourself and your family need not be expended selfishly. It ought to be expended in Christian consecration and benevolence as really as what is given away.

It may be, and probably is, the use of money by which you most effectively benefit mankind. To take the lowest view possible, it is relieving society from the support of so many persons. The division of society into families is the best possible constitution of society, and insures the most rapid and abundant creation of wealth. It also is the best possible arrangement for the promotion of intelligence, culture, and piety. To create a happy home — one of the many happy homes which make a happy people, to create a well-ordered Christian home — one of the many which make a Christian people, is to render the greatest and best service to society. On the other hand, if in expenditure on yourself and your family you are seeking only your own gratification, only ostentation and display, only to have everything pleasant about you, only to be ministered unto, however lavish you may be, the very lavishness is but the outshining of selfishness.

4. Is a Christian justified in expending money on himself and his family beyond procuring the necessaries of life? And if so, how far may he incur expense for enjoyment and luxury, or for developing and satisfying the taste for beauty and the desires which belong to culture and refinement?

The mass of human misery is so great as to overtop all individual resources. When one thinks of himself as a debtor to all mankind, as much as in him lies, to render them service, the first impression may naturally be that he

must literally divest himself of all his goods, and reduce his personal expenses to the measure of bare necessity. This train of thought is met at once by another equally sweeping and obvious — that, if carried out, it puts a stop to civilization, and reduces us to the wigwam and the blanket. In this line of thought, different persons stop at different points. A common stopping-place has been that a Christian ought not to wear jewelry. But the same line of argument would forbid expenditures for pictures or other ornaments in the house, for a flower-garden which might be more lucrative in potatoes, for any dress more costly than the cheapest which is sufficient for warmth and decency. On this principle a parishioner of mine reached a correct conclusion, who, being informed that a savage tribe at a mission-station were beginning to wear shirts, expressed his regret that they should be subjected to the needless expense and trouble. In seeking a principle by which to answer our question, some light may be obtained by considering two marked types of civilization, expressing respectively the life of indulgence and the life of service.

The highest form in which the former of these two types can appear is the civilization of aesthetic culture and luxurious refinement — a luxuriousness that delights appreciatively in wit, literature, and art; a civilization like that of which Burke says "that vice lost half its evil by losing all its grossness" — words more epigrammatic than true. Aesthetic culture is the highest possible form of this type of civilization. The emotion of beauty is non-moral, that is, it precludes selfish desire and the consideration of uses, ends, and duty. It is never didactic, but regards the expression of things. A feast tastefully arranged is beautiful; we say it is too beautiful to be eaten. When appetite comes in, the veil of beauty drops off, and there remains only a mass of victuals. It is this non-ethical character of aesthetic emotion which makes it compatible with a life of indulgence, and aesthetic culture the highest form of that type of civilization.

The best example is the civilization of ancient Greece. "Athenian life was a sunny, unanxious, careless, pagan life; unguided by any high code of duties, unvexed by the dread of the future which should demand the discipline of self-denial; without a thought, or even a comprehension, of that purity to which the Hebrew legislation pointed with unfailing finger, and which made the central mandate in the ethics of Israel. Greek life was a life of the exchange, the academy, the circus, the bath. It was a breezy, open-air life, which guarded the body from disease and the mind from morbidity, which habituated the intelligence to delight in the subtilty of the Socratic dialectics, and which hourly placed before the sculptor consummate models of human beauty. Undisturbed by the fierce promptings of religious zeal, the mind naturally turned with sunny complacency to the worship of that beauty which was written everywhere on sky, on sea, on hillside, and the forms of men and women." To such a civilization the moral earnestness of the Hebrew scriptures would be simply incomprehensible. When preached in the gospel of Christ, it was to the Greek foolishness. The aesthetic mind of the Greek could not receive, much less originate, the idea of a kingdom of heaven on earth, of missions for the conversion of the world, or even for the propagation of moral ideas and reformations, of the indebtedness of every man to render service to mankind, and the consecration of life and all its powers and possessions to that service. All these conceptions were totally foreign to his thought; they could be received only by quickening a new life, which would unfold into a new type of civilization.

The religion possible in such a civilization must be a religion of beauty — either a pagan religion, like that of the Greeks, peopling the heavens and the earth with gods full of passionate, roystering life, and giving to every mountain, tree, and spring its nymph; or else pantheism, concerned with God only as the infinite expressing itself in all that is; never as a Lawgiver, forbidding sin and enjoining duty; much less as a Redeemer, saving men from sin and quicken-

ing them to work with him in establishing his reign of righteousness on the earth.

The most striking example of this type of character in modern times is Goethe, intent on personal culture, but hard and cold as polished marble; more interested in a controversy of the French Academy than in the French Revolution and the wars incident to it which were changing the political ideas and destiny of Europe; paying court to the conqueror of his own country so as to awaken the conqueror's contempt — a striking contrast to Fichte, who, when his course of instruction was interrupted by the invasion, dismissed his class with the inspiriting words: "Gentlemen, these lectures will be resumed in a free country."

The doctrine that the highest end of man is personal culture is a form of the error that man's blessedness is found in receiving, and not in giving, in being ministered unto, and not in ministering. It is the highest and most refined form in which the error can appear, and the civilization resulting may have great refinement and elegance; but it is incompatible with the Christian law of service; the civilization which it develops is essentially the development of selfishness, and will inevitably disclose the defects and wrongs which are inseparable from the error of which it is the development.

The other type of civilization is that in which the moral element predominates. Everything is considered in reference to its ends or uses; duty occupies the thoughts; everything is under law and subject to retribution; life is a life of service, not of indulgence. The Hebrew and the Puritan are examples.

According to this type of civilization, blessedness is possible only in the realization of moral ideas. Whoever misses this is a lost man. It considers all human interests only in relation to right and wrong; it enforces duty; it demands rights; it resists injustice and oppression; it seeks to bring the whole world into conformity with moral law; it expects

progress; it looks on history as a panorama in which truth and right are contending with error and wrong, and advancing with brightening glory to control the world. Therefore it generates intense earnestness of purpose, contempt for ease, indulgence, and luxury, the consecration of life to the realization of moral ends.

Such a civilization is necessarily propagandist. Missions to establish moral and religious ideas are inconceivable in a civilization of indulgence, whatever its culture and aesthetic refinement; they are essential and inevitable in a civilization in which the moral element predominates. Müller says that Boodhism teaches a purer and more complete morality than any outside of the New Testament; and it is they onl form of heathenism which has been a missionary religion. Mohammedism, borrowing from Christianity a moral element, and especially proclaiming the unity and spirituality of God in antagonism to the idolatry of corrupt Christian churches, was intensely propagandist, though by the sword. rather than by truth and love. The moral element predominated in the earlier history of the Roman republic; and, though the Roman *virtus* is hardly worthy to be called virtue in the light of Christ's teaching, yet, as distinguishing the Roman civilization from the aesthetic refinement of Greece, it made Rome a conqueror, carrying over the Western world the Roman law. Christianity is essentially moral; and it alone commissions preachers to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.

In history this type of civilization has often been one-sided and defective. It spreads a certain gloom over society. Law supreme, universal, inexorable, broken by all; penalty terrible and inevitable, hang glooming and threatening over the world. Beneath its shadow pleasure is an impertinence, the interests of earthly life trivial, secular business an intrusion; worldliness is driven out by "other-worldliness"; the sunny cheerfulness of life fades before the intensity of the sense of duty and responsibility; weariness of life falls on the soul; and asceticism drives men to deserts and monas

teries for the mortification of the flesh. The very absoluteness of the truth demands an acceptance complete and unhesitating; the very supremacy of the law demands uncompromising obedience. But the unlimited faith and uncompromising obedience of the believer pass into imperiousness in enforcing a like faith and obedience on others. The gay indifference of the aesthetic Greek to the opinions and religions of others gives place to an intense solicitude in the presence of a religion claiming to be the only and universal religion, and of a law of right which is the only and universal law. That solicitude passes into intolerance. Heresy is hunted by inquisitions, conformity is enforced by persecution, and the true faith propagated by crusades. When the progress of Christianity puts an end to these, still zeal for doctrine eats out love to persons; intolerance usurps the place of fidelity; and, in forgetfulness that persons are the proper objects of love, theological hatred, calumny, and proscription in the interest of truth are accepted as expressions of Christian zeal.

Thus this moral type of civilization puts on both a certain moroseness and a certain fierceness. Its iconoclasm comes to be directed against the joyous and beautiful because they are such, and by being such prove themselves earthly and idolatrous. And its missionary zeal becomes intolerance and cruelty.

Christian civilization belongs to that type in which the moral forces predominate. But it brings these moral forces into action in a manner peculiar to itself. It does not put foremost truth and law, but God, the Redeemer of the lost sinner; it does not put foremost zeal for truth and the sense of duty as the inspiration of the new life, but faith in God, the Redeemer of sinners, and love to God who redeems, and to man for whom Christ died. Here, then, in Christianity, is that which saves the moral type of civilization from the gloom, intolerance, and severity which so often have characterized it. The moral life, vitalized by faith and acting in

love, is no longer one-sided and defective, but complete, comprehending all that belongs to the blessedness of man.

The Christian life springs from the sense of sin and condemnation. From this the sinner is delivered when he sees God's redeeming love in Christ. In that faith the gloom of the law and of condemnation passes away; the life becomes trustful, hopeful, and joyous; the old Greek joyousness reappears, intensified and made spiritual — not now the joy of forgetfulness of God and his law, but joy which springs up, through faith in God's redeeming love, after acquaintance with God and the law has awakened the moral nature and the sense of sin. The moral type now appears, not in the inquisitor or the crusader or the ascetic, but in the Christ-like man, with all the earnestness of the inquisitor and the crusader and the ascetic, but also like a little child, living a life of simplicity, trustfulness, and joy, and, like Jesus himself, full of tender compassion and self-sacrificing love to sinners. Inspired by this faith and love, the man in whom the moral element predominates is no longer indifferent to secular interests and weary of life, no longer stern and intolerant in the consciousness only of law; but, like Christ, is sensitive to every human interest, taking children in his arms and blessing them, ministering to the sick, comforting the bereaved, helping the fallen in their efforts to rise, joyous at a wedding, teaching the principles of Christian civilization, alive to every interest of man.

The advancement of Christ's kingdom is not linear only, in the conversion of souls, but also diffusive, advancing in completeness and power. Civilization is said to multiply human wants. This is only another way of saying that it multiplies the powers and capacities of the man. To withhold satisfaction to these wants is to undo the development of the man, and to reduce him to his original infantile and savage state. Christianity must show itself the religion of civilization, competent by its vital force in a savage community to quicken progress to civilization, competent in civilization to stimulate, purify, guide, and ennoble it.

Christianity, then, is not to repress the culture, the refinement, the activity, and manifold development of man, but to vitalize and Christianize it. And thus it reacts, and accelerates its linear advancement. Christian interest in the progress of humanity, in the highest human culture, in all that pertains to human welfare, is itself a powerful recommendation of Christianity and an important influence in quickening men to a new spiritual life.

With this train of thought the true idea of the beautiful accords. Beauty is perfection — an ideal of the mind, expressed in the concrete. Goodness and truth, therefore, when manifested in finite things, are beautiful. When the expression is of that which transcends our power of conception, the emotion of the beautiful passes into the sublime. Hence the close affinity between the admiration of beauty and the awe of the sublime, and adoration. A moral movement which excludes the beautiful is defective and self-destructive; as if a tree in an effort to multiply its fruit should shake off the glory of leaf and blossom and the golden and blushing beauty of the fruit. Beauty is the bloom of truth and goodness; it is their radiance, their glow, their smile.

Therefore, within the scope of Christianity there is room for expending money, time, and talent on any work essential to the culture, development, and well-being of man. Civilization of the most intensely moral type does not exclude aesthetic culture. Its defectiveness in the Hebrew and the Puritan was the result of the incompleteness, rather than the completeness, of the moral life. It was because morality came in the awfulness of law, rather than in the freedom of Christian faith and love, and even as love, in the Puritan, concentrating attention on the conflict with wrongs and oppressions immediately urgent, so as to leave no time for the completeness of human culture.

But Christian love, when completely manifested, must bloom in beauty. When the gospel has free course, it must be glorified. The limping god of work is the one who wins and marries the goddess of beauty. The moral force which

Christianity has made a power in civilization is essentially an energy of reform and progress. As love to man, it is diffusive, and not restrictive, concerned with the interests of man, not conservative of the privileges of a class. There is, necessarily, a certain severity about it in some of its conditions. Sweeping away the tyranny and debauchery of courts and aristocracies, it cannot well avoid sweeping away with them their elegance, refinement, and aesthetic culture. But as its purifying and renovating force works out its legitimate results, it gradually diffuses through the whole people the refinement and culture once limited to a few. And this accords with prophecy: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree. And I will make the place of my feet glorious."

But, while Christian civilization is to beautify itself with aesthetic culture, no man has a right to live in luxury and self-indulgence, using his powers only for his own enjoyment. Whatever he does, he must do it in Christian service. It is right to break the alabaster box of precious ointment; but it must be broken on the Saviour's feet; and it must be the spontaneous outpouring of Christian love, not a substitute for that love, nor for Christian toil in saving men from sin. Peter, John, and Paul would not have converted the world by breaking alabaster boxes of perfume.

ARTICLE V.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING. — PREACHING EXTEMPORE.

(Continued from Vol. xxix. p. 195).

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

§ 5. *Preaching Extempore.*

When a stranger stands before a noted cylinder-machine in the Ardwick Print Works at Manchester, England, he is bewildered by its complicated processes. The yellow or purple cloth is applied to one part of the machine; it is drawn between the main cylinder and the rollers; and, in a few minutes, from another part of the machine it comes forth, not the plain yellow or purple fabric, but variegated with eighteen or twenty different colors, arranged in festoons of leaves and flowers, in crimson arches or scarlet curves. One textile fabric is ornamented so as to gratify the taste of a European princess, another to captivate an Asiatic king; this fabric is modestly adorned for a Fellow at the university, that is highly colored for a half-civilized African. While the stranger walks around this apparatus, he regards it as almost a work of magic. He examines the mordant, the color-boxes filled with brilliant or rich or modest dyes, — more fascinating, some of them, than the Tyrian purple, — the rollers engraved in intaglio and colored by those various dyes, the wheels and bands drawing the fabric when saturated with the base under those sharply-engraved rollers; then he sees that all this apparent magic is the result of explicable laws.

The process of extemporaneous oratory has been compared to the working of such a complicated machine. A man who was not intending to utter a word is suddenly called to address an assembly. He understands the subject which he is to discuss, and his thoughts rise, one after another, in a

fit arrangement. These thoughts awaken within him the appropriate feelings; and the thoughts and the feelings suggest the proper words in their proper places. They affect the tones of his voice; they prompt the expressive gestures. The sound of his own words and the meaning of his own attitudes react upon him and heighten his excitement. New images crowd upon him; illustrations before unthought of occur to him and startle him. The thoughts which had a plain base when he began his address come out now adorned with blooming metaphors. He fears that he may conceal the main idea under the similes which are flowering out as he speaks; he culls some of the flowers, and rejects others. He sees the danger of covering up the great principle by a multiplicity of details; he selects a few of the details, and dismisses the many. He watches his auditors, as well as his theme; he finds that one argument has not produced its intended effect; he introduces new proof which he had designed to omit. He perceives that his appeals to the sensibilities of his audience are more effective than he anticipated; he abridges an exhortation which a moment before he intended to lengthen. Studying the symmetry of his theme, as well as the ornamentation of it, — the appropriateness of his thoughts, words, and tones to his hearers, as well as to his subject, — he does not allow himself to be diverted from the substance of his argument; he turns to his own use the very events which are fitted to confuse him, and causes the distracting scenes of the hour to promote the unity of his efforts. His complicated processes seem to be mysterious; yet there are laws of thought and instincts of expression which make these efforts not only easy to him, but exhilarating. There are many processes of mind which before we engage in them appear simply impossible, and soon after we have entered upon them afford us intense delight. — It must be remembered, however, as the subsequent paragraphs will show, that all extemporary speech is not so strictly *aus dem Stegereife* as the preceding illustration may seem to imply.

I. The Extemporaneous Element in Sermons and its varying Degrees.

One preacher decides on his particular mode of expression and commits his words to paper; another makes the same decision, and commits his words to memory. In the pulpit each of them utters his words as pre-determined. One reads them; the other recites them. The man who preaches extempore is distinguished from the men who read or who preach memoriter, in this respect — he does not finally decide on his particular mode of expression until he is ready to speak. Some of his words may have previously suggested themselves to his mind; but before he is about to utter them he does not regard them as the determinate words which he *must* employ. Certain writers on homiletics make the impression that an extemporaneous address not only *may*, but *must* be unpremeditated. If this impression be the right one, a minister can never preach extempore on any subject of which he had formed a definite opinion before he entered the pulpit. Every unpremeditated speech is, indeed, extemporaneous; but every extemporaneous speech is not unpremeditated. If a man, instead of reading his discourse from a manuscript, or reciting it from memory, delivers it in words which he first resolves to use at the moment of uttering them, he is said to preach *extempore*, because he preserves himself to so great a degree in an extemporizing state of mind.[1] In this state of freedom to select his forms of speech, he will be apt to select new thoughts and new forms of thought at the very instant of expressing them.

That sermon may be most fully extemporaneous which is delivered on a theme not suggested to the minister until he begins his sermon upon it. In certain parts of our country it has been common to employ a test like the following for determining a man's fitness to enter the sacred office.

When Rev. William Elliot "first began to preach, there was a certain Dr. G. in his neighborhood, who would not allow that he [Elliot] was called to the work of the ministry, seeing he was a man of limited edu-

[1] See § 1. I. above.

cation, unless he could preach from a text given him at the very hour at which his meeting was appointed. Mr. Elliot, who had entered the ministry with great diffidence, and who was willing to get rid of the responsibility of the sacred office if he could honestly do so, consented to submit his call to the test proposed by Dr. G. A meeting was appointed in the week-time. Information was spread in relation to it. The hour arrived; the people came together; and the text was given him, which was: 'A golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about' (Ex. xxviii. 34). He looked at it awhile, and could see nothing in it. He read the opening hymn, and while the people were singing he looked at it again; but, not discovering a single idea which he could hold up before the assembly, he began to think he must confess that he had no call to the work of the ministry. However, he thought he would go as far as he could. So, when the hymn was sung, he said, 'Let us pray.' In this exercise he enjoyed in an unusual degree the aid of the Holy Spirit. During the singing of the second hymn, he was constantly revolving his text in his mind, but no ray of light seemed to fall upon it. In this state of embarrassment, he saw nothing before him but the announcement, so mortifying to his friends and so gratifying to the Doctor, that he had been deceived in the notion that he was called to preach. But he had been assisted thus far in the meeting, and it still seemed right and proper that he should go as far as he could; so he would read the text, and then, if he had nothing to say from it, he would make his confession. He read the passage; impenetrable darkness still rested upon it; but it was not time to stop until, according to custom, he had read it a second time. And now, suddenly, light bursts upon his soul. The text seems full of the gospel. The golden bell suggests its precious sound among the people, awakening, directing, comforting the souls of men. The pomegranate suggests the fruits of the Holy Spirit. The high-priest's robe points to the righteousness of Christ. He finds enough to say. He preaches an evangelical discourse; he preaches with an unwonted fluency; and the question seems to be settled in every mind that he is called of God to preach the gospel."[1]

As we see that one sermon may be extemporaneous in reference to its very subject, so another may be extemporaneous in reference to all but its precise theme; a third, in reference to all but its theme and the arrangement of its main thoughts; a fourth, in reference to all but its theme, the arrangement and illustrations of its main thoughts; a fifth, in reference to nothing at all except its language. So various are the degrees of the extemporaneous element

[1] Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit, pp. 238, 239.

in sermons belonging to the extemporaneous class, that while a man is excogitating one of these sermons, he may go so far as to write; not, indeed, as a writer, but as a cautious thinker; not using his manuscript as a record, but as a regulator of his ideas; not aiming to fix in their definite relations the phrases which he will pronounce in the pulpit, but striving merely to confine his attention to the ideas expressed in these phrases. Whenever he writes a sentence for the sake of impressing on his mind the terms which he will use in public, he borrows aid from the "written" or the "memoriter" mode, and just so far ceases to be a pure extemporizer.

II. The Qualifications, in their Varying Degrees, for Preaching Extempore.

In order to obtain perfect success in this form of eloquence, a minister must have an intellect quick to see, strong to grasp, and steady to hold the truths appropriate to his discourse; a power of reading the countenances of his hearers, detecting the needs of the moment, and uttering the words adapted to those needs; a fertile imagination; an acute and deep sensibility, assuming the phase of a fitting interest in his subject, and also in his audience; a modest, but still a courageous, temper; a firm and steadfast will, controlling his thoughts and emotions, and making himself "master of the circumstances" in which he speaks; an active sympathy with his auditors and a magnetic power over them; a rich, or at least a large vocabulary; an easy elocution; a natural impulse, as well as moral choice, to express what he thinks and feels, and thus draw his hearers into harmony with himself. The minister who has all which is implied in these requisites was made for preaching extempore, as a nightingale was made for singing. We are pleased, however, with the linnet and the lark, although they can never warble like the nightingale.

A preacher may want some, and yet may have so many, of the above-named qualifications as to promise a fair,

though not a full, measure of success. He may be, like Lammennais, so far deficient in "collectedness, presence of mind, self-reliance, and self-control" that he ought not to venture on preaching an unwritten sermon to even a small company of children.[1] A man of sound mental health, however, is seldom in this condition of impotence. The imagined inability to speak extempore is, in general, a result of mental disease. A minister may be able to preach without notes on one subject, but not on another; before one audience, but not before another; one part of a sermon, but not another part. This appropriateness of his services to his own characteristics may not only save himself from failure, but may also save his pulpit from monotony.

A preacher, for example, has a vigorous intellect, but not a vivid imagination; he should then extemporize a didactic, but may write a descriptive, sermon. He has a profound sensibility, but not a power of controlling it; then he should extemporize an argumentative, but may write a pathetic, discourse. He has a quick sympathy with his audience, but not a ready command of words; then he should extemporize a sermon on a familiar subject, but may write on a subject lying out of the circle in which he is at home. "Non omnes possumus omnia." There has been an effective orator who had only one eye; another who had only one arm. Here a man has converted his indistinct articulation into a means of impressive speech; there he has derived a new power from a curved spine. Scores of clergymen have turned a slow articulation into a source of increased emphasis. Hundreds of them may do for their minds what Demosthenes did for his vocal organs. While regarding themselves as "destitute of the organ of language," they are every day preaching extempore, without knowing it. Their fluent remarks in the evening conference,

[1] John Calvin in another sphere undertook to subdue nature, as many can subdue it in some degree. While acknowledging that he was not born a poet, he says, in allusion to the only poem which he ever wrote: "Quod natura negat, studii pius efficit ardor." — Felix Bungener's Life of Calvin (Edinburgh ed.), p. 150.

in the chamber of the sick, in the parlor interview, may be easily expanded, or perhaps contracted, into sermons. All the conversation of some men is preaching. In talking most familiarly with a friend, Dr. Emmons would unconsciously divide his remarks into Proposition, Proof, and Improvement. Men who plead their inability to extemporize in the pulpit will extemporize in lengthened interviews on business, and where their facility of expression fails, they will consult a memorandum — either recite it from memory, or read it without lifting their eyes from it. Many of these men would be successful in preaching impromptu, if they would yield in the pulpit, as they do in conversation, to the peculiar bent of their own natures; speaking freely what they are qualified to utter without notes; reading or reciting what they are unfitted to utter otherwise; not losing heart or resolution in extemporizing one sermon because they have not the aptitude for extemporizing another; obeying the laws of their constitution, which are the laws of God.

Before we consider the benefits or the evils of extemporary preaching, it may be well to consider the rules for it. The observance of these rules is a condition of the highest success, and the neglect of them is a cause of the frequent failure in this method of discourse. It is to be remembered, however, that, as there are varying degrees in which men pursue and are qualified to pursue the extemporary method, so the following rules are in varying degrees conditions of success in it.

III. Rules for Extemporary Preaching.

1. The direction more fundamental than any other is: Cherish an earnest religious spirit. Mr. Spurgeon is excelled by many as an extemporaneous orator; not by many, however, as an extemporaneous preacher. Why? He does not seem to be laboring for a thought or a word; to be making any effort for the attainment of any grace of language or elocution; to be arraying himself in a Sabbath costume, or assuming any appearance which his daily life in any degree

falsifies. A minister's expressions must be the fresh outflowings of his own heart, or they will not reach the hearts of others. A *man* must live behind his sermon; not a professional man, but a real, breathing man of God. Not only his words, but his life also, must be eloquence — "a visible rhetoric." An occasional piety is not enough; an habitual goodness must glisten in his eye and warble in the tones of his voice. Oratory is in the soul rather than in empty air.

It is not through an arbitrary fiat of the Creator that a fervid Christian sentiment makes a sermon effective; it is through the laws of the human constitution, which, resulting from the appointment of God, are the channels of his supernatural influence. The rules of sacred rhetoric do not *meet* the spirit of the Bible moving in an opposite direction, but *follow* it moving in the same way. They are philosophically involved in, or else they indirectly result from, the general direction to maintain the spirit of love to God and love to man. Rhetorical rules prescribe that an extemporaneous preacher feel an absorbing interest in his theme; thus they demand piety, which involves this very interest. They prescribe that he have, and that he manifest, an attachment to his hearers; thus they require piety, which includes this very benevolence — a respect for the immortal beings who are addressed and a desire to make their immortality a blessing to them. If every good man, then of course a good minister, is "a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river," and sendeth her branches outward to meet men, as well as upward to meet God. The canons of rhetoric demand that a man who speaks impromptu be so confident of success as to be free from perturbation in his discourse, that he be ready for what Sir Edward Coke terms "the occasion sudden, the practice dangerous." Now, a Christian spirit involves the faith which overcometh the world, removeth mountains, and is the analogue of natural courage.[1] These laws prescribe that he be

[1] In "The Heart of Mid-Lothian" Jeanie Deans on her way to the Duke of Argyle, is represented as saying, "I hae nae doubt to do that for which I am

free from self-consciousness and love of display; thus they require the religious temper, prompting him to hide his life with Christ in God. Rhetorical rules insist that he have a resolute volition, bearing and urging him along through all the scenes which might otherwise divert and interrupt him; the religious principle includes this volition, and induces him to exclaim: "I cannot but speak the things which I have seen and heard." Masters of rhetoric prescribe that an orator be able to control his feelings: a sanctified will is a power of self-control; besides, the feelings of a devout man do not need the same curb which is required for the undevout. Quintilian, Cicero, and Horace tell the orator that he must sympathize with his hearers; this fellow-feeling with them is an attendant and a source of a desire to communicate his own mind to theirs; and this desire, conjoined with this sympathy, helps to give him the personal magnetism which is one secret of extemporaneous oratory: but the earnest religious life involves in itself these talismanic elements; it is the action, action, action on which sacred oratory depends; it is the fulfilment of the promise: "I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist." On philosophical grounds, then, the success of extemporaneous preaching presupposes a Christian spirit in the minister; and the more fervid this spirit, so much the more effective, *ceteris paribus*, will be his discourses. There are many other reasons which justify the oft-quoted saying of Quintilian: "Non posse oratorem esse nisi virum bonum."[1] It is remarked of Paul Veronese (and what is true of a painter and his works is emphatically true of a preacher and his sermons): "An amiable piety was the foundation of his precious qualities, and did not diminish the agreeableness of his intercourse. He did not believe that without virtue one could be a painter of the first rank;

come — I canna doubt it — I winna think to doubt it; because, if I haena full assurance, how shall I bear myself with earnest entreaties in the great folks presence?"—Waverley Novels (Parker's ed.) Vol. xii. p. 34.

[1] Quin. Inst. Ora. lib. xii. cap. 1.

and he often said: 'Painting is a gift from God. That which crowns all the qualities necessary to a great painter is probity and integrity of life.'" [1]

This general rule comprehends many specific ones. Among them are the following:

A. Think more of doing good than of doing well. One of Paschal's aphorisms is: "Think nothing about talking well, except when it is proper to be eloquent; and then think as much as you please about it." [2] *Then* think as much as you please, provided that you do not please to think much. There is, indeed, a healthful love of perfection, and this is a stimulus to the soul. A man should not be *satisfied* until everything which he does is done perfectly; but in this indolent world he may be *gratified*, if anything which he does is done well. He should aim at a higher mark than he will reach; so he will reach a higher mark than if his aim had been lower. The more advanced his faculties and attainments, so much the more effective may be his sermon. His effort should be to make his sermon as useful as amid all his unfitnesses he can make it, and thus to acquire a kind of relative, while he despairs of an absolute, perfection. But in order to do this he must think more of his subject, and less of himself; more of making other men Christians, and less of making himself a perfect orator. If a man preach for the sake of pleasing himself, he will lose what he hopes to earn; but if he forgets his own pleasure and preaches for the sake of improving others, he will gain what he is willing to lose. Absorbed with love to the truth of God, he keeps open a magnetic communication between that truth and his own soul, and this is a main channel through which the truth passes into the souls of his hearers. Volumes of homiletics are compressed into that hackneyed saying of John Milton: "True eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth; and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know

[1] Galerie des Peintres, le plus célèbres: Vie de Paul Véronèse, p. 2.

[2] Thoughts on Eloquence and Style, xxxiii.

good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others — when such a man would speak, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command; and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

B. Cherish a deeper interest in the approval of God than in that of man. Mr. John Mason, in his "Student and Pastor," advises: "View your theme in every light; collect your best thoughts upon it, and consider how Mr. Addison, Mr. Melmoth, or any other writer you admire would express the same."[1] But when a preacher thinks more of such critics than of his final Judge he will speak in the fear of committing some literary blunder, and will thus be apt to rush into the very mistake which he dreads. He will be embarrassed by his mispronunciation of a word, or his violation of a grammatical rule, instead of being emboldened by the truth and buoyant with the hope that God will bless it. But is there not a wholesome fear of offending, and thus injuring some miniature Addison or Melmoth? Yes; many eminent orators, like Martin Luther, have never entered the pulpit without a tremor. This tremor has been stimulating; but a good servant may be a bad master. An *excess* of such fear deters many from attempting to speak extempore, or prevents their success in the attempt. They feel the danger of commiting this or that verbal error, which they do commit simply because they are thinking of it. They are mortified if they lapse into a pardonable mistake, and this mortification plunges them into an unpardonable one. If a sailor climbing the mast thinks much of falling, he will fall. When a swimmer becomes timid, he sinks. Several rhetoricians have said, in the aphoristic words of Oliver Goldsmith, that "to feel one's subject thoroughly, and to speak without fear, are the only rules of eloquence." Now perfect love casteth out all such fear as brings "torment" and confusion of mind. The desire to gain the approval of God modifies, without expelling, the desire to gain the approval of Mr.

[1] Pages 35, 36 (2d ed.).

Addison and Mr. Melmoth; it also modifies the chagrin resulting from having disgusted them. If we desire to *be* perfect in his view more than to *be esteemed* perfect by the high-priests of letters, we shall be raised above disquietudes concerning our blunders in orthoepy and syntax. He smiles on his servants who speak boldly as they ought to speak, even if they are guilty of an awkward gesture. A felt harmony with the Framer of our spirits is like a band of music cheering us onward in our discourse. The loudest plaudits of a congregation are less enlivening than the still small voice of conscience as it anticipates the decision: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

We do not plan the construction and relative positions of the pipes for conveying water into a city, until we ascertain whether there be streams and springs copious enough and pure enough for satisfying the citizens; still we have not provided for the wants of the city by merely finding a river or lake which will furnish a supply of water; we must introduce the water into the houses and gardens and playing fountains, by a net-work of hidden conduits. So while all rules of sacred eloquence are nugatory unless the orator have a fountain of religious feeling within him, yet there are some processes better than others for enabling him to serve as a channel transmitting that feeling into the hearts of other men. We must consider, therefore, some subordinate rules for extemporary eloquence.

2. Take a healthful view of your own talents, and regulate your speech according to them. Every rule for Whitefield is not imperative on Wesley. There is a healthiness of soul which results, it may be, from healthiness of body, and forms one condition of a preacher's success. Remember the law of "the herb, yielding seed *after his kind*, and the tree yielding fruit *after his kind*." The elm affords a grateful shade although it never yields a rose. "Cuilibet in arte suâ credendum est." One man may illustrate the benefits of the extemporary method in his exhortations, but would bring it

into disrepute if he should adopt it in his narratives. While not attempting to do what others do and you cannot, you may venture to do what others cannot do and you can. This was the wisdom of David when he went to meet Goliah. Under this rule are comprehended several others. Among them are the following:

A. Never yield to a morbid spirit, as if it were necessarily a humble one. There may be no pride in forming a high estimate of one's self, if the estimate be fair and just; the virtue of humility does not consist in forming a low opinion of one's self, when such an opinion is not merited. It is often the diseased rather than the lowly mind which leads a man to depreciate his own talents; and the temper which is easily disheartened may sometimes come from an overweening, rather than a deficient, love of esteem. There are men who are bold enough to write their sermons while they know that they want some requisites for perfect composition; but they are not bold enough to extemporize while they know that they possess many requisites for that service. They are more dispirited by their want of some, than encouraged by their possession of other, aptitudes for their work. They extemporize, therefore, with a despondent aspect and despairing tone. *If they dared* they might speak without a manuscript more forcefully than with it; but their sense of imperfection in some things makes them anticipate a failure in everything, and causes their "free speech" to be less free than their reading from "the papers." If they would not yield to a sickly temper they might say with one of Walter Scott's heroines: "I have that within me that will keep my heart from failing, and I am amaist sure that I will be strengthened to speak the errand I came for."[1]

B. Do not imagine that a few mortifying failures prove your unfitness for free speech. The example not only of Demosthenes, but of other eminent men, may encourage us to persevere in an exercise which balks our hopes at first.

[1] Waverley Novels (Parker's ed.), Vol. xii. p. 25.

"In the study of the law," says Mr. Gray, "the labor is long and the elements dry and uninteresting; nor was ever anybody (*especially those that afterwards made a figure in it*) amused, or even not disgusted at the beginning." "The famous antiquary, Spelman," says Burke, "though no man was better formed for the most laborious pursuits, in the beginning deserted the study of the laws in despair — though he returned to it again, when a more confirmed age, and a strong desire of knowledge, enabled him to wrestle with every difficulty."[1] In like manner the preacher best fitted to extemporize is apt to experience the most formidable obstacles at first. He will succeed if he be intrepid enough to endure a few mortifications, and he will be intrepid enough if he reflect on his aptitudes for self-improvement. *Fit fabricando faber.* When Dr. Thomas Scott, about the year 1777, was struggling with the difficulties of preaching without notes, he said despairingly: "It does not signify, it is impossible that I should ever be able to preach extempore";[2] but he was not permanently disheartened, for he seldom, after that year, preached a sermon which he had written. A minister will not extemporize well, unless, like Dr. Scott, he be humble enough to use imperfect powers, and hopeful enough to make his two talents four, and his five talents ten. He will not have success unless he expect it, and he will not expect it, unless after a careful study of his own fitnesses, he believe that God has called him to preach extempore, and will bless an imperfect service if it be well meant. The minister who adopts as his motto "Perfection or nothing," "*Aut Caesar, aut nullus*," will sacrifice a good which he has the power of doing, to the imagination of a good which may be possible for some other men but not for him. Mr. Wordsworth, in his Preface to "The Excursion," has the following suggestive remark: "Several years ago, when the author retired to his native mountains, with the hope of being able to construct a literary work that might live, it was a reasonable thing that he should take a review of *his own mind*,

[1] Warren's Law Studies, pp. 704, also 21. [2] Life of Scott, p. 77.

and examine how far nature and education had qualified him for such employment. As subsidiary to this preparation, he undertook to record, in verse, the origin and progress of his own powers, as far as he was acquainted with them."

3. Continue the practice of elaborate writing as an aid to the practice of extemporary preaching.[1] "Maximus vero studiorum fructus est et velut praemium quoddam amplius longi laboris, *ex tempore dicendi facultas:* quam qui non erit consecutus, mea quidem sententia civilibus officiis renunciabit et solam scribendi facultatem potius ad alia opera convertet."[2] Foreign critics say of Americans, that we begin the culture of speech-making before we "begin the culture of thought"; we "dissolve instead of crystallizing truth in words"; we do "not estimate a phrase at its precise value," do "not regard a word as a thing too precious to be squandered." What is thus said of Americans may be said of nearly all men who speak much and write little. They are apt to ramble rather than go forward. They expose every unwritten address to the suspicion of being cumbrous, or slovenly, or vague, or erratic, even when it is not so. If ministers would adhere to the habit of writing a model discourse as often as they can, they would be habitually storing their mind with seed-thoughts which would germinate in healthful extemporary sermons. This habit would lend a factitious and also a real value to all their addresses, would give to them both force and authority, would break up a popular association of the loose and superficial with the unwritten. As the stones of a cathedral are fitted to each other in the distant quarry, so the structure of an extemporary sermon is often predetermined in the elaborating of a written one. Theology was Dr. Priestley's work and chemistry his recreation; but he is thought to have accomplished more in his amusement than in his labor. Writing is regarded as work, and extemporizing is looked upon as play; but unless the work be solid, the play will be frivolous. Cicero says of himself: "Fateor me oratorem

[1] See § 2. I. 1 above.

[2] Quinctilian, x. 7.

non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex academiae spatiis extitisse.[1] On the same principle, when a man is devoting all his energies to the writing of one exact and well-proportioned discourse he is preparing himself for numerous extemporary addresses; is excavating a dam which will result in turning a thousand spindles.

The example of Dr. Thomas Scott is often cited in favor of sermons which are extemporaneous in thought as well as in language, and are not intermingled with discourses elaborately written. "For more than five and thirty years he never put pen to paper in preparing for the pulpit, except in the case of three or four sermons, preached on particular occasions, and expressly intended for publication; yet no one who heard him would complain of crudeness or want of thought in his discourses: they were rather faulty in being overcharged with matter, and too argumentative for the generality of hearers."[2] While residing in London as preacher at the Lock Hospital, Lecturer at St. Mildred's, Bread Street, and also at Lothbury, he conducted his Sabbath services in the following manner.

"At four o'clock in the morning of every alternate Sunday, winter as well as summer, the watchman gave one heavy knock at the door, and Mr. Scott and an old maid-servant arose, — for he could not go out without his breakfast. He then set forth to meet a congregation at a church in Lothbury, about three miles and a half off; — I rather think the only church in London attended so early as six o'clock in the morning. I think he had from two to three hundred auditors, and administered the sacrament each time. He used to observe that, if at any time, in his early walk through the streets in the depth of winter, he was tempted to complain, the view of the newsmen equally alert, and for a very different object, changed his repinings into thanksgivings. From the city he returned home, and about ten o'clock assembled his family to prayers: immediately after which, he proceeded to the chapel, where he performed the whole service, with the administration of the sacrament on the alternate Sundays, when he did not go to Lothbury. His sermons, you know, were most ingeniously brought into an exact hour; just about the same time, as I have heard him say, being spent in composing them. I well remember accompanying him to the afternoon church in Bread Street (nearly as far as Lothbury), after his taking his dinner without sitting

[1] Orator. c. 3.

[2] The Life of Dr. Scott, p. 148.

down. On this occasion I hired a hackney-coach: but he desired me not to speak, as he took that time to prepare his sermon. I have calculated that he could not go much less than fourteen miles in the day, frequently the whole of it on foot, besides the three services, and at times a fourth sermon at Longacre Chapel, or elsewhere, on his way home in the evening: and then he concluded the whole with family prayer, and that not a very short one. Considering his bilious and asthmatic habit, this was immense labor! And all this I knew him do very soon after, if not the very next Sunday after he had broken a rib by falling down the cabin-stairs of a Margate packet: and it seemed to me as if he passed few weeks without taking an emetic"?[1]

This remarkable record of Dr. Scott does, indeed, in some, but not in all respects, oppose the theory of preaching maintained in the present and in the second section of this Treatise. He was not engaged during the week in writing sermons, it is true; but he was composing works on theology and comments on the Bible, all of which were afterwards published and republished, sometimes in eight, sometimes in ten, octavo volumes. These compositions were, instead of elaborate sermons, the "bark and steel" for his mind. Such was his energy of mental application that when about fifty-three years of age he began to make himself a master of the Hebrew language, and when about sixty he began to acquire the Arabic. His enterprise as a theological instructor, together with his assiduity as a theological author, saved him from the dissipating influences which tend to unnerve the man given up to frequent speaking and no writing.

4. Discipline your mind rigidly in such exercises as will be of immediate advantage to your sermons. He who preaches extempore ought to be a solid thinker, able not only to look *over* a subject easily, but also to look *into* it, and *through* it. If he not only knows the truth, but also knows that he knows it, he will go forward, like a man treading on firm ground, and will avoid that vacillating spirit which betrays itself in incoherent language. "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." A man may accumulate many ideas, and be unable to master them — may take a heavier load than he can

[1] The Life of Dr. Scott, pp. 147, 148.

carry. It is said that Bayle not only had a contempt for the mathematics, but was utterly ignorant of even the first propositions of Euclid. The mathematical discipline, however, is important for an extemporaneous orator. Eminent advocates have been wont to demonstrate a difficult geometrical theorem immediately before they commenced an argument in court. Their minds were steadied, thereby, for the legal conflict.

As a minister may gather numerous ideas, and yet fail in the power of severe thought, so he may be able to think vigorously, and yet be destitute of that knowledge which will afford matter for his sermons. Therefore the rule is not: Discipline your mind rigidly, *and also* accumulate knowledge; but the rule is: Discipline your mind rigidly *in accumulating* such knowledge as will be useful to your hearers. This general direction includes various subordinate ones:

A. Study the Bible with especial care. Arrange for yourself, in a logical or rhetorical order, the more important illustrative or proof-texts. Commit them to memory in their fitting relations. They *are*, and they *give* intellectual and moral wealth. When the speaker is perturbed, and his mind becomes a vacuum, these inspired words will rush into it, and give relief to him, as well as comfort to his audience. If he be like the "Boanerges Stormheaven" of Sir Walter Scott, he will be able to close a stormy sentence with a biblical text, and thus to redeem the sentence from the charge of mere windiness. The hearers wonder how he will come down from his flight in the air, without striking suddenly on the ground or rock; but he saves himself from the fall by catching at a verse of scripture, and then rises, like a swallow flying upward from the earth which it has well-nigh touched. If an illiterate minister can thus glide out of the region of "extemporaneous nonsense," then an educated minister can add new wealth and dignity to his discourses by quoting scriptures instinct with thought. One text will remind him of another, and the other will disclose

new treasures of wisdom; and he will not wander in search of ideas, for "it is not he that speaks, but the Spirit of his Father which speaketh in him." The richness and fulness of many a biblical text is illustrated by the legend of the Dresden egg. A young prince sent an iron egg to the damsel who was betrothed to him. Not knowing its inward worth, she threw it on the ground. The shock started a hidden spring, and a silver yolk rolled out. Taking up the yolk, she touched another spring, and a golden chicken revealed itself. She touched a secret spring in the chicken, and discovered a crown in it; she touched a spring concealed in the crown, and was surprised to find therein a diamond marriage ring. The verse of the Bible may be a short one; but it contains a diamond within the gold, and the gold secreted in the silver, and the silver hidden in the iron; each outward cover opening into a concealed, but rarer, treasure.

Providence has doubtless made a great inequality among men in their power of verbal memory. No power, however, is more capable of improvement than this. A clergyman may be expected to make this improvement by a discipline at least equal to that of a statesman. After William Wilberforce had reached his sixtieth year, he committed to memory the whole of the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm, as he walked day after day from his lodgings to the House of Commons.[1] His speeches, as well as character, illustrated the advantages of this discipline. It is recorded as a rhetorical fault of the Virginian, Samuel L. Straughan, that he would often quote nearly a hundred texts in a single extemporary sermon.[2] The ability to commit such a fault is a rare excellence. It is, indeed, often conjoined with a weak judgment. Mr. Samuel Warren describes a collier whom he had known in Somersetshire, named Victory Purdey, who had the whole Bible by heart. "Mention only one word of any verse, and he would tell you exactly where it was to be

[1] See Life of Wilberforce, Vol. v. p. 45.

[2] Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit, pp. 516, 517.

found, *cum pertinentiis*, with unfaltering readiness and precision. Not a step further, however, could poor Victory go. As far as *reasoning* went he was an idiot. He could no more have put two texts together than he could have flown."[1] Such instances, even if painted in exaggerated colors, afford a real solace to some men who are unable to speak without their manuscript. From their want of memory they infer their possession of genius. They forget that Seneca remembered "two thousand names in the same order in which they were spoken to him"; that the greatest orators in the world have been distinguished for their power of recollecting words; and that a verbal memory, combined, as it may be, with "the understrapping virtue of discretion," is essential to the highest power of extemporaneous eloquence. Indeed, one of the greatest rhetoricians of the world has said: "Tantum ingenii, quantum memoriae."

B. Study the truths of theological science. Form for yourself a syllabus of them. Express each of these truths in terse, suggestive language. Repeat that expression often, and engrave it on your memory. Let a single brief paragraph be such as will intimate the nature and relations of the truth, as a single bone intimated to Cuvier the whole anatomical structure of the animal to which it belonged. A jurist is advised to commit to memory hundreds of legal maxims, each one unfolding a legal principle, each one suggesting a condensed treatise on law. Books of such maxims are printed for him. If a preacher would write in a volume a system of such religious aphorisms as he has framed for himself, he would find that volume one of his best means of discipline. The objector says: "What is committed to paper is but seldom committed to the mind." Dr. Johnson supposed that "the act of writing distracts the thoughts, and what is twice read is commonly better remembered than what is transcribed." But that which a man writes *and* which he also repeatedly reads is better remembered than that which he reads without having written. On the memory

[1] Law Studies, pp. 791, 797.

of ordinary men, if not on that of Dr. Johnson, the act of writing tends to make a deep impression; for, first, it prolongs their attention to the thought; and, secondly, it is, as it were, a kind of *touch*, and brings a new sense to aid the eye, and two senses are more impressive than one. If a clergyman, when he has written an elaborate sermon, will reduce various parts of it into terse, pithy expressions of truth, and will add them to his collection of aphoristic statements, he will be constantly accumulating hints for his unwritten sermons. These hints will divide and subdivide themselves into the materials for saving him from "extemporaneous platitudes." He will enjoy the fruit which he has gathered with his own hands. He will more freely use the property which he has earned than that which he has inherited or borrowed. If Dr. Emmons had listened to unwritten discourses tinctured with such apothegms, he would not have called "extempore" preachers "pro-tempore" preachers, and said that "the most important requisites for an extemporaneous preacher are ignorance, impudence, and presumption; it is a great blessing to be able to talk half an hour about nothing."

C. Persevere in the habit of reading religious truth in the book of nature, in the secular sciences, in the useful and fine arts, in history. There are "sermons in stones," in water-wheels, in noble actions, in wars, in shipwrecks. Pictures are in sermons, and sermons in pictures. We are astonished at the variety of knowledge accumulated by the great painters of Europe. Leonardo da Vinci was a musical performer and composer, a poet, sculptor, architect, engineer, anatomist, chemist, astronomer, mathematician; he was skilled in mechanics and various branches of natural history; he anticipated many discoveries of modern science. He and other great painters acted on the principle that there is a *commune vinculum* between all the arts and all the sciences. In an eminent degree is there a connection between theology and other studies. Therefore it is said that a minister must know something of everything, although he cannot know

everything of anything. If he know nothing except theology, he does not know theology. A man who is *merely* a preacher will be a lop-sided one. Dr. Thomas Scott began his ministerial life without a decidedly evangelical spirit. "For several years," he writes, "I scarcely opened a book which treated of anything besides religion." His biographer adds that, afterward, "when his mind was made up and well-stored with information upon theological questions, ... his reading became as various as he had the opportunity of making it. No book which furnished knowledge that might be turned to account was uninteresting to him." He read "the Greek tragedians and other classic authors," also such works as Thornton on Paper Credit, Locke's Treatises on Money, etc., etc.[1] He often repeated the saying that a clergyman should wander through all the fields of literature, but should bring back to his profession, as a bee to its hive, all the fruits which he had gleaned. If a man be a mere thinker, there is danger of his being a bald preacher; if he be a mere reader, there is danger of his becoming desultory in the pulpit. He must think in order to read well, and must read in order to think well. "There be two things to be avoyded by him [the lawyer, says Coke] as enemies to learning — *praepostera lectio et praepropera praxis.*" There are two things to be avoided by the clerical scholar — the habit of merely professional thinking and the habit of merely discursive reading.[2] If he be able to illustrate religious truths by allusions to the stars and the mines, to the depths of the ocean and the heights of the mountains, to what he has seen and heard, as well as read, he will avoid the *hiatus* to which ill-trained extemporizers are exposed, and will not be driven to take up their cry: "A fronte praecipitium, a tergo lupus."

As the mental application of a man who preaches *ex libidine*

[1] Life of Dr. Scott, pp. 72, 73.

[2] "I was disposed to think well of him [a man who had recently entered upon public life] till I heard him say that for the last four years he had READ *fourteen hours a day!* I have never thought anything of him since. From that time, whatever I have seen or known of him, has convinced me that he spoke truly." — Quoted by Mr. Warren in his "Law Studies." p. 123.

should be *extensive*, as well as *intensive*, he will combine both of these qualities in applying himself to systems of logic and mental philosophy. These systems are intimately allied with Biblical truth, suggest various arguments for it, various answers to the objections against it, various illustrations of it. Robert Hall could never have excelled as he did in extemporary speech, unless he had also excelled as a logician and mental philosopher. When wearied and sickened with the drudgery of his profession, Mr. Choate happened to see for the first time a copy of Sir William Hamilton's "Reid." He revived at once, and exclaimed: "Here's food. Now I will go home and feast. There's true poetry in these metaphysicians."[1] They inure a preacher to think for himself; they stimulate him to express definite ideas; and "hearers," says Dr. Emmons, "will always give you their attention, if you give them anything to attend to."

D. Accustom yourself to speak extempore in an orderly and apposite style on the more difficult themes of sermons. If you can manage hard themes in private, you can manage easy themes in public. Daily express your thoughts on some doctrine or duty; explaining the nature of it, the reasons for it, the objections to it. Extemporize thus from day to day on the whole system of dogmatic and practical theology. After you have perused a book, state the substance of it in accurate language. Classify your ideas on one theme after another until you are able to speak on it without much premeditation. Select the most embarrassing subject on which you have been reading, marshall your thoughts upon it as suddenly as you can; express them aloud in a style as coherent, concise, and appropriate as possible. Pursue these exercises not only in private but also in the social circle. One of the best methods of discipline which ministers can adopt is, to frame and criticise extemporaneous plans of sermons in a society formed for the purpose. A text is given out; no member of the society knows beforehand what the text is to be; every member is required to frame at once

[1] Dr. Brown's Life and Writings of Rufus Choate, Vol. i. p. 304.

the syllabus of a sermon on the topic thus unexpectedly proposed; each one presents his syllabus for criticism within a few minutes after he hears of the subject; he thus learns to think for himself, to think rapidly as well as consecutively, to think amid some distracting influences. He learns the faults to which he is most exposed in sermonizing; for his easily besetting faults are those which present themselves in his unpremeditated movements. He has an incentive to prepare himself for these impromptu efforts by storing his mind with knowledge and acquiring a habit of self-control.[1] Precisely here is the usefulness of debating societies. They furnish the gymnastics for an extemporaneous preacher. He learns in them to think rapidly and warily; to look at a subject on all sides; to look at the past and the future impression of his words. William Pinkney, Sir Samuel Romilly, Lord Mansfield, were indebted for no small degree of their eminence to their exercises in such associations.[2] "Burke's fondness for the pursuits of a statesman, if not first acquired in debating societies, was certainly first manifested and greatly augmented in them. It is stated of that able politician that the acquaintance with history which marked his future life, and which tended to the development of much of his political wisdom, was fostered by occasional meetings of the incipient Historical Society, — "an institution," says the biographer of Curran, "which, as a school of eloquence,

[1] During the years 1836–47, when the author instructed classes in Homiletics, he often met them for the extemporaneous framing and criticising of plans of sermons, and noticed that some of the students formed better plans under the stimulus of this exercise than they formed in their private study.

[2] Many American orators (Henry Clay, for example, as recorded in his Memoir by Colton, p. 25), have been indebted for their extemporary skill to the same exercise of social debate. Sir Walter Scott has thus stated one principle on which the usefulness of this discipline depends: "Under the influence of any partial feeling, it is certain that most men can more easily reconcile themselves to any favorite measure, when agitating it in their own mind, than when obliged to expose its merits to a third party, when the necessity of seeming impartial procures for the opposite arguments a much more fair statement than that which he affords it in tacit meditation." — Waverley Novels (Parker's edition), Vol. xii. p. 218.

was unrivalled, and has given to the bar and the senate some of their brightest ornaments." [1]

Here, as elsewhere, we perceive that the clerical profession is kindred to the legal, and the gymnastics requisite for the one are also requisite for the other. It is a suggestive fact, that the lawyer is often advised to discipline himself on a theological treatise. He has been required to go through a drill on "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation," — the great work of Chillingworth, which has been recommended as a model of reasoning by Lord Coke, Lord Mansfield, Archbishop Tillotson, John Locke, Lord Clarendon, Mosheim, Gibbon, Warburton, Hallam, and many others. In his popular and practical Introduction to Law Studies,[2] Mr. Warren prescribes the following exercitation on at least the second chapter of Chillingworth's treatise:

"Take first a birds-eye view of the whole chapter; and then apply yourself leisurely to the first half dozen pages. Pause after reading a few sentences; look off the book into your mind, and satisfy yourself that the *thought*, not the language, is *there*, fully and distinctly. Go thus through the work, carefully marking the stages of the argument, the connection of each thought with the other, and the general bearing of the whole. Set your author, as it were, at a little distance from you. Watch how warily he approaches his opponent." Can you discover "a defect or a redundancy either in thought or in expression? Can you put your finger anywhere upon a fallacy? Try; tax your ingenuity and acuteness to the uttermost! Having thoroughly possessed yourself of the whole argument, put away your book and memoranda, and try to go over it in your mind. Endeavor to repeat it aloud, as if in oral controversy; thus testing not only the clearness and accuracy of your perceptions, but the strength of your memory — the readiness and fitness of your language. Let not a film of indistinctness remain in your recollection, but clear it away, *instanter*, by reference — if necessary — to your book. Not content even with this, make a point, the next day, of writing down the substance of your yesterday's reading, in as compendious and *logical a form* as possible, and go on thus, step by step, through the whole argument. Having so looked minutely at the means and the end, at the process and the result, at the whole and its parts; having completely mastered this celebrated argument in all its bearings, you will be conscious of having undergone unusual and severe exertion — of having received an invaluable lesson from one of the subtlest and most powerful disputants — one of the closest

[1] Hoffman's Course of Legal Study, Vol. i. pp. 808–810. [2] pp. 218–224.

and most skilful *reasoners*, whom perhaps the world ever saw. All the faculties of your mind — many of them, it may be, till then dormant and torpid, will have been drawn into full play; will have been, as it were, set upon the *qui vive*. You will see at once both your weak and your strong points, and guide your future efforts accordingly."

E. Adopt various methods for regulating the instinct, and gaining the art of expression. A man may be moved by the dictates of conscience to make his thoughts known, but he will speak with the greater power if his natural impulses come to the aid of his sense of duty. When he is in a normal state and is reflecting on the subject of his discourse, his thoughts sooner or later classify themselves and enlist his affections; then comes the impulse to tell what he thinks and how he feels; this is the instinct of expression; it rises and falls neither too soon nor too late. Sometimes, however, the instinct is abnormal. It is too active in one man and impels him to express his thoughts when they are only half-formed, to disclose his feelings before they are fully harmonious with his subject. The pear falls before it is ripe. This man may be voluble as an extemporizer, but is inconsequent and superficial. In another man the instinct is too inactive, and leaves him to shrink from expressing his thoughts and especially from exposing his emotions. This man, if he speak extempore at all, is too slow and seems to be sluggish. The pear hangs on the tree until it is spoiled. If a minister aim to perfect himself in "free speech," he will so educate his instinct of expression that it shall rouse him to utter his thoughts and feelings just when they are most inspiring. Let him rightly train himself, and then after meditating on his theme and bringing his heart into unison with it, he will be not only prepared, but impelled to speak. Nature and habit will conspire with conscience and benevolence. His business will be his pleasure; and a man commonly does well what he loves to do. His sermon will be a relief to him. He aches if he does not express the sentiments of his heart. His future reward, his present duty, his present happiness, give a triple reason for his exclamation: "Woe is me, if I preach not the gospel."

The minister must discipline himself not only in the *instinct*, but also in the *art* of expression. We may reasonably expect that he will be as diligent as the statesman is in gaining a command of his mother tongue. Lord Mansfield not only translated all Cicero's orations into English, but also re-translated the English orations into Latin. Edmund Burke was not only familiar with Demosthenes, Cicero, Plutarch, but he committed to memory lengthened passages of the Latin poets, especially Virgil, Horace, and Lucretius. William Pitt, before he was twenty years of age, *had read all* the works of *nearly all* the ancient classical authors, and sometimes "dwelt for hours on striking passages of an orator or historian, in noticing their turns of expression," etc. For the purpose of obtaining a mastery of language, Lord Chatham not only addicted himself to the translating of Demosthenes into English, but he also read Bailey's folio Dictionary *twice through* with discriminating care. Other statesmen have devoted much time and labor to the critical study of Shakespeare,[1] Milton, Dr. Barrow, Dr. South, also grammars of their native and of foreign languages. They have aimed in this manner to gain not only that copiousness, but also that preciseness, of utterance which Charles James Fox ascribed to William Pitt: "I never hesitate for *a* word; Pitt never hesitates for *the* word." President Brown says that no man "could make a more clear, convincing, and effective statement; none held all the resources of the language more absolutely at command"[2] than Mr. Rufus Choate. It is instructive, therefore, to peruse Mr. Choate's remarks on the methods of learning the felicities of our language. The following are records of his familiar conversation:

"The culture of *expression* should be a *specific study*, quite distinct from the invention of thought. Language and its elements, words, are to

[1] A minister who had not proved all things and held fast that which is good, ended a sermon against the study of the drama with these words: "What will you think of the time you have wasted in reading your Shakespeare when you arrive at 'that bourne whence no traveller returns?'"

[2] Dr. Brown's Life and Writings of Rufus Choate, Vol. i. p. 295.

be mastered by direct, earnest labor. A speaker ought *daily* to exercise and *air* his vocabulary, and also to add to and enrich it..... Dictionaries are of great service in this filling up and fertilizing of diction. Pinkney had all the dictionaries which he could buy, from Richardson to Webster. You don't want a diction gathered from the newspapers, caught from the air, common and unsuggestive; but you want one whose every word is full freighted with *suggestion and association*, with beauty and power..... In addition to translating, *talking* is an excellent discipline. It exercises all those words which one has at ready command. You want to *use* your stock continually, or it will rust. Buchanan, the foreign missionary, once observed that he doubted not he had laid up in his memory one hundred thousand words which were never employed, but which by a little use he would fully command..... If you want really to master what you think you know, *tell* it to somebody. I once knew a man who learned very many complete pages of Addison, and retailed them out in conversation. He was thus practising very much the same thing as extempore delivery, in original words, of other people's thoughts; a practice I much approve of.[1]

The preceding remarks suggest the mutual harmony of a minister's duties. We need not fear that because he adopts a vigorous mental discipline he will become an anchorite. Mr. Warren, in his Law Studies, quotes the rule of Sir Henry Finch: "*Study* all the morning, and *talk* all the afternoon." In his system of parochial visitation the minister learns as well as teaches; he finds every parlor in his diocese a school for himself; he forms the habit of unfolding his thoughts and emotions when they are needed, of using those plain Saxon words which are fitted to touch the hearts of plain men. This habit grows upon him, until it generates an internal demand to express himself in that style which the incidents of the hour suggest. If he read a sermon in the pulpit he will change its inapt phrases for words which are inspired into him by the scenes amid which he reads. He learns to deliver a discourse as he conducts a dignified conversation. He is instructed by his parishioners in the best rules of eloquence. One of the most popular writers of the present century has remarked: "I have read books enough, and observed and conversed with enough of eminent and splendidly cultivated minds, too, in my time; but I assure you I

[1] Parker's Reminiscences of Rufus Choate, pp. 248, 249, 250, 258, 259.

have heard higher sentiments from the lips of poor uneducated men and women, when exerting the spirit of severe yet gentle heroism under difficulties and afflictions, or speaking their simple thoughts as to circumstances in the lot of friends and neighbors, than I ever yet met with, except in the pages of the Bible."

5. Make a special as well as general preparation for each one of your extemporary sermons. Before you begin to preach, be sure that you are able at once to decompose your subject by analysis, and instantly recompose it by synthesis. Like various other rules, this may be modified by circumstances. Some men may preach on many themes, and many men may preach on some themes with but little work immediately preceding. The work has been performed in the remote past. When a lawyer is accused of exorbitant charges for his extemporaneous advice, or a physician for his extemporaneous prescription, he replies: "That advice, that prescription, has cost me three or ten years of study." "How long a time have you spent on that sermon"? was a question addressed to Dr. John M. Mason, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Dr. Eliphalet Nott. "Ten years," "twenty-five years," "thirty years," have been the answers. Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely once remarked, that he could preach on two thousand biblical texts with only five minutes for the study of each one. Perhaps he could. Perhaps his hearers would not agree with him. Perhaps he was able to do what the majority of ministers would be foolhardy in attempting. Perhaps the men who would be most apt to imitate him are the very men who would be most apt to fail.[1] When Sir Samuel Romilly, who has been called "the model lawyer," was overladen with public duties, he would often enter the court-room, learn there the particulars of the cause he was to argue, and then, without any antecedent knowledge of it, would speak upon it like a master. But not every man is

[1] Dr. Ely had several peculiar aptitudes for an extemporaneous orator. When about sixty years old he preached four hours in a single day and was not wearied. He was also a man of exceptional memory, and exceptions are perilous when regarded as rules.

Sir Samuel Romilly. Daniel Webster did not profess to be an extemporizer in thought as well as language. Talking of his own unwritten speeches he applied to himself the following words of Alexander Hamilton: "Men give me some credit for genius. All the genius I have lies just in this: When I have a subject in hand, I study it profoundly. Day and night it is before me. I explore it in all its bearings. My mind becomes pervaded with it. Then the effort which I make the people are pleased to call the fruit of genius. It is the fruit of labor and thought." On another occasion Mr. Webster said: "Whenever I am invited to address my fellow-men, I never feel that I am treating them with suitable respect unless I appear before them in my best attire and with my most carefully prepared thoughts."

The special preparation for an extemporary sermon may be made in various ways. Of these, neither can be authoritatively prescribed for all preachers, but each may be safely recommended for some.

A. One of these methods is the *spontaneous*. While sitting by the bed of an invalid, or walking in the fields, or engaging in familiar conversation, or examining a picture or a statue, or listening to the sermon of another man, or writing an elaborate discourse of his own, a minister is startled by entirely new thoughts on some entirely new theme. These first thoughts are the best which he will have on this theme. Let him seize them just as they are, and hold them fast. Let him commit them at once to paper. They may be delicate and as evanescent as the aroma of a flower. Robert Hall stated to a friend, that when projecting his sermon on Modern Infidelity "he had risen from his bed two or three times in the middle of the night, to record thoughts, or to write down passages that he feared might otherwise escape his memory," [1] tenacious as that memory was. If every minister could preserve a record of his own original plans of sermons, the record would be to him one of the books which are books. As these thoughts rushed of

[1] Recollections of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Vol. i. p. 107.

their own accord into his mind, so they will penetrate the minds of his hearers. Not all thoughts, but *these* thoughts are exactly apposite to an extemporary sermon. They are like the first impressions, the "author's proof" of a picture, and are blurred by much handling. If elaborated into a written discourse their simplicity, naturalness, brightness, will be marred.

B. Another mode of preparing to preach extempore is the *tentative*. On some themes the first thoughts are not the best; they are not only crude, but also confused. They must be re-arranged again and again. Sometimes a man (Dr. Lyman Beecher often adopted this mode) writes down the first idea which occurs to him on his subject; then the second, although it may be strangely disconnected with the first; then the third, perhaps discrepant from either; he reaches the tenth, it may be, or the twentieth; then, perhaps, he reviews them all; at length new ideas suddenly dart into his mind, and, as if by a new turn of the kaleidoscope, the old and the new arrange themselves in a logical or graceful or affecting order; he has no further use for his manuscript; he is ready to preach a discourse of which those disjointed notes would give to a stranger no intimation. Those notes are no more the first draught of his sermon than the tuning of the instruments of an orchestra is the prelude of the symphony.

Sometimes his ideas will not come into a fit arrangement by any of his unaided efforts. He then reads a book relating to his theme. He reads not for the purpose of plagiarizing from his author, but for the sake of refreshing his own exsiccated mind. The water which is poured into a dry pump brings up the deeper water of the well. Under this fresh influence a single phrase, perhaps a single word, striking his eye, brings all his thoughts into an order which might never otherwise have occurred to him; he throws the book aside; he has the plan of a sermon entirely different from that of the volume. It is his own frame, enclosing a picture which is also his own.

In ordinary cases, the man who adopts either of the preceding methods will be the readiest to improve his sermon while he is preaching it. In the repose of his study his mind is creative; it will be much more so amid the excitements of the pulpit.

C. A distinct mode of preparing to preach extempore is the *exact*. Adopting this mode, a man is not satisfied with a general plan or with first suggestions; he examines and re-examines his schedule *ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum*. He settles the particular sequence of his thoughts, from the first in his Exordium to the last in his Peroration. He pre-determines not only the shadings of his argument, but also the gradations of his sighs and tears. If his plan were written down, it would be a complete index to his discourse. But it is not written; or if it be, it is not written for the sake of its words. The author intends not only to choose his words in the pulpit, but also to deviate, as his inspiration prompts him, from his pre-conceived plan. "When the topic rises, when the mind kindles from within, and the strain becomes loftier, or bolder, or more pathetic; when the sacred fountain of tears is ready to overflow, and audience and speaker are moved by one kindred sympathetic passion, then the thick-coming fancies cannot be kept down, the storehouse of the memory is unlocked, images start up from the slumber of years, and all that the orator has seen, read, heard, or felt returns in distinct shape and vivid colors. The cold and premeditated text will no longer suffice for the glowing thought. The stately, balanced phrase gives place to some abrupt, graphic expression, that rushes unbidden to his lips. The unforeseen incident or locality furnishes an apt and speaking image; and the discourse instinctively transposes itself into a higher key."[1]

D. A still different method of preparing an extemporary sermon is the *slavish*. In this method the author does not pre-determine his words, therefore his discourse belongs to the extemporary class; but while he retains the body he does

[1] Edward Everett in his Memoir of Webster, pp. lxx, lxxi.

not retain the soul of extemporary speech, for he does not intend to deviate from his prescribed order of thought. His framework is finished, and is of cast-iron. It were ordinarily better to prepare such a sermon for delivery with notes than without them. A pastor has been known to write such a sermon with a design to preach it extempore, but afterwards to abandon that design, and to read it from manuscript. It proved to be an epicene discourse, having the virtues neither of the written nor the free speech. Many a pastor has merged his extempore sermon into a memoriter one by predetermining his order of thought so minutely that he could not avoid associating with it a pre-determined order of words. If a man preserve the extemporizing state of mind in reference to his words merely, he is *just within* the line of extemporary speech, and suffers all the inconveniences of that border life; but so far forth as he does not preserve this state of mind with regard to his words, he is *outside* of that line. As a boy learning to skate uses a skating-chair, so a minister learning to preach *ex libidine* may let his memory now and then supply his lack of invention. He is not an extemporizer, but a learner. Mr. Zincke gives the following suggestive account of the first two sermons which he delivered without a manuscript:

"I divided each discourse into chapters, each chapter being a distinct part of the subject; and each chapter I divided into paragraphs, each paragraph being a distinct step in the treatment of what was the subject of the chapter. To each chapter was prefixed a Roman, to each paragraph an Arabic numeral. Between the paragraphs I left small intervals, in which I wrote, in a few words, a heading of the contents of the paragraph. The headings I afterwards copied on one side of half a sheet of note-paper. This enabled me to see at a glance how I had treated my subject, and to judge more easily than I could do by turning over the pages of the MS. whether my method of treating it was natural and logical. On Saturday I again looked over my two sermons, in doing so, making perhaps more use of the short abstracts than of the complete MSS. And again on the Sunday, I gave the half-hour preceding each service to the final consideration of what I was then about to preach. These two subsequent studies enabled me to make several improvements both in the way of additions and omissions; because what I was endeavoring to do was to form each sermon into a connected and coherent whole, from which everything must

be eliminated that had not a definite purpose. My sermons, then, having been written in the course of the previous week, after much consideration of the subject, and having been again studied on Saturday, and once more referred to before the service on Sunday, the result was, that when I entered the church I almost knew the MS. by heart. The line of argument and every explanation and illustration were distinctly before my mind. In consequence, I did not anywhere pause for a thought or a word. I had no idea that this was to be regarded as extemporary preaching, yet I was not dissatisfied with it for a beginning."[1]

6. Strive to regulate yourself so that, in preparing and delivering your discourse, your mind may work naturally and easily. "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." Nature in the pulpit appeals to nature in the pew.

A. As the day for preaching draws near take especial care to keep the body in the state most favorable to the action of the mind. The healthiness of the sermon may depend upon the health of the animal system. One of the most celebrated extemporizers in the world is indebted for his success in no small degree to his physical regimen. We must confess, however, that some of the most effective sermons ever preached have been prepared in defiance of all hygienic rules. The account of John Livingston's discourse at the kirk of Shotts, while it illustrates the good influence of obeying the moral laws, intimates also the evil influence of disobeying the physical laws of God. He says of himself:

"I never preached ane sermon which I would be earnest to see again, in wryte but two; the ane was on ane Munday after *the communion at Shotts*, and the other on ane Munday after the communion at Holywood; and both these times I had spent the whole night before in conference and prayer with some Christians without any more than ordinary preparation; otherwayes, my gift was rather suited to simple common people, than to learned and judicious auditors." On the morning of June 21, 1630, after he had passed his sleepless night at Shotts, "there came such a misgiving of spirit upon him, in considering his own unworthiness and weakness, and the expectation of the people, that he was consulting to have stolen away somewhere, and declined that day's work; but thinking he could not so distrust God, he went to preach, where he got remarkable assistance in speaking about one hour and a half, from Ezekiel xxxvi. 25,

[1] The Duty and the Discipline of Extemporary Preaching, pp. 50, 51.

26, 'Then will I sprinkle clean water," etc. Here he was led out in such a melting strain, that, by the down-pouring of the Spirit from on high, a most discernible change was wrought upon about five hundred of his hearers, who could either date their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation, from that day forward. Some little of that stamp, he says, remained on him the Thursday after, when he preached at Kilmarnock; but on the Monday following, preaching at Irvine, he was so deserted, that what he had meditated upon, wrote, and kept fully in memory, he could not get pronounced; which so discouraged him, that he resolved not to preach for some time, at least at Irvine," etc.[1]

B. Choose a subject on which you can speak with safety, freedom, and interest. "Select a theme requiring an argumentative treatment," is one rule rashly given. Some men speak freely in extemporizing an argument, others are confused in it. "Preach an expository sermon," is a rule given too indiscriminately. Some preachers easily succeed in the exposition of the Bible; others must write their exegetical discourses or they become indefinite and vague. "Take a very limited theme, so that you can survey the whole of it at one glance," is a rule given too imperatively, obeyed with good results by one man, but leading another to "preach himself out" in a few minutes. "Take a very extensive subject," is a rule given too authoritatively. If we expound a passage of the Bible, it is said, we should take a lengthened passage, so that when persecuted in one verse we may flee to another. The attempt to obey this rule will make some preachers *vagrant*. "Take a subject which you may divide into parts as numerous as possible," says one; "take a subject which you may divide into only a few salient points," says another. The comprehensive and wise direction is: select for your extemporary sermon that subject which you know to be congenial with your faculties, tastes, and peculiar experience.

C. While preparing and delivering your extemporary discourse, keep your mind sacredly under the influence of your subject. The ruling desire of one man is to comply with

[1] "Select Biographies," p. 194; also, "Scots' Biographia Evangelica," (4th ed.) p. 216.

the laws of rhetoric; he becomes hard and stiff: of another man, to awaken some emotion which his theme is not fitted to arouse; he becomes artificial, it may be sensational. The true orator lets the idea come out: the declaimer tries to say something smart or sublime. The subject impressing the soul exalts it, as the atmosphere pressing on the mercury raises it in the barometer. One feeling manifests itself naturally in a smile, another in a frown, another in a blush; and all feeling, if it be not interfered with by some artificial influence, expresses itself well, because naturally, in words. Let a preacher keep himself under the power of his subject, and his phrases, if we may borrow a simile, will fall over that subject as drapery over a statue, and will adapt themselves to its distinctive outlines as the drapery rises and falls with the protuberances and depressions of the body which it clothes.

It is particularly important for the minister to avoid all distracting influences during the hours immediately preceding his discourse. In those hours he sometimes refuses to converse, partly because he needs his physical strength for the pulpit, and partly because his conversation diverts his mind from his sermon. Immediately before rising to preach, it is wise for him to glance rapidly through the entire plan of his sermon, else he may have lost his train of thought during his introductory exercises. Experiences not altogether unlike the following of Mr. Bautain, are not altogether uncommon.

"One day I had to preach in one of the principal churches of Paris. It was a solemn festival, and there was an immense audience, including part of the Court then reigning. As I was ascending the pulpit I perceived a person whom I had supposed absent, and my mind was carried away suddenly by a train of recollections. I reached the pulpit-landing, knelt down as usual, and when I should have risen to speak, I had forgotten not only my text, but even the subject of my sermon. I literally knew no longer what I had come to speak upon; and, despite of all my efforts to remember it, I could see nothing but one complete blank. My embarrassment and anguish may be conceived. I remained on my knees a little longer than was customary, not knowing what to do. Nevertheless, not losing head or heart, I looked full at my danger without being scared

by it, yet without seeing how I was to get out of it either. At last, unable to recover anything by my own proper strength, — neither subject nor text, — I had recourse to God, and I said to him, from the very bottom of my heart, and with all the fervor of my anxiety: 'Lord if it be thy will that I preach, give me back my plan'; and at that instant, my text came back into my mind, and with my text the subject. I think that never in my life have I experienced anything more astonishing, nor a more lively emotion of gratitude."[1]

D. Guard against overestimating the evils which will result from your literary or elocutionary blunders. Errors in religious doctrine or sentiment ought to be corrected as soon as perceived, but errors of mere style or delivery may work no permanent mischief. The fear of such errors, however, embarrasses a man often, and makes his discourse tame. When Virgil says: "*Audentes fortuna juvat*," the homilist may translate the phrase: Heaven will aid the man who feels, and has reason to feel, confidence in his success. An honest preacher has reason to feel confidence, even although he lapse into literary errors which mortify him. Sometimes he receives a new impetus from the mistake which he has made, and he is stimulated to put forth a degree of energy unusual to him. Sometimes his error is not detected by a single one of his auditors, and all his chagrin is gratuitous. Still more frequently, perhaps, a mistake which mortifies him is thought by his hearers to be an excellence. The history of the bar and the senate abounds with instances like the following. When Professor Tristam Burgess was making a speech in our National Congress, he directed his eagle eye and pointed his fore-finger toward his opponent on the floor, and in this threatening attitude made a lengthened, truly emphatic pause. "That pause was terrible," said a fellow representative to Mr. Burgess afterward. "To no one so terrible as to me," responded the orator, "for I could not think of anything to say." Twenty-five years after Henry Clay had emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky, he was sent as a delegate from the latter State to the former; and while addressing the Virginia Legislature he described,

[1] Bautain's Art of Extempore Preaching, pp. 258, 259.

with much pathos, the interest which the emigrant feels in the scenes of his childhood, in the homes and graves of his ancestors. While he and his hearers were deeply affected he began to quote the verses:

"Breathes there the man—"

"But his memory which rarely failed was this time at fault. He paused a moment, closed his eyes, and pressed his forehead with the palm of his hand, to aid his recollection. Fortunately for him, his audience supposed that this pause and act were occasioned by the depth and power of his emotions, which certainly were deep and powerful, and so were theirs. The lines came to him in good time, and when he pronounced the words in the most feeling manner:

'Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land?'

there was a profound sensation pervading the assembly, which was manifested in many instances by involuntary tears." [1]

E. When you adopt the extemporaneous method, do not scruple, if you need, to borrow aid from the other methods of preaching. Men who believe in indiscriminate rules, are apt to prescribe, appealing to the authority of Quintilian: "Take no paper into the pulpit with you; no plan of the sermon, no initial words of sentences, no hints of illustrations." It is wise for some, but rash for others to follow this rule. The impetuous torrent of a man's feeling may be checked by his stopping to look at his memorandum. He cannot read it if he does look at it. His soul is aglow with thought, and is not cool enough to understand his illegible signs of thought. By turning his eyes upon his sermon-card he lets it intervene as a partition-wall between himself and his audience. Not every man, however, is so afflicted with

[1] Colton's Life and Times of Henry Clay, Vol. i. pp. 70, 71. This incident has been generally narrated in a far more emphatic style than that adopted by Mr. Colton. His misquotation of Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" is corrected in the text above.

genius that his onward flow of emotion is interrupted by the sight of his memorandum. Sometimes an orator prepares a mnemonic schedule for the very purpose of augmenting his interest in his theme and his sympathy with his auditors. He is saved from mental perturbation by knowing that if he should forget the right thought at the right moment, he has close at hand a remembrancer of it.[1] Perhaps he will never use it, but he feels safer, if he has a sermon-card with him; just as an agile mechanic, working near the eaves of a house, is more secure if he be bound with a cord to some fixture on the roof. The word "brief" suggests the fact that some of the most eloquent advocates, as well as statesmen, have not scorned the help of mnemonic schedules. It was a common practice of Robert Hall, to sketch the plan of his discourse, "specifying a few texts, and sometimes writing the first sentence; this he regarded as digging a channel for his thoughts to flow in." Professor Tholuck of Halle, would be called, on the whole, a memoriter preacher; yet he borrowed so much aid from the extemporaneous method that it is not always easy to classify him. He often dictated to his amanuensis a sermon on one Sabbath morning between five and seven o'clock; reviewed the sermon at the same hours on the next Sabbath morning, and delivered it at nine o'clock on that very morning. His tenacious memory grasped and held a large part of what he had written, but his sentences as they were uttered received a new wealth of beauty from his rich imagination. On the other hand, Rufus Choate would be called, on the whole, an extemporaneous orator; but be borrowed assistance from the written method.

[1] Dr. Ebrard gives the following rule for a man preaching *memoriter*, and would probably give a similar rule for a man preaching *extempore*: "When the sermon has been concocted, let the preacher, on a quarto sheet (no more is needed) draw off a *mnemonical sketch*; that is, indicate the thoughts or those clusters of thought, accordingly as his memory is strong or weak, by a single phrase, or mnemonic catch-word. Let him set down these in a tabular way, strikingly, so that the lines may fall into shapes to seize the eye. Now let him throw aside his manuscript and try, by the aid of this paper, to reproduce the sermon; that is, to invent afresh equivalent expressions." — Quoted in Dr. James W. Alexander's Thoughts on Preaching, p. 153.

He sometimes continued to write his argument until the very minute of his rising to address the jury. "The notes of his speeches," says President Brown "were generally very ample and complete. To a student who was going to take the depositions of some witnesses where he could not be present, he said: 'Take down every adjective, adverb, and interjection that the witnesses utter.' His brief too, was always full, though in addressing a jury he was entirely untrammelled, and often hardly referred to it. In addressing the court he sometimes seemed to follow his notes closely, almost as if he were repeating them, laying aside page after page as he proceeded."[1] "He trusted," says Mr. Parker, "to no inspiration of the moment in his speaking. Everything that could be prepared was prepared; every nerve, every muscle, that could be trained was trained; every energy that daily practice could strengthen was invigorated."[2]

F. Graduate the extemporary element of your discourses according to your fitness for meeting the just demands of your hearers. If a minister be reasonable, he is annoyed by his want of this fitness; if he be unreasonable, his auditors are annoyed by it.

> "Distrustful sense with modest caution speaks
> It still looks home, and short excursions makes;
> But rattling nonsense in full vollies breaks,
> And never shocked, and never turned aside,
> Bursts out, resistless, with a thund'ring tide."[3]

If a minister ventures to extemporize before a congregation by whom he expects to be overawed, he should prepare himself so much the more studiously, and enable himself to borrow aid so much the more readily from notes either read or recited. He should adopt all possible methods of preventing his embarrassment in the pulpit on the Lord's day. In the private and social exercises already recommended[4] he should fortify himself for the public exercises of worship. The Roman soldier was drilled wearing heavy armor, so that

[1] Memoir of Rufus Choate, p. 280. [2] Reminiscences of Rufus Choate, p. 124.
[3] Pope's Essay on Criticism. [4] See § 5. III. 4.

he might feel free on the battle-field where his armor was lighter. The young preacher may learn a safe lesson from the lawyer. Professor Washburn of Harvard College unites with other jurists in recommending moot-courts as accustoming the student to accurate discrimination, rapid arrangement of thought, independent judgment, precise expression, and the control of all his faculties. "While the ordeal by which he [the law-student] is tried in making his early efforts is by no means slight or inconsiderable; the consequences of a first failure are far less formidable than they would be in an action in court; and it brings with it far less of discouragement than to break down from embarrassment or want of self-possession at the expense of a client, and in the presence of a jury, before whom he is quite as much on trial as the party he represents."[1] If a lawyer ought not to imperil the estates, a preacher ought not to endanger the souls, of men by attempting to control the thoughts of others before he has learned to control his own. In his first sermon he should be more self-poised than 'the soldier in his first battle, who does not give up and run away, simply because he is afraid to do so.' He should not only accustom himself to extemporary speech in circles for discussion and mutual criticism, but also in familiar meetings of Christian friends whom he can address without fear. Unless impelled by necessity he should not extemporize before a large congregation in the temple until he feels at home in extemporizing before a small company at the private house; he should not venture to speak unwritten words before a literary audience, until he can be free from trepidation in addressing the unlearned. Just before the intrepid Patrick Henry made his speech on the stipends of the clergy, he saw his uncle, — an educated man and a minister of the gospel, — approach the court-house. He expressed his regret at seeing his uncle, and requested him to leave the ground: "Because Sir, you know that I have never yet spoken in

[1] Lectures on the Study and Practice of Law, by Emory Washburn, LL.D. pp. 68, 69.

public, and I fear that I shall be too much overawed by your presence to be able to do my duty to my clients," etc. etc.[1] John Foster did not hesitate to preach extempore on a difficult subject in a small place and to "a small assemblage of old friends"; but he says: "I am always quite certain I should have no 'liberty,' as we of this profession name it, if I should venture *extemporaneously* in large places to which one is totally unaccustomed. And then, as I have absolutely *no memory* at all, my premeditations are totally useless to me, unless, as I go on, I secure them *in writing*. Therefore, for these occasions, I am obliged to write nearly half as much as what is to be said. The consequence is most wretched; for unless I have a *long time*, after this writing is done, to read many times over the said indited sentences and hints, so as to have some little command of them beyond the immediate reach of my eye, I am hampered and stiffened in the delivery, having neither the *certainty* of reading, nor the *ease* of speaking."[1] At the present day, however, a young man will rush before auditors, some of whom are more highly educated, and many of whom are more devout than himself, and will preach an unwritten sermon with humiliating confusion of mind and of language. He excuses himself by saying: "I ought not to be disconcerted." Yes, but you are so, and you are to follow rules adapted to what you are, as well as what you ought to be. — "It does not become a bishop to be overawed by men." Not in the discharge of his duty; but you rush onward before your duty. There is a command that men preach the gospel to every creature, but no command that every creature preach the gospel extempore.[2] You owe a certain degree of respect to your auditors, especially when they are superior to you; you put yourself into a false relation when you preach *down* to them; until you have gone through a more vigorous discipline you must use your utmost effort for preaching *up*

[1] Wirt's Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry, pp. 23, 24.
[2] Life of John Foster, Vol. i. p. 46.
[3] Incidents, etc., of Rev. Edward T. Taylor, p. 90.

to them. — "But I must learn to speak extempore, and the way of learning to do a thing is to do it. I cannot acquire the art of swimming by means of a hand-book on swimming; I must plunge into the sea." If you preach for the sake of practising rhetoric you are violating the most essential rules of rhetoric. An inexperienced surgeon does not begin his practice by amputating the limbs of "kings and priests." You are not doing a work of *necessity* when you are learning your trade on the Sabbath-day; neither is this oratorical discipline a work of *mercy* for your hearers. Mercy to them requires that you speak in a manner for which you have disciplined yourself on secular days. You are to try your experiments in elocution before a debating club, a company of critics. You ought to learn such maxims of the anatomist as "Fiat experimentum in corpore vili": and also, "In capite orphani discit chirurgus." Men do not come into the temple at the hour of worship in order to be excruciated by your experiments in preaching from the treasures of your own mind. — "Is it not with extemporization as with the art of swimming: whoever dares to swim, swims; whoever dares to extemporize, extemporizes"? There are two questions: first, can a man extemporize? second, can he draw men to hear him the second time? May he not, as Congreve expresses it, 'have that everlasting rotation of tongue that echo has no chance with him, but must wait till he dies to catch his last word'? Words, and more words, and nothing but words, — a man may dare to utter them, and not be a preacher. Not *every man* can preach extempore; but *nearly* every *educated* minister can *train himself* to preach so.

7. When you have been successful in an extemporary sermon make it the basis of a written one.[1] Often the most edifying discourses which a man works out in his library were first delivered by him *sur le champ et de son fond.* His happiest thoughts may have vanished from his memory; but the general train of them was recalled; and the spirit of

[1] See § 2. II. 6 above.

the first sermon enlivened the second. Sometimes, by the arts of phonography and tachygraphy, he may obtain an exact copy of the words which came gushing from his heart. "In short, Sir, the man is inspired," said Dr. Parr of Robert Hall. "There is no man," remarked Hannah More, "in the church nor out of it, comparable to Robert Hall." If the stenographers of *his* day had been faithful to the men of *our* day, they would have preserved to us rare treasures of wisdom. As he pronounced his discourse on Modern Infidelity, he seemed

"Not touched, but rapt; not wakened, but inspired."

We can easily credit Mr. Cottle, when he says: "This sermon I was so happy as to hear delivered, and have no hesitation in expressing an opinion that the oral was not only very different from the printed discourse, but greatly its superior. In the one case, he expressed the sentiments of a mind fully charged with matter the most invigorating and solemnly important; but, discarding notes (which he once told me always hampered him), it was not in his power to display the same language, or to record the same evanescent trains of thought; so that in preparing a sermon for the press no other than a general resemblance could be preserved. In trusting alone to his recollection, when the stimulus was withdrawn of a crowded and most attentive auditory, the ardent feeling, the thought that burned, was liable in some measure to become deteriorated by the substitution of cool philosophical arrangement and accuracy for the spontaneous effusions of his overflowing heart; so that what was gained by one course was more than lost by the other."[1]

As some extemporizers in copying their sermons have indulged themselves in too much correction, so others have contented themselves with too little. Perhaps they were unable to write with elaborative care what they had spoken with marvellous power. More learning might have made them dull. "Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta."

[1] Recollections of Coleridge, Vol. i. pp. 104–106.

We read of John Bunyan that "in the middle of winter he would sometimes have more than twelve hundred hearers before seven o'clock in the morning of a week-day; and when he visited the metropolis, one day's notice of his preaching would bring many more than the place of worship could contain." "It is said that [John] Owen was in the practice of frequently hearing Bunyan preach when he came to London, which led Charles II. to express his astonishment that a man of the Doctor's learning could hear a tinker preach; to which Owen is said to have replied: 'Had I the tinker's abilities, please your Majesty, I would most gladly relinquish my learning.'"[1] The heart of Bunyan in the pulpit came into close contact with the hearts of his hearers. His sermons were poured forth from his inmost soul. Some of them were afterwards given to the press. We are thankful for their marks of his genius. But if he had possessed the power of revising his sermons, of adding the sound logic and comprehensive philosophy which ought to characterize a written discussion, to the natural, lively, graphic style which does characterize his unwritten effusions, he would have made the race doubly indebted to him. So we may say of Whitefield, Summerfield, and other preachers whose power of moving men evanesced with their breath. They had more eloquence for their own day than patience for the days which came afterward. The majority of ministers, however, have no such excess of genius as need interfere with their retaining in a permanent and improved form the thoughts which flashed upon them in their extemporary speech. The evening preachment in the remote schoolhouse will be the very soul of the discourse which afterward subdues the great congregation.

[1] Ivimey's History of the English Baptists; Gillies' Collections, as cited in Orme's Memoirs of Dr. Owen, pp. 305, 306.

ARTICLE VI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

History of Jesus of Nazareth.[1] — The fourth, and concluding volume, or part, of this most recent German Life of Jesus, has at length appeared. We have noticed the previous volumes as they were published. The whole work deserves a careful and extended examination, on the one hand, because of the evident sincerity of its author; and on the other, because his results will probably be substantially accepted by the so-called advanced and liberal thinkers of the present time in America and England. At present, however, this examination is beyond our power. The present part is entitled "The Jerusalemic Messiah-Death" (Der Jerusalemische Messiastod), and deals with the history of Christ's arrest, trial, condemnation, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension. A concluding chapter is devoted to a *résumé* of the author's general view of the person and work of Christ. The most interesting, and we may add also, perhaps the most able, section is the one relating to the resurrection. The account given of the early and later theories intended to explain the faith of the disciples, without conceding the reality of Christ's bodily resurrection, is admirable. Keim's critical examination of the visionary hypothesis, or, as one writer has proposed to term it, the faith-hypothesis, is marked as much by its candor as by its skill and vigor. The grounds adduced against it seem to us irrefragable; one or two of them remarkably striking. But when we came to his own view, we must confess to being bitterly disappointed. The passage in which its presentation occurs runs as follows: "In view of all these considerations one cannot but confess that the theory which has latterly become so great a favorite (the vision-theory) is a pure hypothesis, which, whilst it explains some things, leaves the chief point unexplained; nay more, sets what is founded on historical evidence, on the whole, in an unfair and untenable light. But if, on the other hand, both the attempt to establish the traditional view of the history of the resurrection, as well as the effort to account for it by a resort to the visions of St. Paul, fails, the only course open to the historian is, openly to confess that it is impossible to arrive at any certain result regarding the mysterious issues of the life of Jesus, important as they are in themselves, and for their influence

[1] Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesammtleben seines Volkes, etc. Von Dr. Theodor Keim. Band III. Zürich: Orell, Füssli, und Co. 1872.

on the history of mankind. For history, so far as it deals alone in manifest numbers and series of tangible, recognized causes and effects, the only thing about the whole subject that can be designated fact and regarded as beyond doubt, is the firm faith of the apostles that Jesus rose from the dead and the immense influence exerted by this faith in the christianization of mankind." Keim, therefore, has scarcely got a step beyond his master, Dr. Baur of Tübingen. He concedes to "faith," however, afterwards a sort of right to pass out beyond the natural to the supernatural, the visible to the invisible world, and there to recognize Christ as really living, though not risen from the dead here; and permits us to ascribe the visions of the apostles to the direct activity of their glorified Lord. That this view may offer a resting-place for Dr. Keim we are quite willing to believe; we cannot, however, but regard it as extremely unsatisfactory; nor do we know where to find better arguments for its unsatisfactoriness than in Dr. Keim's own pages.

With regard to the *sinlessness* of Jesus, Dr. Keim's result is equally uncertain; or, rather, scarcely uncertain, when we find him saying: "The acknowledgment must be made that the assumption of a totally exceptional moral faultlessness is reducible in the last instance to dogmatical presuppositions rather than to historical reasons..... The actual facts of his moral life, as well as his own confessions, show, too, that notwithstanding his moral conquests and glories, at individual points, he was subject to human limitations."

As in the first volume of his work, so in this, the last, Dr. Keim exhausts himself in expressions regarding the exalted position of Christ among men, without, however, conceding his divinity. If there is any difference between the beginning and close of his Life of Jesus, it is, that at the close he is a little less enthusiastic than at the beginning. He speaks as follows: "Christianity is the crown of the creations of God, and Jesus is the chosen, the image, the beloved of God — his foreman and world-moulder in the history of humanity. He is the rest and he is the motive power of the history of the world. The noblest ideals of which humanity has dreamt in the twilight stages of its development are met in him..... He is the great one who, with all that was mysterious about him, surpassed other men, not, indeed, in nature and essence, but still in degree, and flashes into the world of humanity as an unique, bold, and never-to-be-repeated creation of God."

The impression made on our mind by the volume noticed in the last number of the Bibliotheca Sacra (January, 1872, p. 198) of an increasing dominance of the cold, critical, rationalistic spirit in the later as compared with the earlier chapters of the history, has again been repeated. But, differ as we must from Dr. Keim, we cannot help saying that no orthodox writer or inquirer can well afford to ignore his investigations.

History of the Evangelical Church in Bohemia.[1]—The second and concluding volume of a history of Protestantism in Bohemia as a whole. There are other excellent works on portions of this history: as for example, that of Krummel on the "Reformation in Bohemia"; that of Gindely on the "Bohemian Brethren"; that of Pescheck on the "History of the Counter-Reformation from 1620–1780," and others, but this is the first comprehensive treatise on the whole subject. The volume before us treats of the period between the rise of the Unity of the Brethren (commonly known as Moravian Brethren), and the present day. The author, himself, a Bohemian, has throughout consulted the original sources and availed himself of the labors of the best other authorities, both on the political and religious history of Bohemia.

The more Important Questions of Religion.[2]—These are Essays on various religious questions addressed to persons who retain an interest in religion, and still have broken with positive forms of religious belief. The point of view would be considered too vague and rationalistic by strictly orthodox Christians; but the discussions presented ought to prove helpful to some who have no definite belief whatever. The class to which the book is addressed is a more numerous one in Germany than in either America or England. The German mind seems to be endowed with such a capability of hovering in a mist of intellectual uncertainty without altogether sacrificing its morality or religiosity, as most Anglo-Americans utterly lack. We are too practically logical for that kind of thing. Great efforts are being made, indeed, by modern Unitarians and broad churchmen (of all denominations), to persuade us that religion and ethics are independent of distinctness of thought relative to the objects of religion and ethics; but they have hitherto succeeded only to a very slight extent.

Dr. Romang discusses almost all the questions as to which there is any controversy between Christian believers and unbelievers; beginning with the nature of religion and going on through the idea of God, pantheism, the biblical God, revealed religion, divine revelation, the scriptures, conscience, Christ, redemption, immortality, ecclesiastical constitutions. As to this last matter he seems to incline to Congregationalism.

The Book of Ecclesiastes.[3]—Dr. Grätz, the author of this new translation and critical commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes is well known as having written perhaps the best Jewish history of the Jews, and,

[1] Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen. Von B. Czerwenka. Nelhagen und Klasing: Brelefeld. 1870.

[2] Ueber wichtigere Fragen der Religion. Von I. P. Romang. Heidelberg: Winter. 1871. Price, 2 Thaler.

[3] Kohélet oder der Salomonische Prediger uebersetzt und kritisch erläutert von Prof. Dr. H. Grätz. Heidelberg: Winter. 1871.

so far as an accurate acquaintance with the history of his people is a qualification, is eminently qualified for investigations such as those of which the present work is a sample. We shall refer merely to his view of the date of the authorship of this perplexing book — this product, as he terms it, of a "sceptical, epicurean, pessimistic-ascetical" spirit. He ascribes it to the reign of Herod, and adduces the following as his chief reasons: The complaints about a tyrannical king, who must have been at once a native and a stranger; the king's being designated a parvenu, and even a slave (נַעַר), as Herod actually was. The youth in prison, who was to become the successor of the old and foolish king (iv. 13–16) was Alexander, the son of Herod and Mariamne, who was actually cast into prison by his father; the expression "I, Koheleth, have become or *been made* king," i.e. I am not king by right of inheritance — Koheleth was a nickname of Herod at that time (!?); the correspondence of the whole tone of the writing to the character of the reign of Herod, when everything was so unsafe, and life was such a burden that men despaired of the good, and were therefore disposed to surrender themselves to sensual enjoyments and worldly aims.

An Appendix contains an investigation into the close of the Old Testament canon, in which the author arrives at the following result: That the canon was settled three times — (1) In the time of Nehemiah, about the year 400 B.C. (the Law and the Prophets); (2) At the time of the revolt of the school of Schammai and Hillel against the Romans, 65 A.D.; (3) At the time of the deposition from office of the patriarch Gamaliel, about 90 A.D. The Book of Koheleth was adopted into the canon at this third settlement, along with the "Song of Songs."

THE BOOK OF JOB.[2] — The first part of a posthumous work of the late Professor Hengstenberg, of Berlin, containing an investigation of the questions commonly relegated to the so-called "Introduction." Hengstenberg's views are the following: 1. The subject of the book is the question whether God may be charged with injustice; 2. The design is to unfold the purpose of the sufferings of the righteous, without reference to recompence after death; 3. The matter is neither properly historical nor altogether fiction; 4. The book arose in Judaea, and not among the Arabians; though the scene is laid outside of Palestine; 5. The date of the action of the poem is neither prior to Moses (Ebrard alone), nor the reign of Solomon (Hofmann), nor subsequent to the exile, but the age of the patriarchs; the date of the authorship is probably the reign of Solomon.

THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.[1] — This is the second edition

[1] Das Buch Hiob erläutert von E. W. Hengstenberg. I. Theil. Berlin: Schlawitz. 1871. Price, 1⅔ Thaler.

[2] Die Bücher des neuen Bundes übersetzt, etc. I Theil. Göttingen: Dieterich. 1871. Price, 2½ Thaler.

of the first part of a complete Commentary on the New Testament which the celebrated Ewald is now publishing, and contains an Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Those who are acquainted with Ewald's method and spirit as exhibited in his works on the Old Testament will not need to be told that, whilst he attacks almost every one else with oftentimes virulent abuse, he himself expects his own authority to be recognized as though it were infallible. His prefaces are a curiosity of literature. According to him, the resurrection — which, however, is relegated into the "pure domain of the spiritual," whatever that may be — was the first occasion of the disciples undertaking to write anything about the life of Christ; but so long a time intervened between the events and the record that they could not have a very distinct remembrance of them. This fundamental assumption leaves him room for all the conjectures, corrections, transmutations, and supplements of the Gospel narratives in which his tendency leads him to delight. The earliest and best documents were, in Ewald's view, the following: I. The Gospel of Philip, traces of which are recognizable in the first three, as, for example, in Mark i. 9–12; ix. 2–13, in Luke ix. 51; xviii. 14, and the account of the passion. II. Matthew's collection of sayings. III. Mark — not our present Gospel, but a new edition of the original Gospel, with additions made one year after the first appeared.(!) IV. The Book of the Higher History (what ordinary people would be inclined to term invention), from which are drawn the account of the temptation and the descent into hell, to which Peter refers in his first Epistle (see also Eph. iv. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 16). V. The existing Gospel of Matthew, which contains little that was new, and differs from the rest only in having been prepared for Jewish Christians, whereas Mark was written in Italy for Gentiles. VI. Traces of three later works; for example, in Luke ii. 41–52, etc. VII. The Gospel of Luke, which is a composite work, whose author made no use of Matthew, though he used the "Collection of Sayings" as far as it was embodied in the original Mark. VIII. The Gospel of John, which by giving a view of Christ as a whole corrects and supplements previous narratives.

In reading such theorizings as these, one is almost tempted to despair of literary investigation, and to conclude that it is all vanity and vexation of spirit. Ewald, however, is now so great an authority with liberal religionists that it is almost necessary to take note of what he says; though one might almost say that in his works "what is new is not true, and what is true is not new."

Brasch: Benédikt von Spinoza's System der Philosophie. A compendious summary of the Philosophy of Spinoza in five sections, founded on the Treatise on Ethics, with references to the self-contradictions which mark Spinoza, and to the points of resemblance between him and more recent philosophers.

Götz: Der Aristotelische Gottesbegriff, etc. This book comprises two treatises, entitled, "The Principles of the Sensuous World" and "The First Principle of Motion." The first is devoted mainly to a survey of the rise of polytheism, concerning which much remains still to be said, notwithstanding the assurance with which modern investigators, like Cox and others, speak; the second, more completely to Aristotle's conception of God, which the author considers to be of "one, immaterial, indivisible, all-movent, itself unmoved, unchangeable, infinite, pure actuality." Looked at as a whole, Professor Götz considers the views of Aristotle as self-contradictory.

Harless: Jacob Böhme und die Alchemisten. The well-known exegete and writer on Christian ethics has undertaken in this work to correct the too favorable estimate formed, especially under Baader's influence, of Jacob Böhme, by bringing into view the faults and shadows which marked his course and works. Harless is a strong Lutheran, and looks at Böhme through Lutheran spectacles. He detects much that warrants his complaints, but probably overlooks, also, much that ought to modify them; for it is scarcely probable that Böhme always thought or wrote with perfect self-consistency. Dr. Harless's book is well worth reading, and will contribute to the formation of a more correct estimate of the celebrated German theosophist.

Müller, F. A.: Briefe über die christliche Religion. Two sentences will give the reader an idea of the scope and tendency of these letters on the Christian religion: "The practical teachings of Jesus were Mosaism considered from the point of view of Talmudism, through the spectacles of a quietistic pessimism." "How defectively Jesus was acquainted with the Old Testament is clear from the circumstance of his imagining it to contain the command to hate our enemies, which it does not."

The preceding Notices are from the pen of Professor D. W. Simon. The following Notices of German Works are from the pen of Dr. J. P. Thompson, now resident in Berlin.

Das Marcus-Evangelium und seine Synoptischen Parallelen erklaert von Dr. Bernhard Weiss ordentlichem Professor der Theologie zu Kiel. pp. 515. Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz. 1872.

Dr. Weiss is favorably known to students of New Testament criticism through his *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Theologie des neuen Testaments*, which may be classed with Dr. Van Oosterzee's Manual upon the same subject. This new volume illustrates the method of theological teaching in the German universities, by the critical and exegetical handling of particular books of the Bible in detail. Beginning with Mark, the author proposes to follow this with a similar *Erklärung* of the Gospel of Matthew and the parallel passages in Luke; but his plan differs materially from either the

dogmatical, the homiletical, or the purely critical style of exposition. With some reason, Dr. Weiss charges that the practice of allegorizing the parables and other sayings of Christ for a dogmatic or homiletic purpose, foreign to their intent, — so common in the German pulpit, and from which such commentators as Stier, Lange, and even Olshausen are by no means free, — has given occasion to critics to treat the whole Gospel narrative as poetical or mythical. On the other hand, the verbal criticism of the Gospel-text in bare details, without regard to a connected whole, has often saddled upon the evangelist a fancy of his critic, which has no relation to the surroundings of the text. The author's theory, of the interpretation of the Gospels as historical documents is, that the manner of the narration should be studied in its relation to the matter; that the critic should consider not only *what* is told, but *how* it is told, and why the narrator handled his materials just as he did. Applying this method to the Gospel of Mark, having in view no dogma nor hypothesis, by noting the Evangelist's grouping and arrangement of his subject, he would follow step by step the plan and composition of the Gospel, and make the whole narrative more clear, rich, and life-like.

An introductory Essay of thirty-four pages is devoted to the patristic traditions of the authorship of the Gospel by Peter through Mark, the manuscript authorities for the text, and to the discussion of modern hypotheses of the origin and composition of the Gospel. The author comes to the conclusion that Mark is the oldest of the three synoptical Evangelists, but that in many cases he depended upon an earlier written narrative, which, as reproduced also in both the others, especially in Matthew, is often there taken for original. The grounds of this opinion are nowhere given in a connected form, but are gradually developed in the course of the criticism. The author gives the Greek text, in brief sections, in three parallel columns: the central place being assigned to Mark, with Matthew and Luke upon either side. Tischendorf's Leipsic edition of 1869, is taken as the basis of the text of Mark; emendations are indicated by varieties of type; and the reasons for these, with citations from manuscripts and authorities, are given in notes directly under the text. This is followed by a grammatical and moral exposition through which both reality and significance are given to the narrative. By this treatment such incidents as the temptation in the wilderness, and the first miracles of Christ. are made to stand forth as matters-of-fact, in the manner in which the narrator conceived of them and intended to represent them, unembarrassed by theories and speculations of the commentator. The Gospel was written with no dogmatic tendency in the mind of the Evangelist, but brings into view the details of the life of Christ, for the picturing of the whole situation, by the clear and transparent narration of all its particular acts and incidents. The details of names and numbers, of time and place, the picturing of scenes with their surroundings (*Situa-*

tionsmalerei) the setting forth of emotions, gestures, features in themselves unessential, the circumstantial elucidations and the retrospective connections (as by the frequent πάλιν), the colloquial recitals, the undiluted freshness of the living personal utterances of Jesus, exact even in unessential features, so freely made use of, often in the form of questions and even to the very Aramaic words — all this in the manner of the Evangelist, indicates his own conception and motive in the narrative, and the spirit in which he should be interpreted. In this spirit Dr. Weiss, himself, sums up the import of Mark's Gospel.

"The Gospel closes with the announcement of the resurrection and of the re-appearing of the risen One, which established his repeated prophecy of the miraculous annulling of his actual, and accomplished death, and thus opened the vision of the glorious confirmation of his Messiahship. This is no dogmatic reflection which accompanies the narrative, but is, itself, the joyful message of the Son of God; who during his active life on earth founded the kingdom of God, who accomplished redemption in his death, and who by his resurrection comes again to fulfil his work." And so the whole eventful history, when contemplated in the proper grouping of its details, develops the person and the work of Christ under a form at once trustworthy and instructive. The patient study of Mark's Gospel after the method of Dr. Weiss, and with the help of his judicious criticism, will cause the student to appreciate the simple beauty, and the fresh and living power of this earliest view of the life of Jesus which has been preserved to us. Indeed there could be no more healthful stimulus to that scholarly criticism which should lie at the basis of pulpit exposition, than the companionship of such a book in the study of the pastor.

Mr. R. v. Decker, of the Königlichen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei in Berlin, will shortly publish two works of special interest to students of Mediaeval history and of church polemics, from an author whose extensive and accurate knowledge of the literature of these subjects renders him an authority in the libraries and universities of Germany. These volumes are:

(1) Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi. Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europaischen Mittelalters von 375–1500. Von August Potthast.

(2) Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab Innocentio III. (1198) ad Benedictum XI. (1304). Edidit Augustus Potthast.

For many years Dr. Potthast has held the office of Custos in the Royal Library of Berlin, and, by his studious and almost reverential devotion to bibliography, has become a sort of impersonation of that vast and rich collection. His knowledge of books, however, is not that current acquaintance which a librarian forms by constant handling, but a scholar's appreciation of subjects, authors, and the relative value of works in their several departments; and he has given his leisure hours to special studies in the line indicated by the above-named volumes. They both give

evidence of remarkable diligence and research, as well as of the most painstaking application. The first has been for some time before the public, and has found such favor that a new edition will be issued, much enlarged. It will prove of great service in the investigation of European history in whatever department; for under the modest title of a finger-post, it points out all sources and authorities for the history of the Middle Ages — Annals, Epistles, Chronicles, and other historical works, covering the entire field of Europe, and embracing everything hitherto printed upon this period, though, of course, not including Records. Especially does it constitute a complete Index to the famous *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists.

The second work contains a brief epitome, in chronological order, of more than twenty-five thousand papal documents, — Bulls, Privileges, etc., beginning at the opening of the period in which the Papacy attained its greatest elevation, and ending with the time when the same lofty Popedom was compelled, for seventy-five years, to seek a refuge upon French soil, at Avignon. The thoroughness and completeness with which the author has executed this most arduous and critical task, has won for him the honorable recognition of the Berlin Academy of Science, in the award of the double prize of two hundred ducats.

From an inspection of the original manuscript, we can testify to the extraordinary care, accuracy, and comprehensiveness of this historico-critical summary. It is a most timely work in view of the recent assertion of Papal infallibility, and of the manifold phases of the Roman Catholic controversy; and it should find a place in all colleges and public libraries in the United States.

B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

THE DIALOGUES OF PLATO. Translated into English, with Analyses and Introductions, by B. Jowett, M.A., Master of Baliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. 4 vols. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

The philosophy of Plato is eloquent and poetical. His eloquence and poetry are philosophical. His spirit is deeply religious, and his writings contain many intimations of Christian truth. It is true, however, that, as Archer Butler says: "There runs through all the views of Plato a want of any distinct apprehension of the claims of divine justice in consequence of human sin. Even in his strongest references to punishment, it is still represented mainly, if not entirely, under the notion of a purificatory transition — a severe, but beneficial, *κάθαρσις*. This arises partly from his conception of the divine character, partly from his theory of the human soul itself. From the former, inasmuch as he considers the attribute of indignant wrath or its results inapplicable to Deity; from the latter, because in considering the soul essentially in its higher elements divine, he could

only look upon the misfortunes of its bodily connection as incidental pollutions, which might delay, but could not ultimately defeat, its inalienable rights. He must be a very uncandid critic who can censure Plato severely for these misconceptions; but he would be a very imperfect expositor who would not mention them as such."

The first edition of Plato's works was that of Aldus, in 1513; the next, that of J. Operinus, in 1534; the next, that superintended by Marcus Hopperus; the next, that of H. Stephanus, published in 1578; the next was the Bipont edition, containing a reprint of Stephanus, with the Latin version of Marsillius Ficinus. A more complete edition is that of Bekker, published in 1816–18, reprinted by Priestley, in 1826, and made still more trustworthy by Ast, in 1819–1827. The most perfect edition is that of G. Stallbaum, which was begun in 1827. The best Latin translation of Plato's works is that of Ficinus. Of the English translations, the most noted are, that by Floyer Sydenham, in four volumes, to which a fifth is sometimes added; that of Thomas Taylor, also in five volumes; a translation from the French of M. Dacier; and an edition from the text of Stallbaum by Henry Carey, H. Davis, and George Burges.

The present edition by Professor Jowett is decidedly the best which has appeared in the English language. He differs from Schleiermacher, who published an admirable, though unfinished, German translation of Plato; and also from Grote, to whom, however, he acknowledges great obligations. He has made special use of the following works: "Steinhart and Müller's German Translation of Plato, with Introductions; Zeller's Philosophie der Griechen, and Platonische Studien; Susemihl's Genetische Entwickelung der Platonischen Philosophie; Hermann's Geschichte der Platonischen Philosophie; Bonitz, Platonische Studien; Stallbaum's Notes and Introductions; Professor Campbell's editions of the Theaetetus, the Sophist, and the Politicus; Professor Thompson's Phaedrus; M. Martin's Études sur le Timée; Mr. Poste's edition and translation of the Philebus; the Translation of the Republic, by Messrs. Davies and Vaughan; and the Translation of the Gorgias, by Mr. Cope."

We cannot expect that any English translation will give a perfect idea of Plato's philosophy or eloquence. His words were winged and quivering. We presume, however, that this translation will awaken a fresh interest in Plato, and will induce theologians to study his writings with new zeal. The older theologians were well versed in his philosophy. They often misunderstood him, ascribing to him the opinions of Aristotle, and to Aristotle the opinions of Plato. This confusion was common in the Middle Ages. Recent investigations have thrown much light upon the systems of the two philosophers. The work of Ackermann on the "Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy," and the work, bearing a similar title, of Professor Baur of Tübingen, published in 1837, illustrate the relation of Plato's works to Christian theology. All students interested

in sacred science will welcome this admirable translation of writings elucidating that science.

Treatise on Regeneration. By William Anderson, LL.D., Glasgow. Second Edition. 12mo. pp. 311. Philadelphia: Smith, English, and Co.; New York: A. D. F. Randolph and Co.; Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1871.

Dr. Anderson is an original thinker. It is evident that when he agrees with others he did not receive his opinions from them. He expresses his views with nervous force. His language is often severe, his tone always independent. He fails in exactness of definition, and sometimes appears to differ widely from men with whom he is in essential agreement. He denounces with great warmth the doctrine that men are "at their origin tainted and inclined to sin." This, he says, is "an impeachment of God as being the Author of sin, in the worst form possible in which the impeachment can be made" (p. 63). He states afterwards that "sin is as characteristic of man as any instinctive disposition or habit which may be named is characteristic of some particular species of animal" (p. 66). We are inclined to think that his meaning is correct in both of these expressions, but that his language does not express his meaning precisely. He aims to write not in the scientific, but in the popular, forcible style.

The Footsteps of Christ. Translated from the German of A. Caspers, Church Provost and chief Pastor at Husum. By Adelaide E. Rodham. Edited, with a Preface, by Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity Church, Boulogne-sur-mer; Author of "The Fatherhood of God," etc. Editor of "Genesis in Hebrew, with Notes Critical and Grammatical," "Ruth in Hebrew and Chaldee," etc. 12mo. pp. 434. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong. 1871.

The original work of Pastor Caspers has been abridged in this Translation. In particular, his statements in regard to baptism and the Lord's supper have been omitted. The translator has shown rare ingenuity in putting the extracts from German poetry into English rhyme. The volume is divided into four parts, each of the first two parts into twenty-three chapters, the third part into sixteen chapters, the fourth part into three. The chapters are divided into short paragraphs, and the paragraphs abound with short sentences, so that the reader need not apply himself continuously to any one chapter of the work, but may read minute portions at distant intervals. The four parts are entitled: Christ *for* us; Christ *in* us; Christ *before* us; Christ *through* us. In the first, some of the most interesting chapters are entitled: The obedience of Jesus Christ; Jesus has on earth prayed for us; Christ's death for us. In the second part the chapters have titles like these: Of the celebration of Christ's birth

within us; Of divine solitude; The believing soul gives pleasure to Jesus. In the third part some of the titles are: The life of Jesus our example; The death of Christ teaches us to die. The third chapter of the fourth part is a prayer of thanksgiving. In it are such sentences as: "I say with thy servant Johan Arnd: 'Thou art dearer to me than all diamonds, more precious than are all rubies, lovelier than are all pearls.'..... "Thy servant Baxter has said: 'This is a walk to Mount Zion, from the kingdom of saints, from earth to heaven, from time to eternity; it is walking upon sun, moon, and stars in the garden and paradise of God.'" ..... "My soul would pray in the words of thy servant Baxter," etc. The volume closes with the following stanza, which is a fair specimen of the hymns quoted in it.

"Ah Lord! may this free grace be mine!
Make thou my life a holy sign,
Whereby the world may thee revere.
Impress in me thy footsteps sweet;
Make thou my deeds the pavement meet,
Whereon thou wilt through me appear."

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Leviticus; with a new Translation. By James G. Murphy, LL.D., T C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast; Author of Commentaries on Genesis and Exodus. 8vo. pp. 318. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1872.

Dr. Murphy writes in an easy and attractive style. He does not overload his paragraphs with useless references. Too many commentators make their style obscure by second-hand quotations, and by allusions to methods of exegesis which are unworthy of being named in order to be refuted. Merely English readers can peruse Dr. Murphy's commentary without much interruption or trouble. He is successful in explaining the Book of Leviticus as "the figurative exhibition of the way of salvation"; as giving "a series of symbolic forms suited to the primeval stage of the human race, and fitted to edify the infant people of God." We prefer his views of the book to those of Kalisch, Kurtz, or Keil. We presume that his Commentary on Leviticus will, as it deserves to, be highly prized by clergymen and intelligent laymen in our own country and in Great Britain.

Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon. By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. Revised edition. 8vo. pp. 422. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1872.

This volume is printed from the plates of the English edition. To that edition Dr. Davidson appended various notes, nearly all of which have been omitted in the present volume, and others substituted for them. The

work is substantially as Professor Stuart left it. It is a stimulating work; for the author wrote with an inspiring confidence in his own opinions, and with the hope of bringing others into harmony with himself. It is instructive, as indicating the history of theological progress or regress in our land. Professor Stuart contended *for* various statements which are now admitted without controversy, and he contended *against* other statements which now are accepted without much debate. His pages illustrate the character of the man, and also that of his contemporaries. Where he is not admitted as an authority in settling a dispute, he may be referred to as suggesting means of settling it. We are pleased with the comprehensiveness of his memory, where we do not confide in its exactness. We are refreshed by his multifarious learning, where we do not see the accuracy of his logic. He is always fertile in thought, though not always consistent with himself. His writings ought to be studied more than they are; for they reward the research to which they stimulate.

The Testimony of the Catacombs concerning Questions of Doctrine. By Rev. Wharton B. Marriott. London: Hatchards. 1870.

This beautiful volume is in three parts — the Worship of the Virgin, the Supremacy of the Church of Rome, and the Sacraments of Baptism and Communion; the latter portion being lectures given by this Assistant Master at Eton to the Oxford Divinity School. It is partly a reply to Northcote's "Subterranean Rome," which strangely distorts the evidence of ancient inscriptions in favor of the usurpations of later times. While actually, so far from the catacombs giving testimony to Romanism, Rev. Mr. Hemans, who expected to find confirmation of his conversion by these ancient witnesses, was reconverted to Protestantism by the overwhelming proof they give that only comparative modern frescos and inscriptions sustain the claims to which he had surrendered his faith.

As to the Virgin, only the more modern delineations represent her as receiving worship; the earlier and authoritative picture the mother as subordinate to the Son. It was in the eighth century that Christian art showed the homage paid to Mary as no longer distinguished from that rendered to the Lord of all. So says the Roman Catholic historian of Christian art, D'Agincourt. But even this is claiming too much; only the twelfth century monuments substantiate this claim of modern Romanism. And it is very curious and instructive to trace the growth in this regard. In all the earlier decorations, especially before the age of Constantine, the Virgin only occurs in such connections as are directly suggested by the holy scriptures; the Holy Child being seated alone on a throne of state; the mother taking a subordinate, but honorable place on one side of the principal group, without the nimbus which her Son and the attendant angels wear, as Mr. Marriott proves by abundant illustrations.

Then, as to the second point — the superiority of St. Peter as founder of the church at Rome, and the papal claims in general. The prevailing rule of the more public monuments as the mosaics of churches is, that St. Paul is placed at our Saviour's right hand, and St. Peter at the left. To the year 800, the place of pre-eminence is assigned to St. Paul. After that a change begins to appear. From the fourth century onward, a claim for St. Peter's supremacy is made by the ornamental glasses, and by the sarcophagi after the conversion of Constantine. But the monuments themselves show the rapidity of the transition — show how the papacy grew in its pretensions; the Bishop of Rome exalting himself gradually over his brethren of Alexandria and Constantinople. In his notes Marriott states that the more modern writers on the Roman side give up as hopeless the defence of the traditions that St. Peter was for twenty-five years bishop at Rome. The Epistles and the Acts appear to prove that Paul's visit to Rome was the first of any apostle's, that then he gathered his countrymen about him, then proclaimed Christianity authoritatively for the first time, and so continued for two years the only inspired oracle of the new kingdom at the capital of the civilized world.

The Autun inscription, the third portion of the book, is that disinterred, in 1839, from an ancient cemetery in France. Marks on the back of the marble block show that it was anciently fastened upon a wall with iron clamps. Part of the stone has perished; so that there is more than one break in the reading. The general meaning seems to be:

'Offspring of the heavenly Icthus, see that a heart of holy reverence be thine, now that from divine waters thou hast received (while yet among mortals) a fount of immortal life. Quicken thy soul, beloved one, with ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom, and receive the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of saints. Eat with a longing hunger, holding Icthus in thy hands.

'To Icthus: Come nigh unto me, my Lord and Saviour, I entreat thee, thou light of those for whom the hour of death is past.

'Aschandius, my father, dear unto my heart, and thou, sweet mother, and all that are mine, remember Pectorius.'

Now, the symbolism of the word "Icthus" seems to be, first, that the fish represents the food which Christ gave, and as he partook with his disciples of one broiled after the resurrection, it has been taken for a type of his passion; secondly, as a savory accompaniment of the bread, which was the chief article of food, it designated the sustaining doctrine of Christ; thirdly, it was connected with the new birth in water; Tertullian saying: 'We smaller fishes, after the example of our Fish, are born in the water, and only by continuing in those waters are we safe'; and lastly, Christ himself was signified by the letters of which the Greek word is composed, — I, C, T, U, S, — Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.

The date of this stone our author would fix at the beginning of the fifth century, while the cardinal-discoverer would make it three centuries

earlier. The Roman Catholics argue that this inscription is conclusive as to the doctrine of the real presence; for it says: "Eat holding Icthus in thy hands." But really, no more is proved by the inscription than that Christ is to be received as the fountain of regeneration, and that this life imparted in heavenly waters is a gift entailing the responsibility of cherishing it by drinking the unfailing streams of God's Spirit. Yet further, Christ (the Healer) is not only the source of new life; he is the food of spiritual existence, from the beginning to the end. The same Saviour never ceasing from the care of his people, but being their guiding light through the dark valley to the paradise beyond, he is the light to them that have died in the faith, as to those that live therein. All these truths find expression, says our author, in this touching memorial of primitive Christian belief.

And so we may well thank God that this sacrament of peace is not brought before us in so ancient a testimonial to its grace, as a bone of contention. Sincere believers of opposite schools may unite in this quaint breathing of grateful trust to the one Redeemer, Lord of Life, and Mediator of Heaven.

A Discourse in Memory of Thomas Harvey Skinner, D.D., LL.D. By George L. Prentiss, Pastor of the Church of the Covenant. 8vo. pp. 145. New York: Anson D. T. Randolph and Co.

We depart from our usual custom in noticing a single discourse delivered from the pulpit. This discourse justifies our making an exception to our rule; for it is a rich expression of truths important for every minister of the gospel. It illustrates the power of "doctrinal preaching," the uses and limits of logic in the pulpit, the influence of a man's life upon his eloquence. It portrays, in a neat and accurate, as well as vivid, style, the intellectual, unimaginative, but impassioned method of preaching; the simple, guileless, childlike, transparent spirit; the earnest, profound, habitual, and winning piety which have made the memory of Dr. Skinner a treasure to the church. It gives so many intimations of truths which a single discourse is too brief to develop as to suggest the importance of publishing an extended Memoir of Dr. Skinner, and also some of his choice sermons. If Dr. Prentiss would prepare such a Memoir, and edit the select sermons, he would make a still richer contribution than even his present discourse has made to the history of American theology.

In order to make room for the following Notices sent by Dr. Simon, we omit various other Notices prepared for this Number.

Rev. John Hunt: History of Religious Thought in England. A good history of English theology — of, which, by the way, many of our German cousins think we have very little — has long been, and perhaps is still, a desideratum. Mr. Hunt's work scarcely professes to supply it, but is a valuable contribution to such a history. The two volumes which have

appeared embrace the period from the Reformation to the end of the seventeenth century. The work is clear, precise, and accurate.

Dean Hook, D.D.: Life of Archbishop Parker. This is the newest volume of the Dean's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and is marked by the same general characteristics as the preceding volumes.

E. H. Palmer: The Desert of the Exodus. Mr. Palmer, a most competent scholar and sympathetic and cultured man, who went out to explore Palestine in connection with the Ordnance Survey and the Palestine Exploration Fund, has here given an account of the journeys on foot which he undertook in the wilderness of the forty years' wanderings. The work is illustrated with maps, views after photographs, and drawings taken on the spot by the Sinai exploring expedition. We need say nothing to commend the book to the attention of the countrymen of Dr. E. Robinson.

Rev. I. Edkins: China's Place in Philology. This is an attempt to show that the languages of Europe and Asia have a common origin. The author is one of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who has been long resident in Pekin, and is known as an energetic scholar.

Rev. I. Martin: Origin and History of the New Testament. A clear, interesting, and, in the good sense, popular account of the origin of the New Testament writings, and of their history in MSS. translations, and so forth, from the days of the apostles down to the present time. Mr. Martin is the translator of several works published in the theological series of the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, and has taken note of the recent German and other controversies on the subjects discussed by him.

Modern Scepticism is the title of a course of lectures recently delivered in London, under the direction of the Christian Evidence Society, by such men as Archbishop Thomson of York, Rev. W. Jackson, Dr. Rigg (Methodist), Dr. Stoughton (Congregationalist), Professor Rawlinson, and the Rev. C. Row. Among the subjects dealt with are: Miracles, Pantheism, Jesus of the Evangelists, Historical Difficulties of the Old and New Testament. On the whole, the lectures are good — one or two, very good. Whether they will convince, or in any way affect the men for whose good they ought mainly to be designed, is questionable. In general these men do not need to be convinced, or rather unconvinced; for they are already convinced, both negatively and positively.

Stopford Brook: Freedom in the Church of England. A volume containing six sermons, having a bearing on the recent controversies in the church of England, and preached by Mr. Brook in London. In them he seeks to justify the position taken up by broad churchmen like himself. With much that he says, and with the manner in which he says it, all educated Christians will sympathize. One of the sermons is on the atonement, and, though unsatisfactory, expounds an aspect of the work of Christ which deserves consideration.

T. T. Lynch: Sermons for my Curates. Mr. Lynch was one of the choicest spirits that the Congregationalist ministry has for a long time numbered within its ranks — a poetic and beautiful soul. He died not many months ago, and has left a place in London which will be difficult to fill. The present volume contains a number of sermons which he wrote, when he was so ill that he could not appear himself in his chapel, for reading to the congregation by members of the church whom he styled his curates. They are full of truth and beauty concerning God and man. Mr. Lynch was the author of the "Memorials of Theophilus Trinal," "The Rivulet — Religious Poems," and one or two series of sermons or addresses.

Synonyms of the Old Testament; their Bearing on Christian Faith and Practice. By the Rev. R. B. Girdleston, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1871.

As the author tells us in his preface, this is the first attempt at a systematic investigation of the synonyms of the Old Testament. As such he presents his work to the public with diffidence. The subject is treated in thirty chapters, devoted to the following matters: the names of God; the names of man; the soul and spirit; heart, will, conscience, wisdom, understanding; sin, wickedness, trespass and guilt; repentance, conversion, and amendment; perfection and peace; uprightness, faith, and hope; grace, pity, love, and mercy; redemption and salvation; atonement, forgiveness, and acceptance; cleansing, washing, sprinkling, and baptism; justification, innocence, and imputation; sanctification, holiness, consecration, anointing; offerings, sacrifices, altar; word, law, commandment, charge, covenant; worship, pray, praise, teach; temple, tabernacle, congregation, church; prophet, priest, elder, minister; king, judge; condemn, punish, revenge; heathen, nation, people, tribe, family; land, earth, world; heaven, host of heaven, firmament; destroy, perish: the grave, hell, death; Satan, tempter, serpent; witch, diviner, familiar spirit, magician; idol, teraphim, grove, high place; eternal, everlasting, the age to come. We have enumerated the matters, in order that our readers may at once see the scope of the work. It is quite unnecessary for us to enlarge on the usefulness of such a treatise. With regard to Mr. Girdleston's success, various opinions will naturally be formed, according to the point of view of the judges. For our own part, we consider that he has accomplished his task, on the whole, in a very satisfactory manner, and has supplied the students of the Bible with a most valuable aid. We may add that the book is admirably printed; the Hebrew words are in heavy English type, as well as in Hebrew; there are ample indexes of subjects, Hebrew words, Greek words, and texts referred to; and the entire arrangement is such that it is a pleasure to use the work.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS.

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

THE present form of our civilization has been, probably, effected by the printing-press more than by any other agent. Yet, as the press is a mere piece of mechanism, — a method simply of dissemination, — it is evidently the form of society, and not its very spirit and character, that is due to this instrument. What the press shall print and scatter must be determined by something beside the press itself. The buzz and hum of society are found here. This is the fan that blows the flame; but the very flame, and the metal molten by it, are quite other things.

The press has been at work in the English world of thought almost four centuries, and the newspaper for a little more than half that time. The newspaper, as a printed medium of news, is of English origin. The first authentic regular weekly publication was that of Nathaniel Butter, in 1662, entitled "The Certain News of this Present Week." In the word "gazette" we have traces, however, of an earlier written paper common to some of the Italian cities. Gazetta was the coin paid for the privilege of listening to the reading of these bulletins. The New York Gazette, the first paper published in that city, the Gazette of revolutionary memory in Boston, and the many other journals that have borne

this name, thus stand closely connected by etymological, if not by historic, descent with the early papers of Venice and Florence.

Butter's paper was succeeded, especially during the civil wars that made way for the Commonwealth, by numerous regular and irregular papers, chiefly employed as means of political influence and of spreading the stirring events of the hour. From that time onward the development of the newspaper has been continuous, though by no means with uniform rapidity. At the opening of the Revolution there were in the Colonies thirty-six weeklies and one semi-weekly. In 1800, there were in the United States two hundred papers, several of them dailies. The oldest of these dailies was the Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser, first issued in 1784. Nearly all the great dailies of the present have had their origin within the century. The Commercial Advertiser, the oldest of the New York dailies, began with the latest years of the previous century. The number of dailies in the United States in 1850 was two hundred and fifty-four, and in 1860 was three hundred and seventy-four; of bi- and tri-weeklies, one hundred and sixty-five; and of weeklies, three thousand one hundred and seventy-three. The number of monthlies was two hundred and eighty; and of quarterlies, thirty. The ten years just closing have witnessed a great addition to this number, and especially to those papers and periodicals whose object it is to furnish entertaining matter not of the nature of news.

To children there is falling a very large share, — indeed, every class is possessed of a surfeit — of this daily light food, this manna of our times. Every variety of grave, pretentious, and facile literature, of popular science and of popular philosophy, of story and of humor, from the best to the worst, finds a place, and a large place, in it. Quantity seems to be the one astonishing thing — the perpetual, genetic miracle of the hour. There is a great change in character as we pass from one wing of the press to the other, — from the quarterly to the daily, — and a still more significant change

in numbers and circulation. The one class swarms like butterflies; the other has the gestation and slow increase of mammals. The dailies with scarcely an exception, and the weeklies with but few exceptions, have primarily a newspaper character — give themselves to the questions and events of the hour, and, as chief among these debatable subjects, to social themes and politics. Even our religious weeklies fully present these newspaper features, and sometimes bring them decidedly into the foreground. Religion binds up its weekly budget of secular news, and adds thereto its own items. Crimes, casualties, and conversions all find their file, and are sent forth to their work. The monthlies are chiefly of a literary character. They are so by an expressed purpose on the part of the majority, and still more by the circulation and weight of influence which belong to the best of those of this class. The quarterlies are primarily of a religious, philosophical, and critical character. Fourteen of the thirty in the United States at our last census were directly connected with some form of religious faith. The quarterlies, a product of the present century, advance but slowly, and in number and circulation are wholly overshadowed by the more active, phosphorescent branches of the press. The combined periodical productions of this country can furnish twenty-five copies per annum to each person in it.

It is plain, from this rapid glance at the history of the press, that the popular element is gaining ground to an astonishing degree. The movement is an accelerated one, like the fall of a weight, and that, too, with a ratio almost fearful. Invention has at once helped this tendency, and been the product of it. The cylinder steam-press is the magnificent instrument of this growth, and in its quick revolution we see a power that can discharge instantly on the material world the gross produce of the minds of men, and load with it the waiting messengers of electricity and steam, till it quivers down, like snow-flakes, on every corner of the land. When we speak of the press, we now mean distinctively the newspaper press, so much has this branch

gained ground on every other, so busy and demonstrative is it. Indeed, the slow, heavy work of philosophy, the fine work of elegant literature, withdraw from this fatal facility of the steam-cylinder, and, for the best execution, retreat even to the hand-press. The cylinder, in its rotary, rapid, heedless, unhesitating execution, is a fitting instrument and symbol of the daily press.

Some of the results of this newspaper character and growth of the press we wish to present. It has broken in on the privacy of life. Our privacy is like that of the city, in which we do not observe those about us, because we do not care to see them, not because we are not able to see them. This daily, active, omnivorous press cannot find sufficient important matter for its fearful consumption. It must sweep the streets and search secret places for it. It must lay every man, every neighborhood, every class of interests, under contribution. Each item, good and bad, is an autumn leaf that the busy winds will not let rest, that finds no refuge but that of time. The noisy news-element enters more and more into business. It is no longer, like the rattle of an express-wagon, incidental to work, but a chief part of it. To make sonorous proclamation and flaming advertisement of what one is doing becomes a first condition of success. Every man is a crier, and a crier of his own virtues and goods. There is no privacy except in those few things which the Argus-eyed press, living for news and on news, absolutely cannot see, and in those perfectly commonplace acts, the seeing of which elicits no interest. The language of Coleridge was weak when he used it, compared with the force it now possesses:

"In the present age — emphatically the age of personality — there are more than ordinary motives of withholding all encouragement from this mania of busying ourselves with the names of others, which is still more alarming as a symptom than it is troublesome as a disease. The reader must be still less acquainted with contemporary literature than myself, — a case not likely to occur, — if he needs me to

inform him that there are men who, trading in the silliest anecdotes, in unprovoked abuse and senseless eulogy, think themselves, nevertheless, employed both worthily and honorably, if only this be done in good set terms, and from the press, and of public characters — a class which has increased so rapidly, of late, that it becomes difficult to discover what characters are to be considered private."

We cannot be at a loss to know where this itch and contagion of gossip are begotten, and whence they spread into our literature. Nor is it merely the weakness and idleness of thought we deplore, but its malicious character, as well; seizing, as it constantly does, on much matter rank with putrefaction, and whose chief mischief lies in diffusion. A sensation is a necessity with the press, and if that which is good and beautiful is not at hand, that which is loathsome must take its place. This slush and wash of news, this churning up of all that comes to hand, is a symptomatic feature of our times. A full tide is always coming in fresh from the sea, but ever licking up, casting about, and mingling the refuse and sewerage of the city. Saturated with the filth which we thought to have cast off, it runs searchingly into every basin, and, with the sudden agility of collision, leaps to our wharves, bespatters our garments and our merchandise. It is amusing and sad to see how a great daily, with flaming bulletins, will flourish for a week on a case of scandal. First, it dashes hotly into it, with exaggeration and misstatement. This provokes comment and correction, and these give opportunity for defense and enlargement; for discussing the case historically and critically, and opening side-issues with opponents. A later number closes the judicial process with a few caustic reflections.

The newsmonger is the pimp of the news-devourer; and we have no more leisure than we have privacy. The morning paper becomes as needful and as transient as the cup of coffee it accompanies. A hasty, careless reading of the daily papers — helping to urge on the race of life, and themselves making up a large part of it — affords the intellectual food

of our typical men. Any and everything is good for the hour,—crime and heroism, slander and truth,—and nothing is good beyond the hour. Yesterday's paper subserves no more purpose than yesterday's dinner. The sponge receives and expels in constant circuit the sea-water, getting thence a very little for its growth. With equal labor do men draw in and throw out an enormous bulk of news, catching occasionally at a single fact which is something more than mere drift. When this bud had just begun to chip the seed-vessel, Burton complained that "men read nothing but a play-book or a pamphlet of news." Happy fellow! in his deepest melancholy, he little dreamed into what gigantic proportions this labor of reading the "pamphlet of news" would grow. One must now glide, like a whale, with open mouth, straining from the seas before him their floating infusoria, and then feel that his food has been none of the heartiest. It is some satisfaction to the Brazilian laborer that, washing so much dirt, he may find a diamond; but this culling refuse for refuse is endless and beggarly business. We have no time to acquire what is worth knowing, we insist on knowing so much that is not worth the acquisition. One feels conscience-smitten even at the thought of railing at this everlasting racket, knowing that some already over-driven mortal must, or at least may, turn aside to hear him. This vast volume of news, beaten about from shore to shore of the nation, driven incessantly by counter-currents like a chopping sea, is to be deprecated for the trespass it makes upon the leisure of the people and the degree in which it helps still further to fever their blood. The larger part of it is utterly trivial; much of it is false in substance or spirit; no small part of it is pernicious; and the little that is valuable is in a large measure lost because of the chaff which overlies and hides it.

The press, thus alert and active, catching at everything in the least noteworthy in public or in private life, passing from hand to hand with endless comment and rejoinder each more savory morsel, serves to intensify in a high degree the passing impressions of the hour. It is as when a large com-

pany sit down to dinner. The inviting array, the clatter of dishes, the discussion of viands, the savory carving, occupy all the senses, and make one, for the time being, a gourmand in spite of himself. The air is redolent of good living, and one cannot easily be indifferent to it. In the present condition of the press, there are no non-conductors to the social electricity. It goes tingling through all nerves, till the shock is absolutely exhausted, or gives place to another. The common life is intensified, and spread everywhere. There is no escaping the current estimates of men and things. The senses of men are all awake; every impression is reported, and every report finds an audience. All this, it is plain, greatly strengthens the present as against the past or the future — makes us boasters as regards the one, and indifferent and self-confident as regards the other. The events of the hour are so many, and come back upon us from so many sides; opinion and speculation are so busy with them, attach so much interest to them; the public mind so ruminates upon them, that the individual can hardly fail to be absorbed in them to the oversight of considerations deeper than this surface-life, beyond the horizon of the day. The press, by placing all men in society, intensifies public passions or opinions, as the contact of an audience gives contagion to eloquence, or the presence of a mob conflagration to anger.

This abnormal activity of the common life necessarily tends to the loss and reduction of individuality. We would, indeed, attach no value to an individuality which is of the nature of eccentricity. It is a first purpose of society to check and overcome all extreme growth, every one-sided and extravagant tendency. We grind against each other in the social stream on purpose to acquire something of a spherical form. Yet a common life that overshadows our private life — that leads us to forget that the discipline of thought, the formation of opinions, are necessarily a separate, independent, and individual affair — is so far forth an evil. The deep, unbroken forest is comparatively barren. The

sunlight should strike through, reaching flower and shrub, should disclose open glades, as well as dark recesses, if we are to have a variety of beautiful things. The sunlight of truth must come to the mind in many private and peculiar ways, there must be various and independent conditions of intellectual life, if the personal element is to maintain its ground against the rank overgrowth of a society fed in commons, and stimulated by a fresh daily provision of news.

Take such a branch as philosophy. Nothing but this wish-wash of hasty journalism and scientific crudity finds circulation. One does not, as of old, launch his boat on a silent sea, with a long, quiet pull before him; but on one so clamorous, so restless, so filled with cross-currents, that he is in danger of being instantly upset, buried a thousand fathoms deep. One cannot even have the privilege of being let alone. His tub is on the sea, and some stupid whale is after it, whether he will or not. Some journal, dangerous by size, irresistible by weight of cargo, and safe by thickness of sides, steaming on with narrow mercantile or political bent, takes it as a task by the way to run down the new craft, neither knowing nor caring whether it be one thing or another, provided it helps out the day's work, and affords an exhibition of power. The poor philosopher must go to the market, and yet he has no more chance amid its clamor than Christian at Vanity Fair. The same is true in every unpopular branch of effort, of individual achievement. Down comes public opinion on it, in the form of eager, incessant, universal journalism, and one builds with the labor and discouragement of those who erect a light-house on rocks constantly swept by the waves.

Yet more unfavorable to moral integrity and soundness is this ceaseless clamor of the press. The adjustments and judgments of conscience, like delicate physical processes, need to go on in silence and stillness, under the undisturbed scrutiny of one eye only. Fame and rumor and popular prejudice and party exaction are not to be poured into the judicial ear. Yet how is any man, living in this Babel of

the press, where every sound is echoed and reverberated till it becomes omnipresent and portentous, to escape it? How is he to find out what he thinks himself, when every waking hour is occupied with what other men think? We know very well how the most tough and declared men become at times pulpy and pliant, when they fall into some focus of this popular influence, like Washington, and are pelted and pounded with it every moment. To be sure, a heat which liquidates most things gives a dry set to others; and, now and then, a person becomes more individual and stubborn in his moral judgments through the very opposition he suffers. Let us not think, however, that he thus escapes the evil. Character may be distorted as certainly on this side as on that, and our sentiments may fail of due proportion and tenderness from the very conflict they have suffered, and the hard-won victory they have gained. The best conditions of moral growth are nicely balanced between too much and too little. One degree of wind makes the tree sturdy, another distorts it. When we remember the evil and the mischief rife in the public mind, or ready to be kindled there, in earlier times, we see it to have been fortunate that it lacked this enginery of expression. There was need, then, of many private places, monasteries, cells, in which the growth of the individual mind could mature itself before it felt the shock of the popular sentiment.

It is with us one great struggle to form parties and break them up again. We organize to gain the advantages of organization, begin shortly to experience some of its fearful evils, and then re-organize against organization, that we may get back once more to individual responsibility and freedom. No sooner does a party become strong than a ruling sentiment, generally a selfish sentiment, seizes it. The press attached to it becomes a means not of free discussion, but of establishing and spreading its influence. The individual is lifted off his feet, and he must now swell the general cry, or sink into silence and insignificance, or break from these false and exacting relations and start again. Thus, in

politics, in which the power of the press is more declared and manifest than anywhere else, the struggle of every good citizen for a just influence, the possession of a sober, independent opinion, and the means of efficiently expressing it, is perpetual, and only now and then partially successful. For the most part, the thinking, independent men are jostled out of the crowd, and made idle spectators of the good and evil about them. They are content, as the price of peace, to become, in the political game, mere pawns, filling the spaces in which the shrewd ones put them. In this desperate struggle for fair responsibility and power, the mass of our sober citizens have succumbed, and are driven about, — the float-wood of the political world, — made to do what they do not wish to do, and impotent in striving to do what they really desire.

Yet these are not half so sad a spectacle as those numerical majorities that by sheer inertia and perpetual blindness make up the body of a political party, and become the hard-faced hammer with which its cruel blows are given — the dead, physical force which cunning and knavery lay hold of to do their work. In other directions and other discussions the pressure is less fearful, and there is more chance for an honest, independent life; we are suffered more frequently, as Emerson expresses it, "to tarry at home in our own thoughts." But there is no realm that is not invaded, and sometimes in an overwhelming way, by public sentiment. Literature and religion have their stampedes, in which the freedom of private opinion is a violet beneath the hoof of a horse — good enough, to be sure, but sadly out of place. Of one of these literary raids, violent and bitter in its spirit, we find a recent example in the Byron controversy.

So powerful is the press that it has become, as it inevitably must, a constant means of reaching private ends. Men use it in an unscrupulous way. It falls off from the truth, is retained by parties, sects, persons, and does the work of an advocate in a tricky, professional fashion. There always must be earnest advocacy, the pushing of private opinions,

the enforcement of particular views by the press. Thus much, in the blind way in which we go forward, is finally in the interest of truth. When, however, the press is so immediately and ostentatiously influential as at present, commercial ends and private ambitions, that have no reference whatever to truth, will seek to control it, and we have not only to guard against the error which creeps into thought, but yet more against the disguised, garbled way in which statements, arguments, and criticisms appear, distorted as they so commonly are by some party or personal purpose that lies entirely to one side of the merits of the case.

Thus the ends which a periodical is pursuing, the persons to whom it is looking for patronage, the rivals that it meets in the market, will not allow it to publish matter valuable in itself, but partially at war with its commercial prosperity. Very inferior productions that lie in the lines of thought to which monthlies and quarterlies are devoted, find easy, too easy, access to the public; while superior productions out of those lines fail to reach the light. One in the advocacy of new views has not merely to confront argument, but a variety of interests holding him back from a fair hearing, and subtly counterworking him in a variety of secret ways. This tendency is peculiarly unfortunate in its effects on criticism. Candor and penetration are here especially demanded. This is the judicial branch of literature — the point at which we should make our nearest approach to absolute justice. Yet so many are the under-currents of interest, of party and personal relations, that influence critics; and so great is the incompetence incident to the universal and wholesale criticism of every production by every paper, that there are comparatively few able and honest reviews. We are told a score of times the value of a book, and mistold so often that a knowledge of the work is indeed necessary to a just estimate of the critiques, though it can well enough dispense with them. Criticism which can claim the authority of candor and completeness is rarely attained by us. If the

party and coterie bent of our journals could be reduced, and a more limited field of review entered on by each of them, this branch of service would be rendered in a method more thorough, fair, and satisfactory.

The immediate impression made by the daily and weekly press is a strong incentive to personal vanity, and to catch the eye of this vast reading public becomes a distinct ambition, like that of the orator to bind the attention of an audience. If we add to the allurements of oratory and brilliant journalism the effects of our popular government, we have the strongest tendency to a bewildering and factitious estimate of the advantages of position, of making large claims on the public attention, of keeping one's person and opinions, in the current phrase, before the public. There is thus nourished a sense of power and importance which has no sufficient basis. The apparent influence of the press, we venture to say, is much greater than its real influence. It gives utterance and volume to the popular sentiment, more than it creates it. The voluble auctioneer of the crowd, it shouts and bandies and bids and strikes off the goods, yet all in obedience to desires which have quite another origin. The press would be, in reality, far more influential, if it were apparently less so; if it were not so immediately the product of popular sentiment — its simple sounding-board; and if it labored for more remote and intangible ends. The last dash of the tide is on the noisy shore; but its strength is born far out in the silent sea. The press is often made supercilious by this new sense of invincible power, and stoops to patronize or scorn, as the fit is on it, the old, the philosophical, and religious agents of influence. Those, now as hitherto, have the truest hold on the world who approach nearest the commanding seats of thought, and the moral sources of action.

We present these incident evils of the press, not because we are disposed to overlook its incomparable benefits, but rather because we wish to abate a little that conceit and headstrong assertion which belong to a generation in its pre-

dominant tendency. Whether it be a bevy of teasing school-girls, a crowd of badgering boys, a democratic convention, or an association of scientific savants, mere numbers are liable to carry over confidence into impudence and scorn. This flush, full life, which is the plethora of numerical strength, often requires to be moderated by cold, outside criticism, exploding some of its bubbles, that it may see how very little there is in them. The disadvantages attendant on this reign of the press have, indeed, their compensations, and we would not forget the fact. If composition is made less thoughtful and patient, it becomes more incisive and brilliant; if it possesses less strength, grandeur, and coherence, it is more lively, flexible, and serviceable. If the fruits of thought decay quickly, they ripen rapidly, and help out the day with a grateful repast. If here and there a unique and modest laborer is overlooked, many others have astonishing rewards heaped upon them; and an intense stimulus to inventive and literary activity pervades all classes. In this direction is found the grand recompense for all the incident evils of the press — its prodigality, frivolity, publicity, idle gossip, and pestiferous scandal. It furnishes the half-loaf to the masses so long without bread. If it does not give the best, it gives something, and that to all, and there is an absoluteness in this all never before dreamed of. As the press is our peculiar instrument, dissemination, diffusion are our great social features. Quantity, universality of adaptation, and complete distribution are the salient, literary characteristics of our time. Those branches of inquiry and literature prosper which grow out of multitudinous activity and life, and those languish which seek privacy and individual strength. Natural science, which thrives on the various enlarged observations of many inquirers, and their rapid interchange of results, now knows no limits to its growth. Social theories, which pertain to the masses, and require for their quick development argument and answer, assertion and counter-assertion, principles and exceptions, coming in from all sides, pass almost immediately

from conception to promulgation, from promulgation with amendments and re-amendments to adoption. The entire community, with its rapid interchange of sentiments, is a single legislative body on these topics, recommitting them, from time to time, to their first friends and advocates for further digestion. Fiction, which is the literary food of the many, is productive as never before. From that which is inexpressibly bad to that which is exceedingly good, it grows in indigenous strength, flourishes as on its native soil. Mathematics, metaphysics, theology, on the other hand, which prosper in the solitude of the meditative mind; forms of poetry and art which mark the strong individuality of their authors, either absolutely lose ground, or fail to keep pace with the general progress.

That the popular mind, when it first enters the field of sentiment and knowledge, should grade down the current literature and science to its own taste, is inevitable, and, in view of all results, not to be regretted. Yet this fact is not in contradiction of the fact, that it is the more necessary sturdily to resist this tendency, and to maintain individual tastes and pursuits as against this all-controlling voice of the majority. Something of this struggle has been seen in the lecture-system for the past half-dozen years. Appealing directly to the people for support, there has been a constant pressure to increase the taking, popular element in it, till, even in such a city as Boston, more than half of the popular lectures of the season owe their success to humor and drollery. Some communities have opened a reactionary effort by the establishment of continuous courses of scientific lectures; yet even in these the experimental, pyrotechnic features must prevail. The degeneracy of the drama is chiefly due to this appeal to the masses for support. If, therefore, we are neither to lose the many, nor to be ourselves lost in the many, we must retain the press, and resist its domination. We must be content to be ignorant of what the papers say, that we may be the more thoroughly cognizant of what wise men think. We must reserve our chief strength

for that solitary life of the soul, into which each for himself, without human companionship, enters. The child brought up in solitude learns to study and acquire in silence; placed in the public school, he is distracted by many voices and the hum of other lips. He only thrives again, when, by abstraction, he creates a second solitude, and advances with others uncontrolled by them.

The American press prides itself too much, we believe, on its newspaper features. Great enterprise and large resources are shown in the gathering of information; but, at the same time, a value is attached to news, as mere news, which does not belong to it. A classification of news, a resolution of it into quickly accessible and serviceable items that have a drift and purpose, is a duty which an editor ought not to evade. If the press is to be truly influential, it must not owe its success to its reporters primarily. The political, intellectual, moral aim of a paper should give it a controlling character, which will not suffer it to be the dispenser of unsorted, unverified news. Journalism of this indiscriminate nature has an influence in making social movements rapid, in pushing forward events to a speedy issue, but comparatively little in arresting, guiding, restraining public sentiment.

It is, indeed, due in a great measure to the daily press that reforms assume with us so decided and energetic a character, that the condition of every part of society is brought so fully to the light, and that criticism and correction are so fearlessly applied. We cannot, however, assent to a view which seems prevalent, that this movement is an almost automatic and necessary one; that the press must yield its columns to the so-called news, without purpose, conscience, or consideration; that every item which can command a reader is vendible, and that that which is vendible must find a place in a full market. If it be the function of the press primarily to stimulate and gratify public curiosity, to sweep together the information which an insatiate appetite has learned to crave, then, far from being

the great moral force of our times, it is but a new and dangerous condition imposed on moral forces, — it only gives more mercurial and volcanic features to society, without furnishing those clues of truth, those well-defined and patent purposes by which these are to be controlled and utilized. The character of a journal should as thoroughly pervade its news-columns as its editorials, and its editorials should be the seat of its strength. The simple circulation of news undoubtedly plays an important part in the form of our civilization, giving breadth of influence to the forces rife among us, bringing facts and theories into quick collision, with a speedy elimination of truth; yet these results can only be complete, safe, and satisfactory when those who are instrumental in them understand them, and contribute material pertinent to the issues in hand. News may easily lose its office and value by its very bulk; and it is not the man who loves news as news that draws from it its lessons, and makes it the data of a sound social philosophy. It is not till a reflective power of some sort has appeared, observing and classifying facts with reference to an end of its own, that the news of the day assumes any especial significance, or is made to subserve any important purpose.

The commercial paper might as well hope to reach its object by a promiscuous circulation of all the items and facts of trade, as the journal to attain the ends of daily influence and instruction by mere news. It is the office of the journalist, at least in a rapid, preliminary way, to subject the news to that discrimination which sifts it, gives it character, and sends it on a definite mission.

There are two sorts of influence that belong to the press. The one is involuntary, and incidental to its very existence; the other is designed, and turns on the ability with which its duties are discharged. The first is that by which intensity, diffusion, mobility, are imparted to our intellectual and social states, and changes of whatever character are carried speedily forward. This result is a necessary consequence of the mechanical facilities afforded by the press, into whosesoever

possession it may have fallen. The second form of influence much better deserves the name, is directly due to those who employ the press, who give it the material it is to circulate. This material, like all intellectual products, will owe its power to the moral purpose and thoughts of those who produce it; and the journalist, like other intellectual laborers, becomes influential only as he is fruitful in thoughts, sentiments, theories. He is thrown back on individual power, soundness of judgment, integrity of moral nature, for the extent and direction of his control. Merely as a medium of influencing men, the journal has its gains and suffers its losses. If its words come often, they go quickly; if they reach many, they touch most lightly; if they have command of the critical moments in political events and public sentiment, it is, nevertheless, only unusual skill, preconceived and definite ends, that can enable the editor to harvest his opportunities.

We wish to urge the thought, that it is not to the press as the press — to mere journalism, that we are to attach the notion of a great and overshadowing power. The evils we have spoken of are rather chiefly due to it — a perpetual trespass on the privacy of individuals, a useless consumption of leisure, a fretting tyranny of public sentiment, a reduction of individuality, a loss of political influence, a fresh trial of moral integrity, and the vanity of apparent power springing from the mere fact of publicity. These evils incident to the press are to be escaped by a more just and careful estimate of its real strength, and by the recognition of the fact, that it is only truly and permanently influential as it is the medium of a controlling purpose.

If what has now been said is true of the press as circulating items of news relatively indifferent in their moral character, in an enhanced degree is it true when its columns are filled with the details of crime. It does not follow, that because transgression is not to be covered up, it is therefore to be exposed. Exposure may as much be in the interest of vice as concealment. The one or the other is faulty ac-

cording to the motives that prompt it, and the consequences that flow from it. A Police Gazette may be the most truthful and the most pernicious of papers, making the revolting incidents of crime a matter of gossip and idle curiosity. The reasons which lead us to the infliction of punishments in private should prompt us to leave in their natural concealment the disgusting details of sin. If we must at times unearth the dead, let us do it as much as possible by ourselves. A distinct moral purpose should preside over and direct all exposure of the delinquencies and crimes of public and private men, and on no other condition are the vices of our time to be offered as the news, the wholesome food, of the day. We protest against blind journalism, that closes its eyes to the results of its own action as if there were such candor and good faith in the mere exposure and aeration of the details of vice as to correct their evil effects. The journalist, in advertisement, item, or editorial, may not work within the field of moral influence, and yet place himself on a purely commercial basis. He has to do with the obvious consequences of his own action. Irresponsible journalism is a force, but one in whose development the editor becomes as unconscientious an instrument as the engine he employs.

The new conditions imposed on society by the press compel us, indeed, to look more anxiously for wise and sincere men to use these increased facilities of diffusion, but by no means put it in the power of one class greatly to control society, aside from a personal strength and integrity commensurate with the ends aimed at. The conditions of influence which belong to the journalist are precisely those which fall to every man; and if his position gives him more opportunities, it also puts his powers to a severer test. Real, creative acts are, as of yore, not found in an instrument, but in the mind that uses it; and as often attend, therefore, on silent thought as on busy, bustling execution. It is the child that mistakes noise for work.

ARTICLE II.

DESTRUCTIVE ANALYSIS IN THEOLOGY.

BY PROF. LEMUEL S. POTWIN, WESTERN RESERVE COLLEGE, OHIO.

THE most perfect illustrations of analysis are found in the science of chemistry. You hold in your hand a piece of granite. What is it? It is a stone. That would be a sufficient answer for some minds. If you wish to throw it at a mark, it is only as a stone that you care for it. But if you wish to exercise the faculties of your mind upon it, you must answer very differently the question, What is it? Crushing the stone, you carefully separate the three kinds of material which, judging from color and hardness, appear to compose it. Applying the requisite tests, you discover that one part of this material — quartz, or silica — is chemically an acid, and is composed of silicon and oxygen. These two, resisting all efforts at analysis, are called elements. Analyzing the other two constituents, — feldspar and mica, both of which are chemically salts and silicates of alumina and potash, — you find that your piece of granite amounts to this: It is a certain combination of silicon, aluminum, potassium, iron, hydrogen, and oxygen.

You may carry on this analysis with such care as to determine the exact amount of each of these simple substances. When you have done all, however, if you want a piece of granite for use, you do not go to a laboratory and order these ingredients; for these things are not granite, though they compose it; and they cannot be made into granite by any human skill. You cannot think of them as granite. Ultimate analysis in chemistry is a destructive process. Its result does not even define the substance analyzed.

This is the more plain when you come to organic chemistry. Analyze all the organic compounds in an oak. The ultimate result is four simple elements — carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen,

and oxygen. Analyze animal tissue in the same manner, and you come at last to the same four. Not only does the infinite diversity of animal and vegetable organic composition come down to this humble monotony of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen; but some organic substances, quite different in properties, contain the same elements *in the same proportions*. After you have finished your analysis, which is of great value for certain purposes, you do not go to it to find out what an oak is, or an apple, or an orange. Ultimate analysis goes too far for this. If you stop half way, content with ascertaining the distinguishing organic compounds of each, you learn more about them. And for many purposes the five senses are better than any scientific analysis.

Something like this destructive, disorganizing analysis seems to have befallen theology. If I am not mistaken, it has been applied with damaging effect to the atonement.

The atonement is a fact. Like a granite foundation-stone, it sustains a moral and historical structure. The church of God is built on it. Now, philosophers analyze this fact. They find in it a manifestation of love, self-sacrifice, and justice. But here comes the trouble. These same qualities they find in human actions, in far inferior ones. In the analysis they have lost the whole in getting the parts. Somehow they have let slip the distinguishing feature, the property, the formative law, the historic life, of the fact. They have levelled the greater to the less, just as physical analysis destroys the difference between the oak and the cabbage, the diamond and charcoal.

That I may not seem to be "beating the air," I will quote from a theologian whom I admire and honor, but whose theology seems to suffer because his mind is, if the paradox may be allowed, too profound and too analytic, as well as too poetic.

Opening Dr. Bushnell's "Vicarious Sacrifice," the reader meets the following titles: "Nothing superlative in vicarious sacrifice, or above the universal principles of right and duty"; "The eternal Father in vicarious sacrifice"; "The Holy

Spirit in vicarious sacrifice"; "The good angels in vicarious sacrifice"; "All souls redeemed to be in vicarious sacrifice." Under the latter heading occurs the following:

"In what is called his vicarious sacrifice, Christ simply fulfils what belongs universally to love; doing neither more nor less than what the common standard of holiness requires. And then, since there can be no other standard, and no perfect world or society can be constituted under a different or lower kind of excellence, it follows incontestably that the restoration of mankind, as a fallen race, must restore them to a love that works vicariously, and conforms in all respects to the work and passion of Christ himself. Vicarious sacrifice, then, will not be a point where he is distinguished from his followers, but the very life to which he restores them in restoring them to God. What we call his redemption of mankind must bring them to the common standard. Executed by vicarious sacrifice in himself, it must also be issued in vicarious sacrifice in them. The common impression, I am sorry to believe, is different" (p. 105).

Now, the whole argument, of which this specimen will be a sufficient reminder to those who have read it, is a splendid example of ultimate theological analysis. Christ's work is analyzed — to death. Its uniqueness is destroyed. The diamond, under the intense heat of the author's process, has been united with oxygen and found to be carbon; but the diamond itself is consumed. It may comfort some to know that every pile of charcoal is essentially the same as the diamond; it may lead to the production of diamonds from charcoal; but one who had never seen the dazzling gem would get a very faint idea of it by going into a coal-pit.

We may grant, for argument's sake, that this levelling of the atonement to the plane of human actions is literally and theoretically right; but it is not practically and in the impression which it makes on the world. And no one knows better than Dr. Bushnell that the power of a mental product lies often in this indirect impression, rather than in its literal statement. A jeweller, having a small supply of

diamonds and a large stock of inferior gems, might influence ignorant customers by saying that diamonds, though very clear stones, and very hard, were essentially the same as coal. This would be true in statement, and false in impression. It would base everything on chemical substance, and leave out the one important thing — the law of crystallization — which escapes analysis.

But let us come nearer to the subject, by taking an historical illustration. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. We can find by analysis the qualities of his character which made this fact possible. They were love of country, love of right, love of man. He was doing, in his measure, "what belongs universally to love." On the part of his murderer, the qualities were the opposite. Given all these, what then? Not necessarily anything but the ordinary course of Mr. Lincoln's life. All these qualities might have existed without any tragical event, or any important consequences to the world from it. What was necessary to complete the fact, and give it power? It was necessary (1) that he should be in the position of President, (2) that he should have been identified for a considerable time with the cause for which he was slain, (3) that he should be greatly beloved by the loyal nation, and (4) that the hatred against him should, by the ordering of Providence, actually take form in the awful deed. All these elements being given, the pistol-shot that took away his life made millions of hearts bleed, and consecrated a nation anew to freedom and justice.

Such an illustration may show how little we do towards explaining the death of Christ when we analyze the qualities of character which he exhibited, and which, of course, are, in a degree, possessed by all good beings. Such an analysis does not give us even the fact of Christ's death, nor one fact in his life. It gives possibilities only, not actual history. Qualities of character are common to both God and man. Taking these for granted, we explain the atonement, if we can at all, by going beyond them, and searching out what is peculiar to Christ in position and nature, and in the circum-

stances and object of his life and death. Analysis, if pursued to the last point, yields only what is common. It therefore, if depended on chiefly, and emphasized, belittles the great, instead of magnifying the little. The diamond becomes coal; the coal does not become diamonds.

Another example of destructive analysis in theology is found in the adjustment of the doctrines of divine providence and prayer. It is accepted by all Christians, as a law of events, that prayer brings blessings as truly and efficaciously as the rain brings fertility to the soil. The showers do not make every watered seed grow, and prayer does not further all the desires of praying hearts; but the one law is as fixed as the other, and both are unchangeable.

Now, we cannot help analyzing this law somewhat, to find how prayer fits into the course of divine providence. We discover, on reflection that it is itself an essential part of the plan. Some of the links in the great chain are human prayers. God ordains the prayers, just as much as the answers. This makes everything straight, Calvinistically. But the trouble is, that it not only makes the matter straight, but stiff and stark as death. The adjustment is simple, logical, complete; but after you have made it, you must forget about it in order to pray. It is a theological bludgeon, with which to bring down a man who denies the efficacy of prayer on the ground of God's immutable purposes. It is effectual. No opponent of this class, who knows what reasoning is, can stand against it. But when the weapon has done its work, it has to be laid aside. It will not do as a staff to constantly lean on. The reason is partly because a prayerful spirit is incompatible, for the time being, with philosophizing about prayer; and partly, because we cannot act naturally in anything while we think of our actions as being foreordained, or even foreknown, by any one. It nowise affects the truth of anything because our minds are thrown into confusion by trying to carry it constantly side by side with something else; but it is practical wisdom to avoid such confusions.

The solution of the trouble may not be easy to all. A "sanctified common sense" will accomplish it by letting theories alone, and trusting implicitly the covenant and promises of God. A few minds may find relief by penetrating beyond this mechanical view of providence, till they get at least a glimpse of a deeper analysis. One thing is certain, — the analysis which stops with saying that God ordains both the prayer and the answer is not ultimate. No one need fear being lost in metaphysical profundity, if this is the limit reached. Such an analysis is destructive to piety and doctrine, because it is shallow and frigid. Whether anything fully satisfactory can be reached is the same as whether the problem of divine and human agency can be solved.

A single example further may be found in the resolving of great truths into a multitude of frivolous details. This hardly deserves the name of analysis. It comes from the nursery, where the child, instructed in the doctrine of God's omniscience, asks: "Can he see in my pocket?" Yet the literature of theology contains specimens far inferior to this. I imagine that Rev. John Fletcher is here without a rival. Let the following testify:

In his "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Toplady's 'Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity,'" he says: "To imagine that before the foundation of the world the Almighty decreed that three idle boys should play the truant such an afternoon, in order to seek birds' nests; that they should find a sparrow's nest with five young ones; that they should torment one to death; that they should let another fly away; that they should starve the third, feed the fourth, and give the fifth to a cat, after having put its eyes out and plucked so many feathers out of its tender wings, — to suppose this, I say, is to undo all by overdoing" (Sec. iii.).

This mode of analyzing, or rather disintegrating, a doctrine would doubtless "undo all" in some minds; but it is very silly as an argument, nevertheless. Take the following parallel statement: "To imagine that the Rev. John Fletcher,

in writing the above paragraph, should take the trouble to form over four hundred distinct letters, crossing every t, and dotting every i, moving his pen in almost every conceivable direction; that he should voluntarily employ in this service the various muscles of the thumb and four fingers of his right hand, the muscles of his right arm, and many of the muscles of his body in bending over his paper; that he should turn both his eyes to follow the progress of his pen along each line, and its motion in the formation of the letters; to suppose, in addition, that the minute cells of his brain should grow warm with the operation of his mind, and his heart beat with a quicker pulse, and the blood flow stronger in every artery and vein, even to the tips of his little fingers; to suppose, also, that his mind should exert itself to choose to mention three boys, a sparrow's nest, five young ones, a cat, etc., instead of different things, — to suppose this, I say, is to undo all by overdoing. He did not do these particular things; he only wrote the paragraph."

There are various ways of meeting this peculiar argument by division. Properly employed, it needs no answer. When trifles mar our happiness, the truth of a minute providence is the hope of our lives. Then such a promise as "Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered," becomes our sheet-anchor. But when we are in no conscious need of this comfort, and dwell on these minutiae for speculative entertainment, or select those of them which are belittling for use in controversy, then it is time to consider the difference between the use and abuse of this subdivisional analysis.

Mr. Fletcher's paragraph may be answered, in a manner, by proving that what he supposes to be so absurd and "undoing," is nevertheless true; the proof being drawn from scripture and reason. The proofs from reason would be of this sort — that (1) God cannot have any providence worthy of him, unless it embraces everything, great and small; that (2) it is no more derogatory to God to decree these things than to know them, which he must do if he is omniscient; that (3) great consequences flow from apparently trivial

causes. For example, how could Mr. Fletcher have constructed this great argument, which he could not consider beneath God's providential notice, but for the very trivialities which he thinks God could not condescend to decree; that (4) since a man can know and determine a multitude of little things without diminishing his greatness, it is irrational to set any limit to God in this respect; and that (5) we are not obliged to suppose that God bestows equal thought on things both great and small — only sufficient thought to all.

There may be other arguments, equally convincing; but the only point I now insist on is, that this mode of reasoning by analyzing into frivolous details is unsound. It addresses the imagination, instead of the reason, and seeks to gain a point by confusing the mind instead of enlightening it. There is not a fact of history nor a truth of science that cannot be assailed in this way.

This Article is perhaps too heterogeneous to admit of any one general conclusion; the study of this topic certainly impresses one with the great need of common sense in theology. If the writer of this has violated it, then he must be content to have unwittingly strengthened the same conclusion, and to stand humbly at the foot of a very long and respectable class.

ARTICLE III.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION.

BY REV. E. P. BARROWS, D.D., LATELY PROFESSOR OF HEBREW LITERATURE IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

No. X.

INSPIRATION CONSIDERED IN ITS MODE.

It was shown in the preceding article that the *end* which the inspiration of the record has in view is that of giving to men, under the sanction of divine authority, a sure rule of faith and practice; and that this end is accomplished in the writings of the New Testament (to which the present inquiry has special reference), they coming to us with the two attributes of infallibility and sufficiency, both of which are included in their divine authority. The reader may naturally ask: Why, then, pursue the investigation any further? If the scriptures come to us with the sanction of divine authority, and contain an infallible rule of faith and practice, what more do we need? We answer: Nothing more, if men would only be content to rest here. But they are not thus content. From the consideration of the end of inspiration they have proceeded to that of its mode. They have propounded untenable theories concerning it; and some of them have identified with these theories the very essence of inspiration, denouncing in unmeasured terms those who dissent from their conclusions. It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire, in a reverential spirit, what light we have from scripture, from the constitution of the human mind, and from the nature of language, respecting the *mode* of the Spirit's operation when "holy men of God *spake* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," or *wrote* under a like guidance for the instruction of the church in all coming ages.

Different Forms of Revelation.

We begin with the distinction already noticed in a cursory way,[1] between that form of revelation which is purely *outward* (objective), and that which is wholly *inward* (subjective); between which lie some forms of an intermediate character. The purely objective form, addressed to men through the medium of their outward senses, they being awake and their minds in a normal state, is manifestly the very highest mode of revelation. A notable example of this we have in the giving of the law from Mount Sinai. "All the people," we are told, "saw the thunderings and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking."[2] "These words," says Moses, "the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice."[3] Such also was the entire revelation made to men by Jesus Christ. He was more than a prophet speaking by inspiration of God. He was himself God clothed with humanity, and speaking to men through this humanity. It is true that his human nature was the recipient of the Holy Ghost, given to him without measure;[4] but it is no less true that he, as the eternal Son of God, is, in conjunction with the Father, the divine Sender, and not merely the receiver, of the Spirit.[5] His communications of truth to men are never prefaced with the words: "Thus saith the Lord," but always with his own authority — "Verily, verily, I say unto you." They are therefore eminently objective in their form.

It is to be understood, of course, that such purely outward revelations might be accompanied by the inward operation of the Divine Spirit on the hearts of the hearers, a condition indispensable, indeed, to their saving efficacy. To

[1] See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xxiv. pp. 596, 597.

[2] Ex. xx. 18.

[3] Deut. v. 22.

[4] Matt. iii. 16; Mark i. 10–12; Luke iii. 22; iv. 1; John iii. 34; Acts x. 38.

[5] Luke xxiv. 49; John xv. 26; xvi. 7; xx. 22.

such an inward operation Moses alludes, in a mournful tone, when he says: "Ye have seen all that the Lord did before your eyes in the land of Egypt, unto Pharaoh, and unto all his servants, and unto all his land; the great temptations which thine eyes have seen, the signs and those great miracles" — here we have, in part, the outward revelation; "yet the Lord hath not given you," he adds, "a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day" [1] — a thing to be accomplished by the inward work of the Spirit in the hearts of those who had witnessed all these outward signs. So, again, when the Saviour says to Peter: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father, who is in heaven," [2] he refers, here as he does elsewhere,[3] to the inward illumination of the Spirit, common to all believers, and which should be carefully distinguished from inspiration in the proper sense of the word.[4] This inward operation, however necessary and precious, is not itself the revelation, but rather the application of the revelation to the souls of those to whom it is made. The revelation itself, in the form which we are now considering, is purely objective; that is, addressed to the outward senses. It is not given by inspiration, though inspiration is necessary to make the *record* of it divinely authoritative.

At the other extreme, in respect to form, stand those revelations which are purely *subjective* — made inwardly to the mind of the recipient, and not outwardly through the medium of the senses. We give two examples, one from the Old Testament, the other from the New. When Gehazi, Elisha's servant, ran after Naaman's chariot, and obtained from him by falsehood two talents of silver, and two changes of raiment, the prophet received from God an inward knowledge of the whole transaction. "Went not my heart with thee," says he to Gehazi, "when the man turned again from

[1] Deut. xxix. 2–4.

[2] Matt. xvi. 17.

[3] Matt. xi. 25–27; John vi. 44, 45–65.

[4] See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xxiv. pp. 595, 596.

his chariot to meet thee?"[1] When, again, "Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet," Peter knew by an inward revelation of the Spirit the falsehood and hypocrisy of the transaction. "Ananias," said he, "why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land?"[2] In these two instances the knowledge seems to have been given by a sort of supernatural intuition, without the help of any inward vision or voice addressed to the internal sense. *How* the knowledge thus received was certified to the recipients as coming from God it would be vain to inquire. Equally vain would be the attempt to disprove the possibility of such a certification. It must be assumed as an axiom of revealed religion that God could and did reveal his presence to the consciousness of the prophets in such a way as to remove all doubt as to the reality of the revelation received by them.[3]

Intermediate between the two forms of revelation that have been considered — the purely outward and objective, and the immediate inward intuition — there are several others. Thus we have the record of visions in dreams and in trance, with and without the accompaniment of spoken words; voices from heaven and from the inner sanctuary of the tabernacle; appearances of angels; and the like. In respect to some of these it would be difficult to determine whether they are to be regarded as objective or subjective. Nor is the question one of importance, since, either way, the end proposed was the communication of divine truth.

Proper Application of the Term Inspiration.

The term *inspiration* does not once occur in the Bible, and the adjective *inspired of God* (*θεόπνευστος*) appears only once. But the *idea* expressed by these terms is found abundantly in both the Old and the New Testament. In theological usage they have become household words, be-

[1] 2 Kings v. 20–27. [2] Acts v. 1–3. [3] See Appendix, Note A.

cause they were needed to express a definite scriptural idea; and to this they ought to be restricted. The supernatural illumination and guidance enjoyed by all believers is an exceedingly precious gift of God. But to call it inspiration would be to confound things that differ; and to bridge over, also, the gulf that exists between the evangelical faith and rationalism. For if worldly men were to hear Christians, who give, alas! convincing evidence of their fallibility, continually spoken of as inspired of God, what inference could they draw but that inspiration is not such a gift as raises its possessor above error, so as to impart to his words the sanction of divine authority? Thus, while the intention was to exalt in human apprehension the gift of the Holy Spirit, the practical effect would be to bring men upon the rationalistic ground that the writings of scripture contain a mixture of truth and error, which each one is to separate for himself by the light of his own reason. Let then the term be restricted to that plenary illumination of the Holy Spirit which gives to the words and writings of inspired men the sanction of divine authority.

The attempt has been made, in the interest of a certain theory (to be considered hereafter), to transfer the seat of inspiration, so far as the sacred writings are concerned, from the mind of the writer to the words recorded by him. Thus Haldane says: "The word 'inspire' signifies to breathe into, and literally corresponds to the original in 2 Tim. iii. 16, all *scripture is inspired of God*, or *breathed into the writers by God.* It is, therefore, of the *writing* that the inspiration is asserted."[1] Carson everywhere insists upon making a distinction between the inspiration of persons and the inspiration of scripture. "It is," says he, "a fundamental error with our opponents, that they confound inspiration, as it respects the enlightening of the minds of the inspired persons, with inspiration as an attribute of scripture. Now, while it is very proper to speak of the writers as inspired, it must be borne in mind that the

[1] Haldane on Inspiration, p. 113. Edinburgh, 1845.

passage which speaks of inspiration, speaks of it solely as it concerns what is written."[1] Again: "I have again and again shown my antagonists that inspiration is asserted, 2 Tim. iii. 16 not as it respects the minds of the writers, but as it respects their writings."[2] The same distinction is also made by Lord: "Moreover," he says, "in the discussion of the subject, it has been taken for granted, that it was the writers personally, instead of that which they wrote, which was alleged to be inspired."[3] Again: "The difficulty, we apprehend, arises altogether from an erroneous view of the nature and subject of inspiration; as if it were the writers, instead of what they wrote, that was inspired."[4] Accordingly, throughout a volume of more than three hundred pages, he carefully avoids the term "inspired writers," but speaks abundantly of the inspired writings of scripture. This he does because he maintains that inspiration consists not in the divine illumination and guidance enjoyed by the sacred writers, but, as we shall see, in the direct communication to them of the contents of scripture; as well those contents which were already known to them, as those that were received by a new revelation. The office of the writer, according to this view, is simply to record the things which he receives from the Holy Ghost, and the *communication* or *breathing into him*, of these things is inspiration.

We cannot assent to this distinction between the inspiration of the writer and that of the record as either natural or tenable. All Christians are, indeed, accustomed to speak of the *inspired writings;* but they rightly regard the writings as inspired because they proceeded from the pen of *inspired men;* a metonymy so simple and natural that it need not stumble any one. We do not affirm that the Holy Ghost never communicated directly the identical words to be spoken or written (as in the gift of tongues and other cases to be considered hereafter), but we say that the ordinary representation of scripture is that the men themselves were

[1] Refutation of Dr. Henderson's doctrine in his late work on Inspiration, etc., p. 33. 1837.
[2] Ibid. p. 43.
[3] Plenary Inspiration, p. 10. New York. 1858.
[4] Ibid. p. 108.

inspired; and that what they spoke or wrote was the fruit of this inspiration. Of Peter, for example, when arraigned with the other apostles before the Jewish council, it is said: "Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel," etc.[1] We suppose it will be conceded by all that it was not primarily the words which Peter uttered, but Peter himself, that was filled with the Holy Ghost. And if the man Peter was filled with the Holy Ghost, undoubtedly he was plenarily inspired. How now about the address which followed? shall we assume for this a second and distinct inspiration, or shall we say that the address flowed directly out of the inspiration that filled Peter's soul? The latter supposition alone is simple and natural. It would be an exceedingly awkward as well as gratuitous assumption to suppose that the plenary inspiration which dwelt in the apostle's spirit helped him not one jot or tittle in the address which followed; but that, by a new and different sort of inspiration, this address was *inspired into him.* The case was not essentially different when Peter *wrote* his two epistles; since there is no warrant for assuming one kind of inspiration for spoken, and another for written words. Could not the man who *spoke* with divine authority because he was full of the Holy Ghost, *write* with divine authority for the same reason? We adhere, therefore, to the common view which represents the seat of inspiration to be in the souls of the sacred writers.

As to the *extent of application* which is given, in common usage, to the term "inspiration," it may be remarked that it is applied in a general way to all those modes of revelation which were made to the prophets and apostles in a subjective form, that is, to their inward sense; dreams and visions included. Thus it might be said that the revelation made in the form of a vision to Abraham, concerning the future bondage of his seed in Egypt and their deliverance thence;[2] in a dream to Joseph of Herod's intention to

[1] Acts iv. 8. [2] Gen. xv.

destroy the infant Jesus;[1] and in a trance to Peter respecting the abolition of the middle wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles[2] — that these and similar revelations were given by inspiration of God. But the term "inspiration" is especially appropriate to that immediate inward illumination of the Holy Spirit by which the knowledge of new truth was communicated, or the proper significance and use of old truth; so that, in either case, the subjects of inspiration spoke or wrote according to the mind of the Spirit, and consequently without error. This may be made plain by a few illustrations.

Pharaoh's two dreams contained an important revelation respecting the future of Egypt; but it was a revelation that needed an inspired interpreter, such as it found in Joseph.[3] We are not to conceive of Joseph as giving the interpretation by shrewd conjecture, nor according to any principles which he had learned from the magicians and wise men of Egypt. He spoke by the immediate inward illumination of the Holy Ghost; that is, he spoke by inspiration, as he had previously done in the case of the dreams of Pharaoh's two officers.[4] When, again, Elisha said to the false Gehazi: "Went not my heart with thee, when the man turned again from his chariot to meet thee?"[5] he spoke from the immediate knowledge which the Holy Ghost had imparted to him; and when he further added: "The leprosy, therefore, of Naaman shall cleave unto thee and unto thy seed forever," he uttered this sentence in the full consciousness that the Divine Spirit from whom he had received it would carry it, as he did, into immediate execution. So Peter, looking upon Ananias received by immediate revelation from God the knowledge of his falsehood and hypocrisy. By the same immediate knowledge, so far as we have any means of judging, the apostle Paul wrote: "Behold, I show you a mystery: we shall not all sleep; but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the

[1] Matt. ii. 13. [2] Acts x. [3] Gen. xli.
[4] Gen. xl. [5] 2 Kings v. 26 sq.

trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."[1]

As an example of the illumination of the mind in respect to truth already known, we may specify the case of Daniel, who writes: "I, Daniel, understood by the books[2] the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem."[3] For, though Daniel understood by means of the writings of a previous prophet, it was under the illumination and guidance of the Holy Ghost. Another notable example is furnished in the opening words of Peter's address on the day of Pentecost: "This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh,"[4] etc. Peter saw, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that here was the fulfilment of the words of Joel. Many like examples might be added; but these are sufficient for our purpose.

Inspiration in the examples above adduced had reference to special ends. The mind of the speaker or writer was illuminated by the Holy Spirit in respect to particular truths, new or old. But we must assume, as has been shown in a previous number,[5] a general illumination and guidance — a constant indwelling of the Holy Ghost — by which the writers of the historical books of the New Testament, not less than the authors of the Epistles, were enabled continuously to see and express the mind of the Spirit without error. The Apostle John, for example, takes up his pen in his old age (as is commonly believed) to write a narrative of our Lord's life. He has been for many years a preacher of the gospel, under the full inspiration of the Spirit. Into that narrative he introduces many sublime doctrines concerning our Lord's

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.

[2] In Heb. בַּסְּפָרִים, *in* or *by the books*. The expression is naturally understood of a collection of sacred writings, among which were found those of Jeremiah. See Delitzsch in loco.

[3] Dan. ix. 2.

[4] Acts ii. 16 seq.

[5] See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xxviii. pp. 642, 643.

person and offices, alongside of many plain statements of what he has himself witnessed. So far as the authority of his writings is concerned, it is to us a matter of indifference whether he then for the first time received new revelations concerning his Master's person and offices, and the true import of the events which he recorded, or whether (as is most probable) these were all truths with which he had long been familiar. In either case, he writes as one who is conscious of enjoying, not casually and at intervals, but as a permanent gift, the plenary illumination of the Holy Spirit; so that all his statements, whether they relate to doctrines or to matters of history, come to us alike with the sanction of God.

The same view we take of the inspiration of the apostles when writing their Epistles. We are far from denying that they may have received, in the progress of their work, special revelations from God. On this point, affirmation and negation would be alike out of place. We can only say, that, if such special revelations were needed to make their writings complete according to the mind of the Spirit, they were given. But we must assume that when the apostle Paul (to take a particular case) sat down to write his Epistle to the Romans, he had, under the supernatural illumination of the Holy Ghost in connection with the revelations made to him by Christ,[1] a clear and full view of the great doctrines of grace which he proceeded to unfold, as well as of the practical duties which cluster around them. He certainly did not need a special revelation that he might come to the conclusion, from the premises which he employed, "that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law"[2]; or might lay down the principle: "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God."[3] His inspiration was not doled out to him, moment by moment, as he proceeded; but he had it as a permanent gift, bestowed upon him in connection with his apostolic office, and it covered fully the whole ground traversed by him. We are

[1] Gal. i. 11, 12. [2] Rom. iii. 28. [3] Rom. xiii. 1.

not to infer that, when he says: "To the rest speak I, not the Lord," [1] he is less inspired than when he says: "Unto the married I command — yet not I, but the Lord." [2] We have shown, in a previous number,[3] that the difference lies not in his inspiration, but in the matter under consideration. In the one case, Christ had given a positive command; in the other, he had left the believer free to act according to his own judgment. The apostle, accordingly, gives, in the one case, his advice; in the other, the positive command of the Lord; and both alike under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Surely, an apostle might give advice by inspiration, as well as enjoin obedience to Christ's positive legislation.

A large part of the sacred volume consists of narratives of events well known to the writers, or drawn from authentic sources accessible to them. We suppose that here the inspiration of the writers consisted largely — we say largely, not exclusively — in such a full illumination and guidance of the Holy Spirit as gave them a right view of the end proposed to be accomplished, and enabled them to select the right materials, to give to them the right form, and to present them in the right spirit, free from passion, prejudice, and error. We attempt not here to discriminate nicely between different kinds of inspiration. We remark, summarily, that the inspired writers were *men*, *not machines*, and that they had whatever help they needed, both in kind and degree, that they might write according to the mind of the Spirit.

Meaning of the Term Plenary Inspiration.

The word "plenary" means "full." "Full, entire, complete," is the definition given by Webster. An inspiration, then, that is "full, entire, complete," is plenary, whatever be its mode. To assume that no inspiration can be full, except that in which the very words, in their number and order, are infused into the writer's mind, is to beg the question at issue, and to limit the Holy Spirit in a most unwarrantable manner. Here the prophet's question is very

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 12. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 10. [3] See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xxviii. p. 644.

pertinent: "Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or, being his counsellor, hath taught him? With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and taught him in the path of judgment, and taught him knowledge, and showed him the way of understanding?"[1] Shall man, in his ignorance, presume to affirm that the Spirit of God was shut up to one method of securing from the pen of the sacred writer a record of the revelation made to him that should be "full, entire, complete," according to his mind? Or that, when he recorded well-known facts, the narrative could not be made, in form, matter, and spirit, agreeable to the will of the Holy Ghost, unless the sentences were given him, one by one, as he proceeded? Let it be remembered, then, that the term "plenary," as applied to inspiration, respects the *result secured*, not the mode of securing it, and that it is not to be restricted to one particular theory.

The Question of Verbal Inspiration.

It is acknowledged on all hands that a large part of the revelations made by God to men was given directly, in human language. This is true not only of those revelations which were objective in their form, but also of many, at least, that were given subjectively, that is, by an inward revelation to the mind of the recipient. We might adduce, as instances from the Old Testament, Jacob's dream, in which he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and heard the Lord, who stood above it, saying: "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed,"[2] etc.; Isaiah's vision, in which he saw the Lord sitting in the temple on a throne high and lifted up, and heard the words not only of the seraphim who stood by, but of God himself;[3] and many more like examples. From the New Testament, also, we might specify the words addressed to Peter in his vision on the house-top;[4] to Paul in a vision

[1] Isa. xl. 13, 14.
[2] Gen. xxviii. 12 seq.
[3] Isa. vi.
[4] Acts x. 10 seq.

at Corinth;[1] to the revelator on Patmos,[2] etc. How much of the revelations made to the prophets was given directly in the form of words, and how much by inward vision or intuition, is a question which need not trouble us; since, in either case, the prophecy came from God, and the prefatory words, "Thus saith the Lord," were alike appropriate.

But our present inquiry is directed to another point; namely, whether that theory of verbal inspiration which teaches that the identical words of scripture, in their order and number, were everywhere infused into the minds of the sacred writers, either formally or virtually, so that their office was simply to make a faithful record of them — whether this theory of inspiration is necessary or tenable. We have introduced into the above statement of the theory the clause, "either formally or virtually," for the purpose of indicating the two forms under which it is advocated.

The first, or purely mechanical, form represents every word of scripture as given to the writers immediately by God; so that they are simply the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit, not only when he communicates to them new truths, but also when they relate facts of which they already had full knowledge in a natural way. If we rightly understand Carson, this is the form of verbal inspiration which he advocates. Endeavoring to meet the objection, urged by Henderson, that "it is an incontrovertible fact that those by whom the sacred books were written possessed, to a greater or less extent, a previous acquaintance with many of the subjects of which they treat, he says:

"He has not the perspicacity to distinguish between infusing knowledge into the mind for the information of the person into whom it is infused, and infusing a communication for the information of others. It is, indeed, absurd to speak of giving a man knowledge which he has already; but it is not absurd to speak of communicating to him known truths in order to be recorded. Even among men, there is nothing more common. A person says to his servant: "Tell my friend that my son is dead." Is not this a communication from the master? Was not the fact as well known to the servant? Is it impossible to dictate the words of a discourse to an

[1] Acts xviii. 9, 10. [2] Rev. ii. seq.

amanuensis on a doctrine with which the writer is as well acquainted as the author? The previous knowledge of the writers of scripture had nothing to do with the divine communications given to them to be recorded. They wrote, not as they personally knew, but as it was dictated to them by the Spirit. Our confidence in what they relate is not from a conviction of their previous knowledge of the subject, and their ability to express their own meaning, but from the conviction that they spake as the Holy Ghost gave them utterance."[1]

"We do not say that the Holy Spirit infused into the writers of scripture that style which they previously possessed, and which they received in their constitution; and we have no need of so absurd an assertion. We say that he uttered his thoughts, reasonings, and words through the writers of scripture, in the style of those writers. If so, the style must be his, as style is the result of words and the collocation of words."[2]

"I believe the inspiration of both words and letters, on the same ground. An inspired speaker might have every word suggested by God, while he did not know a single letter of the alphabet. But, if a writing is inspired, the letters must be inspired, as well as the words, because the writing consists in the letters written, as well as in the words written. My argument for the inspiration of words is not that a writing is made up of words, but that a writing is made up of *the words written*."[3]

We waive a separate discussion of the theory in this simple form; since all we have to say concerning it will come up naturally in connection with the modification of it to be next considered. This modification is that propounded and advocated at length by Eleazer Lord, in his treatise on Plenary Inspiration, and in other writings of his. He agrees with Carson, as we have seen, in maintaining that it was not the writers personally, but that which they wrote, that was inspired. In other words, he holds that the apostolic declaration, "All scripture is inspired of God" (θεόπνευστος), means not that all scripture was written by inspired men, but that all scripture was inspired into the sacred writers. We have already shown how untenable is this distinction. The word θεόπνευστος occurs but once in the whole compass of the New Testament. To erect, as does Carson, upon the grammatical rendering of this word, "inspired of God," a whole theory concerning the *mode* of inspiration, is to build on a sandy foundation. Our translators, with great good

[1] Refutation of Dr. Henderson, pp. 29, 30. [2] Ibid. p. 70. [3] Ibid. pp. 80, 81.

sense have rendered, "given by inspiration of God." This is the idea that most readers who have not a theory to maintain will get from the declaration that "all scripture is inspired of God." It is manifestly the same as if the apostle had said, according to another way of indicating inspiration: All the writers of scripture wrote "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," [1] the particular form of the inspiration being left an open question.

Lord further agrees with Carson that the identical words of scripture were given to the sacred writers in their exact order and number, and this theory he attempts to maintain *from the inherent nature of language.*

"It is according to man's constitution — a law of his mind — that he should be conscious of thoughts only as he is conscious of the words which express them." [2]

Having said that inspiration is "a divine act by which thoughts are breathed — transmitted — conveyed to the intelligent consciousness of those who were to write them," he adds: "There is no apparent reason why the inspiring act should not convey the thoughts in the words in which they were to be written, so that the recipient should be conscious at once of the thoughts in the words which it behooved him to write." [3]

"To suppose them [the sacred writers], after receiving the thoughts by inspiration, to select the words under the guidance of a divine influence, is to suppose a joint agency in the selection; in which case, the words would not be exclusively the words of God." [4]

"Our consciousness and experience wholly forbid the supposition that the choice of words succeeds, instead of being identical with, the conception of thought. We have no consciousness of thought separately from words, or independently of them..... We therefore conclude that without a proper miracle the divine thoughts conveyed into the minds of the prophets by inspiration were of necessity conveyed in the very words which they wrote, that they were conscious of those thoughts in those words, and that they no more selected those words than the readers select the words in which they receive the thoughts which are expressed in scripture." [5]

"If they [the words] were selected by men — if man's agency was in any degree exerted in their selection, how are they the exclusive and infallible words of God? It is not a conclusive or satisfactory answer to this question to say that they were infallibly guided. For, supposing them to

[1] 2 Peter i. 21. [2] Plenary Inspiration, p. 20. [3] Ibid. p. 20.
[4] Ibid. p. 21. [5] Ibid. pp. 35 36.

have been so guided, if the act of selecting the words was their act, then the words selected were their words."[1]

"He thinks organically in that orderly, grammatical succession which is exhibited in spoken and written sentences. He thinks organically in the words which constitute such sentences. He is conscious of his thoughts in those words, and not otherwise."[2]

The writer further maintains (what is, indeed, implied in the statements above quoted) that "words necessarily and perfectly represent and express the thoughts conceived in them"; that, "as the vehicle and representative of thought, they are its perfect counterpart and correlate"; and that, "if the vehicle of thought were not necessarily, uniformly, and perfectly commensurate with the thoughts conceived, we could have no certainty as to what our thoughts were."[3] The reader is requested to note the words, "necessarily, uniformly, and perfectly commensurate with the thoughts conceived." This is affirmed to be the character of language, without limitation or exception, that we may either know our own thoughts with certainty, or communicate them with certainty to others.

We are at one with the writer in holding the inspiration of every part of scripture, and its absolute authority as a divine rule of faith and practice. But we cannot assent to all that he says respecting the particular method of inspiration. We preface what we have to say on this point with some general remarks:

1. In affirming that "we have no consciousness of thought separately from words, or independently of them," etc., he unwarrantably limits the use of the term "thought." None of our primary ideas and judgments are received in or through language. They come to us partly through the medium of the outward senses, and partly through our higher, supersensuous intuitions. A little child, for example, gets the idea of such a thing as a lump of sugar through his senses. He applies it to his tongue, and has the sensation

[1] Plenary Inspiration, pp. 39, 40. [2] Ibid. p. 164.
[3] Ibid. chap. viii. p. 135 seq.

of sweetness. Immediately there exists in his mind, in a concrete form, independently of language, the judgment which, when put into words, is expressed in the proposition: "Sugar is sweet." The same is true of all our original supersensuous and spiritual ideas, such as those of right and wrong, moral freedom and responsibility, causes efficient and final, etc., and of all the simple judgments which they involve. They neither are, nor can be, given by language. This we understand the author fully to admit. But in his view, if we rightly understand him, they are not *thoughts*, but *things* about which thoughts may be employed. This is employing the word "thoughts" in a very narrow and technical way. In common usage our simple, primitive judgments are classed among thoughts as really as our discursive judgments. And they must exist from the beginning as knowledge of which we are conscious; else we could never put them into language, and reason concerning them. Our emotions and feelings, again, which involve so many simple judgments, and with the account of which the scriptures are so largely occupied, come to us originally, as the writer admits, independently of language. These, also, he excludes from the domain of thoughts, as the word is employed by him. We infer, therefore, that he restricts the application of the term to what may be called "discursive thought," that is, that form of thought in which the mind proposes to itself its ideas, beliefs, judgments, feelings, etc., as objects of consideration, for the purpose of examining them and reasoning concerning them, or of communicating them to others.

2. To discursive thought, in the sense just defined, language of some kind is necessary; and the progress of the human mind depends mainly upon the greater or less degree of perfection which belongs to it. This we see strikingly illustrated in the case of the uneducated deaf and dumb, who have only the imperfect language of natural signs. For all the higher forms of knowledge it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of spoken and written language.

We cannot even analyze into its constituent parts the simple proposition, "God is good," without its help. Much less can we gain for ourselves, impart to others, or receive from them knowledge which involves the processes of abstraction, generalization, and deduction.

3. The office of language, then, as already remarked, is to make our thoughts objective to ourselves, for the purpose of examining them, reasoning concerning them, and communicating them to others. We begin with our primary ideas, beliefs, feelings, etc. These must, from the nature of the case, exist independently of language, since they are not given by or with language, but are the very materials about which language is employed. They must also exist as conscious knowledge; otherwise, we could not propose them to ourselves as objects of thought and discourse. In language we take this primitive stock of elemental thought, and, by the processes of analysis, generalization, etc., we deduce from it new thoughts, which, in their turn, are made by the help of language the objects of further examination. So we proceed both in gaining knowledge for ourselves and in imparting knowledge to others. To say, then, that we cannot be conscious of thought except as embodied in language of some kind, is an unwarrantable assertion. But it is true that we cannot make thought an object of consideration or communication to others without language.

4. We have seen the office of language. The question now arises concerning its essential nature. Is it the express image of thought, in such a sense that when a certain thought is given — we mean, of course, given as an object of the mind's consideration — it is necessarily and always given in just so many particular words, expressed or easily understood, and in just such a particular order? Here the natural language of signs may afford a pertinent illustration. When the French woman, coming out from the revolutionary tribunal, indicated to her anxious friends the result of the trial by a significant movement of her hand across the back of her neck, a certain thought was given, and by a sign, too,

that was "perfectly commensurate" with the thought conveyed, in the sense that it was a perfectly adequate declaration of it. But it was not connected, in her mind or theirs, — at least, not certainly and necessarily, — with a given number of words arranged in a given order, but might have been put into spoken or written language in half a dozen different ways, all of them equally appropriate.

But let us take some examples directly from the language of words. The Latin says: "*Est mihi liber, there is to me a book; Est mihi dominus, there is to me a master; Est mihi servus, there is to me a servant,*" etc. Here we have an example of extreme generalization. The material idea of "approach to" contained in the dative case is taken to indicate figuratively, not any definite relation, but a relation in the widest sense; for it would puzzle any man living to enumerate all the relations that can be included in the formula "*est mihi.*" The hearer or reader gathers for himself the particular character of the relation that is meant from the known nature of the subject. But this is not all. The speaker can express the same thought, lying consciously in his mind, by an entirely different artifice. He can say: "*Habeo librum, dominum, servum; I have a book, master, servant,*" etc., when the same extreme generalization is contained in the verb "*habeo, I have.*" Here the *mode of indication* is different, and therefore the words used; but the *matter* is in both cases identical. The same thought, then, can be embodied in more than one form of words. And, if this is true of simple sentences, how much more of connected discourse. Here the variations that can be introduced without changing the substance of the thought are very numerous. We can, for example, connect a clause with the preceding by the simple conjunction "*and,*" or give it a relative or participial form. Into how many forms clauses which express design can be put, all understand. The capacity of employing this variety in the expression of thought comes from the essential nature of language. It is not "the perfect counterpart and correlate" of thought in

such a sense that if a certain thought be given, it must necessarily be given in a certain form of words, and no other. Language is rather an *outline-system of signs* for indicating thought, in which, oftentimes, various expedients may be employed to accomplish the same end. In proof of this, we need only refer to the well-known fact that several different translators of equal ability, in rendering into one and the same language a passage equally well understood by all of them, will not necessarily use the same turns of expression any more than the same words. And if this is true of several different translators, how much more of several independent narrators, who all give, with equal clearness and fidelity, an account of the same transaction? If it be said that every variation in the words or turn of expression implies a like variation in the thought, the answer is, that in many cases the variation respects only the mode of indicating the thought, and not the thought itself. Our Saviour says, according to Luke's narrative: "There was a certain rich man, and he was clothed (*καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο*) in purple and fine linen, enjoying himself day by day splendidly" (*εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς*). Suppose, now, he had said: "There was a certain rich man, who was clothed (*ὃς ἐνεδιδύσκετο*) in purple and fine linen, and enjoyed himself (*καὶ εὐφραίνετο*) day by day splendidly," what would have been the difference? About the same as the difference between receiving a check for a thousand dollars in a white or a brown envelope. The questions respecting the solvency of the drawer and the genuineness of the signature are of primary importance; but the form and color of the envelope are of little account.

5. The *end* which the Holy Ghost proposes to accomplish by inspiration, namely, the revelation to men of an infallible rule of faith and practice, is the main thing, not the particular method or methods by which it shall be accomplished. To limit him who made the human mind, and has immediate access to it in its first springs of thought and feeling, is an act of irreverence, and a needless act, too; for, if the revela-

tion be made and recorded according to the mind of the Spirit, why insist upon the particular method as one of the essential things? The writer whose theory we are considering asks, if the words of scripture were in any case selected by men—"if men's agency was in any degree exerted in their selection, how are they the exclusive and infallible words of God?" The answer is at hand: They were the infallible words of God, because they contained an infallible revelation from God, in a form agreeable to his will. And as to their being the exclusive words of God, that was not necessary, since his plan was to exert his agency through human agency. But the writer proceeds to say: "It is not a conclusive or satisfactory answer to this question to say that they were infallibly guided. For, supposing them to have been so guided, if the act of selecting the words was their act, then the words selected were their words." Well, supposing that the words selected were their words, what is the difference? They were the words of the Holy Spirit, too; for they contained an infallible revelation from him, in a form altogether agreeable to his will. What else was needed? Did not men thus receive the same saving truth as if he had spoken from heaven, or had pronounced the words of the revelation, syllable by syllable, in the ear of the speaker or writer? The error here consists in magnifying the *mode* of the revelation above its *contents*. It is bringing into the sphere of inspiration the spirit of formalism; for the essence of formalism consists in the undue exaltation of the outward mode, by which men's thoughts and interest are diverted from the essential to the non-essential.

The bearing of the above principles on the question of verbal inspiration is obvious. Let us apply them, first, to the case of *new revelations* received by inspiration of the Spirit. Many of these were given immediately in human language. In the case of the gift of tongues, the words seem to have been directly suggested by the Spirit. But we must remember that this gift belonged essentially to the

class of miracles. It was of the nature of a sign, designed not so much for instruction and edification, as for the conviction of unbelievers.[1] It by no means follows that such direct verbal suggestion was the exclusive or common mode of inspiration. Revelations were often made in the form of images addressed to the internal sense, or of immediate inward illumination, or by a combination of these modes with language. Isaiah's vision of Jehovah enthroned in the temple will furnish a good illustration.[2] He heard the words of the seraphim and of God himself, and these he has faithfully recorded. But what he *saw* was a part of the revelation, as well as what he *heard*. The seraph that applied to his lips a live coal from the altar explained to him the meaning of the transaction; but the transaction itself, with all the rest of the vision, was described by him from what he saw, not from words which he heard. He chose his own words, under the illumination of the Holy Ghost, so that in spirit, form, and matter they were agreeable to his will; and why need we go any further? God had endowed his servant with the capacity of describing clearly and faithfully what he saw, as well as what he heard. There can be no reasonable objection to supposing that the Spirit now made use of this endowment, not in vain show, but in reality; so that the prophet's words were properly his own, and at the same time the words of the Spirit, as containing the record of a revelation made by him which was in all respects according to his mind. As a second illustration, we may take Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams.[3] The dreams themselves contained a revelation from God; but their contents needed to be interpreted. So far as appears from the narrative, Joseph received from the Holy Spirit, the moment he heard the dreams, a divine illumination as to their meaning, which he proceeded to unfold in words which were as really his own as were Pharaoh's; only that Pharaoh spoke without, and he with, the illumination and guidance of the Spirit.

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 22. See further in Appendix, Note B. [2] Isa. vi.
[3] Gen. xli.

The words of Elisha to Gehazi: "Went not my heart with thee, when the man turned again from his chariot to meet thee,"[1] imply that he received the knowledge of the transaction not by an inward suggestion of the Spirit in the form of language, but by an inward vision. The Spirit showed Elisha, not only what Gehazi had done, but how he ought to be treated; and under his illumination he addressed to his servant words which were properly his own, — chosen and arranged by himself, — and, at the same time, the words of the Spirit in the sense above explained.

Let us consider, secondly, the very common case of *emotions*, *purposes*, etc., expressed by the sacred writers under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Here all are agreed that the inward exercises described belong, in the full and proper sense of the words, to the writers themselves, else they would want reality. Why, then, should they not be allowed to express them, each in his own way and manner? When the Psalmist, in the fulness of his soul, exclaims: "Oh, how love I thy law! it is my meditation all the day," there is no valid reason for denying that in the selection of these words "his agency was in any degree exerted," as if God, who had endowed him with the gift of speech, could not trust him to use it, even under his plenary illumination and guidance — as if the chief concern of the Holy Ghost were not that the right thing should be said in the right way, but that men should understand that he gave the writer the words in their exact order and number.

It remains to consider, thirdly, those sacred writings which are occupied mainly with the narratives of events previously known to the authors through the ordinary channels of knowledge. The inspiration of these, as has been shown in previous Articles, is included in the inspiration of the writers. We do not think it profitable to raise any abstract questions concerning the different degrees and modes of divine influence that were needed. That Paul might make to the Galatians a statement of his visits to Jerusalem and the dis-

[1] 2 Kings v. 26.

cussions connected with them, it was obviously not necessary that he should receive the same kind and measure of help as when he unfolded to the Corinthians the doctrine of the resurrection. It is sufficient to say of him and the other inspired penmen, that whatever assistance each needed he received. If his judgment needed divine illumination for the selection of his materials, it was given. If he needed to be raised above narrowness and prejudice, or to have the meaning of the facts which he recorded unfolded to his understanding, and thus to the understanding of those for whom he wrote — in a word, whatever kind and measure of divine aid was needed, it was granted. Thus the historical books of scripture, not less than the others, being written under the illumination and guidance of the Holy Ghost, become a part of the infallible rule of faith and practice contained in the Bible; not less so than if God himself had spoken them from heaven, as he did the ten commandments.

Thus far we have considered the theory of verbal inspiration on the side of its alleged necessity. There are some *objections* to it, two of which will now be briefly noticed.

First, the objection from the diversity of style and manner in the writings of scripture has often been urged, and never fairly met. It is obvious to all that the peculiar genius of each author had full scope — that he thought and wrote like himself as perfectly as if he had not been under the influence of God's Spirit. We may compare the books of the Bible to a grove consisting of different kinds of trees, all green and beautiful, but each unlike the rest in form and texture. Here is an oak standing by the side of a pine. The former is oak throughout — oak in the form and texture of its leaves, in its bark, in its wood, in its juices, in the form of its limbs, in the spread of its roots; and, just so, its neighbor is pine throughout. To apply the figure: The Epistles of Paul are throughout Pauline — Pauline in the choice and collocation of the words, in the structure and connection of the sentences, in the shape and course of the argument. He writes

and reasons like himself, and like no other man; and in all these particulars he is exceedingly unlike the bosom disciple. Yet Paul and John alike write as they are moved by the Holy Ghost, and their writings are alike the word of God. The problem before us is to explain this blending together, in the case of each writer, of the divine with the human element, without detriment to either.

It is no real explanation to say, with Carson: "If it is possible for the Almighty to utter his own thoughts, reasonings, and words in the style of the writers whom he employs, and through the operation of their faculties, the objection is nugatory."[1] This is confounding *possibility* with *probability*. It is reasoning after the fashion of some writers in respect to the various organic relics of past geological ages. It was possible, they tell us, for the Almighty, when he created the earth, to sprinkle all these things into the different layers of its crust. Undoubtedly. So it is possible for him to make a tree half-way cut down (to human appearance), with the chips lying near it, and an axe lying by with a nick in its edge, and the marks of the nick impressed on the tree and on the chips. But to assume that he ever did so would be to overturn the foundations of all reasoning from the analogy of his works. Our inquiry is not what Almighty power could do, but what we have reasonable ground for believing that he has done. And here, at least in cases where we have not the clear authority of scripture, the general laws of his procedure, as revealed to us in nature and in revelation, must be our guide.

Nor is it, again, a satisfactory answer to say, with Lord, that not only must the thoughts "be inspired in words familiar to the writers, because they could receive, understand, and be conscious of the inspired thoughts only in words which were previously known and familiar to them," but also "in words which in style and idiom were natural and familiar to the writers."[2] He makes it alike necessary to the comprehension of the inspired thoughts — that is, the

[1] Refutation of Dr. Henderson, p. 68. [2] Page 105 compared with pp. 101–103.

thoughts infused into the minds of the writers by inspiration — that they should be "in words familiar to the writers," and that they should be in the "style and idiom" of each; or, as he elsewhere expresses it, "in words, idioms, and phrases suitable to his peculiar habit and style of thinking."[1] But why this necessity? The Sermon on the Mount was not delivered in "the style and idiom" of each hearer present. Yet it was not for this reason unintelligible; and, if God could speak intelligibly, he could inspire thoughts intelligibly without copying each one's style and idiom.

If we were defending this view of verbal inspiration, we should do it on the ground of *congruity*. We should maintain not the necessity, but the suitableness, of God's adapting the inspired thoughts to each one's style and idiom. But neither would this be an adequate answer to the objection. For the theory in question takes from the individuality of the sacred writers in respect to style and manner all its substance, and leaves only an empty show. According to the canon of verbal inspiration already quoted: "If they [the words] were selected by men — if men's agency was in any degree exerted in their selection, ... if the act of selecting the words was their act, then the words selected were their words," — it follows that the style and idiom, not less than the individual words, were from the Holy Ghost. When he spake by Paul, he *imitated* Paul's style and manner; and so when he spake by Peter, James, or John. If a friend dictates to me a discourse in my style, my writing it down at his dictation does not make it my style. The words and style are his, not mine. When we read the Epistle to the Romans, the impression is irresistible that the apostle's individuality — his peculiar turn of mind and method of reasoning — has full scope; that he is, indeed, plenarily illuminated by the Divine Spirit, yet so that he continues to think and reason in his own way in reality, not in appearance only. We adopt, accordingly, what has been called the "dynamical" view of inspiration, or, to use the words of Lee, "that which

[1] Page 103.

implies such a divine influence as employs man's faculties according to their natural laws." "Man is not considered as being in any sense the cause or originator of the revelation of which God alone is the source, but human agency is regarded as the condition under which the revelation becomes known to others. ..... From this view, then, it results that that peculiar natural type according to which each sacred writer was moulded at his creation was assimilated, as it were, by the power of inspiration, and appropriated by the Spirit; while, at the same time, the spiritual influence is no more to be confounded with the tokens of individual character than it is to be identified with the esssence of natural life. In short, the divine and human elements, mutually interpenetrating and combined, form one vital, organic whole — not mechanically, still less ideally, but, as it has been termed, dynamically, united." [1]

Secondly, the objection from the various forms in which the same words of our Lord are recorded by different evangelists. The narrative of the storm on the Sea of Galilee furnishes a familiar illustration of this, and one which has been used with great effect by the opponents of the mechanical theory now under consideration. According to Matthew, the disciples awaken their Master with the words: "Lord, save us; we perish"; and he rebukes their unbelief with the words: "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" [2] According to Mark, the prayer is: "Master (διδάσκαλε), carest thou not that we perish?" and the reply is: "Why are ye so fearful? How is it that ye have not faith?" [3] According to Luke, they come to him with the cry: "Master, Master (ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιστάτα), we perish"; and he answers: "Where is your faith?" [4] The hypothesis resorted to by some, of appeals to the Master by different disciples, receiving each of them different answers, is too unnatural and far-fetched to be received by a candid interpreter of God's word; and, moreover, if admitted here, it would not be

[1] The Inspiration of Scripture, p. 39.
[2] Matt. viii. 25, 26.
[3] Mark iv. 38–40.
[4] Luke viii. 24, 25.

available throughout the Gospels as a general principle of harmonizing. The advocates of verbal inspiration in the narrowest sense admit the *variety of record* here referred to, and vindicate it "from the practice of history, from the practice of witnesses in delivering evidence in courts of judicature, and from common practice in the hourly occurrences of social life." [1] But they ascribe it, of course, to the immediate dictation of the Divine Spirit. "The formulas," says Carson (with reference to another case), "certainly imply that God communicated in words; but they do not necessarily imply that the speaker's communication is verbally identical with the written account of it. The Holy Spirit, in recording the spoken communication, might use that variety of expression that truth permits to all human writers." [2] Very true. The Holy Spirit might do this; but on what ground? Obviously on the ground that the concern of the Divine Spirit is not about particular phrases and forms of words, but about the substance of the truth recorded. It is not, in his view, essential that a narrative should be expressed in just such words; consequently, it is not necessary that the words of the sacred penman should be inspired into his mind in such a sense that no liberty of choice, no agency of selection is left to him. If he be so illuminated from above as to comprehend fully the truth to be stated, he may then express it in the free exercise of his own faculties, and in his own style and manner. This view alone is in harmony with the universal law of the divine operations, and in it we find a reasonable explanation of the freedom and variety employed by the different evangelists in recording the words of our Lord. God had endowed each of them with peculiar gifts. The Holy Spirit did not supersede these, nor simply imitate them; but he used them in reality, not in empty show. Hence not only the variety of style and manner employed by the evangelists, but also the variety in their ways of looking at a given transaction and of making a record of it. This truth Augustine saw and clearly ex-

[1] Carson's Refutation of Dr. Henderson, p. 124. [2] Ibid. p. 127.

pressed in his well-known remarks on the narrative of the storm on the sea of Galilee, giving, at the same time, the mechanical mode of harmonizing above referred to. "It is," says he, "one and the same thought on the part of those who awaken the Lord and desire to be saved. Nor is it necessary to inquire which of these expressions, rather than the other, was addressed to Christ. For, whether they uttered some one of these three, or other words which no one of the evangelists has recorded, but which, nevertheless, had the same purport so far as the truth of the thought is concerned, what difference does it make?"[1]

Inspiration in its Relation to Versions.

We have seen that inspiration lies not in the particular order and arrangement of the words, but in the substance of the thoughts which they express. It is a vital power, pervading and animating every part of scripture, as the blood does the human body. It follows that, just so far as versions express the true sense of the original text, its inspiration passes over into them. Versions are inferior in authority to the original Hebrew and Greek, simply because we cannot be certain that the men by whom they were executed always apprehended fully and expressed adequately the meaning of the original text. But we must not allow errors, or the suspicion of errors, in particular cases, to set aside their divine authority. The poorest version current in any Christian community gives all the doctrines and duties of revealed religion in clear and unambiguous terms. In this or that particular instance, we may doubt whether the translator has given the true meaning; but we are sure that the version presents to the view of its readers the same God and Father of all, the same Lord Jesus, the same Holy Spirit, the same way of salvation through the blood of atonement, the same conditions of faith and repentance, the same doctrine which is according to godliness, the same heaven, and the same hell. Its "Thus saith the Lord" comes to

[1] De Consensu Evv. ii. 24. See further in Appendix, Note C.

the consciences of its readers with divine authority; and he who rejects it, rejects not the word of man, but the word of God. If he who uses the version cannot know that every particular passage is correctly translated, so neither can he who reads the original be confident that in every particular passage he apprehends its true meaning. But in both cases the way of salvation by grace shines forth in all its parts with the clearness of the unclouded sun at noon. In this respect the vision is written so plainly "that he may run that readeth it."

General Remark.

In considering the question of the mode of inspiration, we have designedly avoided giving prominence to the distinctions of "divine excitement," "invigoration," "superintendence," and "guidance," etc., not because these have not, partly, at least, a foundation in reality; but because, like the colors of the rainbow, they blend together so intimately that the attempt to separate them into so many different and distinct forms of inspiration becomes a very difficult undertaking. Nor is this analysis necessary. It is enough to say that whatever revelations of new truth were needed, the Holy Spirit gave in such forms and modes as seemed good to him; that whatever help was required to secure a record of truths already known that should be true and faithful according to his will, this also was granted; and that in all cases the Divine Spirit worked in the minds of the inspired writers in perfect harmony with the constitution which they had by nature; so that, under his supernatural influence, they freely used all their faculties, not in appearance, but in reality.

APPENDIX

Note A.

The question of the possibility of such communications as we are considering "becoming matters of distinct consciousness on the part of those to whom they were made," is discussed by Henderson.[1] Its importance, he justly remarks, "will at once appear, when it is considered that in all

[1] Henderson on Divine Inspiration, pp. 65–70. Edition of 1847.

ages there have been those who have themselves been persuaded, and who have endeavored to persuade others, that they were subjects of immediate inspiration, while nothing can be more satisfactorily made out than the fact of their self-deception and the utter nullity of their pretended supernatural intercourse with the Deity." He further adds: "The modus, however, of that consciousness which they [the true prophets] possessed of inspiration is a psychological question, which is fraught with no small difficulty; and it may be anticipated that all who have given the subject a reasonable degree of attention will concur in considering it to be one of which the absolute determination lies entirely beyond the power of those who have never had any personal experience of such consciousness." We think that in this remark Henderson has truth and reason on his side. It is important, however, to notice, as he does, "the fact of the original legitimation of the prophets and apostles by the intervention of miraculous agency visibly and uncontrollably displayed." As examples of such "original legitimation," we may specify the cases of Moses,[1] of Samuel,[2] of Isaiah,[3] of Jeremiah,[4] of Ezekiel,[5] and, in an emphatic sense, of all the apostles, who were directly called by Christ himself, and by him endowed with miraculous gifts, "by means of which a perfect assurance must have rested upon the minds of these holy men that they were actually employed by the Deity as the instruments of communicating to mankind the knowledge of truths otherwise undiscoverable by them." To the recipients themselves it was not necessary that this outward miraculous certification should be repeated in the case of each particular communication. They recognized God's presence, as already remarked, by a supernatural intuition. For those whom they addressed an outward supernatural attestation of their divine commission was necessary at the beginning — necessary, certainly, in all cases where new revelations were added to those previously made; and such an attestation was given by God in the case of even our Lord, to which he often referred his hearers.[6] But when once clearly made, it needed not constant repetition. Moses, for example, having been miraculously attested at the beginning of his mission, could speak to the people ever afterwards with divine authority. So, too, it was unreasonable in the Scribes and Pharisees to ask of our Lord a sign from heaven as the seal of his commission, for this seal had already been given. It is not unreasonable, however, that we should demand of one who professes to come with new revelations from God, or to speak with divine authority as an interpreter of God's word, that he do what the prophets and apostles and Christ himself did — give us in an unmistakable form the credentials of his alleged divine commission. Otherwise, we open a wide door to the two twin vices of unconscious self-delusion and conscious imposture.

[1] Ex. iii. seq. [2] 1 Sam. iii.

[3] Isa. vi.; though there is some doubt whether the vision recorded in this chapter took place at the beginning of Isaiah's prophetical office.

[4] Jer. i. [5] Ezek. i. and viii. sq. [6] John v. 36; x. 25, 38; xv. 24.

Note B.

The gift of tongues involves questions of difficult solution. The inquiry arises at once, whether it conferred upon its recipients *as a permanent possession*, a supernatural knowledge of languages foreign to them, so that they could use them as occasion required, as they did their native tongues; or whether they spoke only under the immediate impulse of the Spirit. When Paul says: "I thank my God that I speak with tongues more than you all,"[1] the natural inference is that he was able to use these tongues at his discretion. But, on the other hand, the general impression made by his somewhat extended remarks on this gift[2] is that those who possessed it spake only as they were moved by the Spirit, whether with or without the comprehension of what they uttered. But, whatever be our judgment on these points, the essential thing to be noticed is the *end* proposed by God in bestowing this gift. It was not designed so much for the instruction of believers as for a sign (εἰς σημεῖον) to unbelievers. It is not to be assumed as the normal mode of inspiration in general.

Note C.

After giving, as we have seen, a rational and satisfactory explanation of the diversity which appears in the three narratives, so far as the words of the disciples are concerned, Augustine adds, apparently in concession to the narrow views of many of his contemporaries: "Quamquam et hoc fieri potuit, ut pluribus cum simul excitantibus, omnia haec, aliud ab alio, dicerentur," "Although it might also have happened that several aroused their Master at the same time, and that all these expressions were used by different disciples." The explanation is in itself unnatural, and does not account for the diversity in the form of our Lord's answer as given by the three evangelists. It will hardly be maintained, we think, that the Saviour administered three separate rebukes to those who awoke him. The attempt to carry this narrow principle of harmonizing through the four Gospels is an undertaking as hopeless as it is unnecessary. On this point we shall have more to say in our next Article.

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 18. [2] 1 Cor. xiv.

ARTICLE IV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROWTH OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

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THE progress of Christ's kingdom is *extensive*, so far as it gains new converts and Christianizes new peoples; it is *intensive*, so far as it advances the sanctification of its converts, and develops a higher type of piety and a more Christian civilization. Some characteristics of this progress will now be considered.

I. It is Spiritual.

It is spiritual in the sense that it is the work of God's Spirit. God's redeeming love is not merely a bland accessibleness if any choose to seek him — a mild rainbow over his throne, encouraging any who venture to brave the darkness and clouds that are round about him. It is an energy of redeeming grace, the Spirit of holiness, working in human history, enlightening, striving, life-giving, reproving, comforting. The progress of the kingdom is the constant product and manifestation of the ever-present and prevailing energy of the Holy Spirit.

It is spiritual, also, in the sense that it is the progress of spiritual life in men — the life of faith and love that centres on Christ and his cross.

Hence, so far as man's agency is concerned, the progress of the kingdom is by action in faith; and the life of faith is a life of inspiration and enthusiasm, rather than of prudence and calculation. The believer has courage to attempt whatever God has had grace to promise. In the words of Bishop Hall: "Faith is never so glorious as when she hath most opposition, and will not see it. Reason looks ever to the

means; faith, to the end; and, instead of consulting how to effect, resolves what shall be effected." The very obstacles become a stimulus to effort: "I will tarry at Ephesus; for a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and *there are many adversaries.*"

II. The Progress of the Kingdom is by the Instrumentality of the Gospel.

It is the historical gospel of redemption through Christ and the Holy Spirit, as distinguished from abstract truth. "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified." Rationalism treats Christianity, which is a divine action redeeming men from sin, as if it were only a process of thought; as if its whole aim were the analysis and systemization of truth to the intellect. It regards historical Christianity as the lantern, not as the light, and breaks the lantern that the light may shine more clearly. The result is that the light is blown out. The gospel must indeed be apprehended by the intellect. It presupposes the truths of religion and morals which men may know without revelation. Man, as a rational being, must interpret the facts of the gospel, and define their significance to his intellect; must harmonize them with the truths of natural religion, with the principles of reason, and with all knowledge. This produces theology, which is the gospel interpreted, analyzed, and systemized by and for the intellect. But the gospel does not terminate in the intellect, nor exist only as a process of thought. It is addressed to the heart. It is thought transformed into life. And it is only in its historical origin and influence that it is rightly understood. Christianity is like the sun, whose warmth and light are dependent on being held in the earth's atmosphere and reflected from its surface. To rise above the earth's atmosphere in order to get nearer to the sun is to lose his warmth and light. So philosophy, rising above the historical and human to come nearer to God, finds, in the dizzy heights of speculation, darkness and cold.

While, then, it is necessary to man, as a rational being, to define and interpret the gospel to the intellect and translate it into systematic theology, there is inherent in so doing the danger of falling into a rationalistic habit, and regarding Christianity as a philosophy. Especially should there be caution against this danger in theological seminaries, in which the student is necessarily occupied in defining, interpreting, vindicating, and systemizing the gospel to the intellect. There is danger that he come to be interested in the mere intellectual investigation of truth, rather than in Christianity as the power of life to sinners; that a *dilettanteism* of interest in philosophy and literature displace the earnestness of Christian interest in men and Christian zeal to bring sinners to Christ; or, in a different direction, that the spirit of controversy and the eagerness of theological discussion displace Christian love to men and interest in the minister's appropriate work of saving men from sin. There is danger, also, that the student be entangled and held powerless in his own speculations; so many are the questions suggested in defining, interpreting, and systemizing the facts of Christianity, and so severe and protracted the intellectual effort in the process, that they become associated in the student's mind with the facts of the gospel; and the life-giving truths come to his mind not in the freshness, simplicity, and power of the gospel, but as the nucleus of questions and difficulties, of metaphysical distinctions and nice adjustments of thought; and he is entangled and held fast in the bristling *chevaux-de-frise* which his thinking has constructed around every truth of the gospel. There is danger that he be rationalistic, regarding Christianity only as a process of thought, and finding its whole significance in the definition of truth to the intellect. So, also, the history of Christianity must be studied as a history of doctrine. But there is danger in so studying it that the student come to regard the determination of doctrine as the great work which Christianity has accomplished in the past, as the entire significance of its history. In one age it determined the doctrine of the Trinity; in

others, successively, the doctrines of sin, of atonement, of justification by faith, until, as an eminent living divine has said, there remains nothing to be determined by the church of the future but the Christian doctrine of the church itself. But the history of the church is not found merely in the history of doctrine, but also in ideals which in Christ have become powers in the world, in confessions and martyrdoms, in missions and charities, in self-denial and heroism, in Christian experience of penitence, faith, and love, in triumphs over death, in the progress of justice, and of Christian customs, laws, and institutions, in reformations and the growth of Christian civilization.

Accordingly, the gospel does not address itself merely to the intellect, and especially not to the observing, analyzing, and classifying faculties, which positive science exclusively addresses. It addresses itself to the faith, to the moral nature, to the spiritual necessities, aspirations, and intuitions. This Paul recognizes in his preaching: "Commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Jesus recognizes it: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." And the intimations of the moral and spiritual nature are as trustworthy as those of our observing and comparing faculties; for they are of the very core of our being; and if they are false, the whole being is vitiated with falsehood. There is, then, a philosophical basis for the answer of an unlettered candidate for the ministry, who, when asked at his examination for ordination: "What proof have you that Christ is divine?" answered, with tears: "Why, bless you, he has saved my soul." And if the keen definition and proof of truth by and to the intellect is separated from the knowledge and evidence of spiritual experience, and we are obliged to choose which of the two is the safer preparation for preaching the gospel, I should not hesitate to choose the latter: "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."

It follows that the effectual preaching of the gospel is more than the clear presentation of the truth from the intel-

lect to the intellect. Education is not only the impartation of knowledge and of intellectual discipline; it is also inspiration. And the effective preaching of the gospel is an inspiration to the hearer. But he who inspires another must live and breathe himself. All inspiration is vital. It is from the heart to the heart. The soul itself is the only vehicle which will convey spiritual truth from man to man. Even God, making his love a power in human history, brings it in a human soul. Preaching is not a mere intellectual process; it is not a mere thinking; it is an action — the action of the whole man on his fellowmen. Lecky notices "the extremely small influence of definite argument in determining the opinions either of an individual or of a nation." It is faith, love, service, life, rather than argument, which convey the truth as a power of life to human hearts. Lord Bacon says: "Truth prints goodness." One cannot easily read lead types; an imprint must be taken off. Goodness is the imprint by which truth is read. The power of the primitive church was not merely the power of convincing argument and eloquent speaking; it was rather the power of the Christian life of faith and love.

III. The Progress of Christ's Kingdom is not to be promoted by Force.

Our Saviour says: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Institutions founded on force shall be overthrown by force. Institutions that are to be permanent must be founded on truth and right. Institutions resting on force must fall before superior force. If Christ's kingdom rested on force, it would be subject to the same law, and in some great convulsion of society would be sure to pass away. But it is founded on truth and love. Force moves in a different sphere from these, and cannot destroy them. Therefore it is a kingdom which cannot be moved. It can decay only when Christ's redeeming love falters, and justice and love die out of the heart of man. The history of the world has been a continuous demonstration of the

truth of our Saviour's words down to the overthrow of American slavery. There is no real progress except so far as truth establishes itself in men's convictions, and love rules in their hearts.

The state itself may not use force for the propagation of religion and good morals. Admit in any instance the duty or even the right of government to propagate religious and moral ideas by the sword, and you admit all that is terrible in persecutions and crusades.

IV. The Progress of Christ's Kingdom is without Observation.

The growth of the kingdom is not manifested merely in the organization. Statistical tables of the number of churches, of communicants, and of ministers are but imperfect indications of the extent and power of Christ's kingdom. Its growth is in the inward experience of the soul. Whenever any human soul is quickened to penitence for sin and faith in Christ, it is a growth of the kingdom of God. And in society, every Christian truth which establishes itself in human thought and begins to control the life, every removal of an unchristian custom, every elevation of human sentiment, every transformation of an institution into accordance with Christianity is an advance of Christ's kingdom. Thus the progress is in its nature without observation. Souls are born into the new life; Christian ideas take their place in human thought; and men, intent on their worldly schemes, take no note of them; just as the workman, plodding homewards his weary way, takes no note of the stars which come out, one by one, and take their place in the evening sky. The kingdom is in the world, transforming the world into itself, as the mustard-seed is in the soil, transforming it into its own substance, and organizing it into the silently growing life and beauty of the plant. Thus pass years, of the results of which the statistician can make but a meagre report; but when they are gone we are surprised at the extent and power of the advance of Christian thought.

V. The Progress of the Kingdom is Providential.

God does not leave his truth to go out alone to its conflict with error; he goes before it in his providence. Indeed, it is not merely that his providential working in history is parallel with his work of redemption; it is rather that his work of redemption is his work in human history, and what we call his providential action in history is only incidental thereto.

God goes before and with Christian workers now, in his providence, as he used to go before and with his people in miracles. The Christian may work in obscurity; but God notes his work with loving interest. He may be opposed by men; but he is a laborer together with God. A providence silent and unseen works with him while he works, and for him while he sleeps; corrects what he does imperfectly, and completes what he leaves unfinished, and so gives to feeble beginnings a strange success, to obscure endeavors a world-wide emblazoning, and on counsels of faith and love which had seemed foolish and rash brings out at last the stamp of a wisdom beyond the age; and schemes at which contemporaries had sneered, posterity honors as evincing insight and inspiration from on high. It is common for Christian workers to find the way strangely prepared before them through obstacles seemingly insurmountable, as to the Israelites through the Red Sea. Even the beast of whom it was said: "The Lord hath need of him," had its way strewn with garments and palm-leaves. Where there is God's work to be done, there is God to do it. A little church in Scotland, harassed by persecution and ready to despair, wrote to Rutherford for advice whether they should give up. He answered: "So long as there is any of the Lord's lost money in your town, he won't put out the candle."

God's providential action is a perpetual proof of his continued redemptive action. Even miracles are scarcely so decisive proofs of his presence, or so lasting in their influence. Elijah brought fire from heaven, and consumed the priests of Baal; but the fire had scarcely ceased to burn when the

idolatry was resumed, and Elijah fled in despair to Horeb. Luther did not bring fire from heaven; but the Protestant Reformation as really demonstrated the divine presence, and its influence has continued to this day. Moses opened the Red Sea to the Israelites. No miracle-working rod was stretched over the ocean when the Pilgrims came to Plymouth; but the presence of God with them working in the interest of his kingdom is scarcely less evident than at the Red Sea.

Equally significant God's providence in removing seemingly immovable obstacles. American slavery vanished like a cloud in the presence of the very generation who were declaring its removal impracticable. The temporal power of the Pope scarcely arrested attention when it passed away. The great men of the world do still, as a prophet declared of an Assyrian king, accomplish God's plans, though they intend it not: "He meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few"; but he is "the rod of mine anger and the staff in the hand of my indignation."

God's hand is revealed not merely in great epochs, but also in the quiet advancement of his kingdom. This is exemplified in the growth of what is called the spirit of the age; so that the leaders in any great historical movement seem not so much the authors of the movement, as the mouth-piece to utter the common thought, and the hand to execute the common purpose of the age. All history shows that the great epochs of history are not instantaneous in their origin. Though their coming is sudden and startling, yet it is the result of growth — the opening of a flower which for a century has been maturing — the bursting from its chrysalis of the winged Psyche which in all its transformations has been silently preparing its birth of beauty. Every great change attempted for which God's providence has not wrought a preparation will be but a new patch on an old garment. The silent preparation for the great epochs which burst on the astonished world is as decisive a proof of God's presence in history as the epoch itself; as the

growth of the bud reveals God's power not less than its opening into blossom.

Another example is the growth of interests, customs, and institutions incidentally favorable to the growth of the kingdom. When the first American missionaries went to India, the British power seemed the greatest obstacle. But it has exerted influences essential to the missionary work which it was entirely impossible for the missionaries to exert. It is said that Constantine embraced Christianity for reasons of state polity; but how had it come to pass that it was politic for him so to do? It is said that Luther could not have succeeded without the aid of the German princes; but how came it to pass that the German princes found it expedient to aid him? As the lictors with axes and staves went before the Roman consul to open a way for him, and to enforce his commands, God in his providence compels princes and all secular agencies to open the way for Christian truth. It has been said that the Puritans came to New England not for religious interests, but to engage in fisheries. Suppose the allegation to be true, what then? Then God in his providence disclosed valuable fisheries in the interest of his kingdom to bring to New England a Christian, Protestant, and republican civilization; "the earth helped the woman"; providence worked with redemption. Then these Puritans, while intent in all simplicity on getting an honest livelihood by fishing, were so full of Christian truth and life as to send out incidentally, as sparks fly from hot iron simply because it is hot, the education, political liberty, and religion of New England. It would enhance our estimate of their piety and intelligence, if they were so full of spiritual light and life that these were but the unpremeditated and spontaneous results of their living and working for secular ends, and so the salvation of the world was a second time connected with fishing; just as it would enhance our estimate of the fulness of miraculous power in Peter to know that his shadow would heal the sick on whom it fell, when he without thought of exerting that power was going to the baker's to buy his

daily bread, as really as when he purposely determined to work a miracle.

It has been said that modern progress is due to the fact that science, since Bacon, has been directed to practical ends, and thus has multiplied inventions; that the sentiment of brotherhood and opposition to war is due to commerce, steamships, and telegraphs; that the opposition to slavery and the honor given to labor are due to the industrial movement which is so remarkable a characteristic of modern civilization. But the question recurs: How has it come to pass that Christian civilization has produced a Bacon, stimulated invention, created an industrial movement, and in every line of action concentrated thought on human welfare; while heathen civilization has never produced such results, or shown any tendency to produce them? Was it not the fresh figs which commerce brought from Carthage which fired the Romans to destroy that city? Why does commerce in Christian civilization create the sentiment of brotherhood, and discourage war, when it had no such influence, and even a contrary influence, in ancient times? The answer must acknowledge Christianity as the cause, and not the effect. These facts disclose God's providence working with redemption, and bringing secular interests, customs, institutions, and agencies to aid in the advancement of his kingdom.

The fact of God's providential action in subserviency to redemption teaches two practical lessons. One is that when God's Spirit rouses a people to any Christian work, it is a reasonable presumption that in his providence he will open the way for them to do it. When his Spirit say: "Go forwards," his providence will divide the sea. The history of any signal enterprise of the church is found to be full of signal interpositions of providence. The history of missions, of God's church in America, of Christianity everywhere, is a continued verification of God's providential action in the interest of his kingdom. The same is remarkable in the lives of individuals eminent in piety. The attempt has been made to explain the frequency of provi-

dential interpositions in the lives of such men by saying that they who look for providences will not fail to find them. A sufficient explanation is found in the harmony between God's Spirit and his providence. When God by his Spirit rouses a man to work, by his providence he opens the way for him. He that will work for God will be permitted to work with God.

The other practical lesson is, to concentrate missionary labor on fields where God is providentially preparing the way for it. We must not waste our energies toiling all the night and taking nothing, but must let down the net on the right side of the ship. He that believeth will not make haste to outrun the providence of God, nor will he dare to lag behind it.

VI. The progress of Christ's Kingdom is by epochs.

There is a certain rhythmical movement attendant on the exertion of physical force. When force is at its greatest tension, the quivering or vibration is apparent to the sense. Something analogous appears in the exertion of spiritual power, pulsating in waves through the life of humanity. Even revelation has its epochs. There are epochs of miracles — one more, at least, yet to appear in connection with the second coming of the Lord. There are epochs of prophetic inspiration. The same is true of all spiritual life. The Christian reverts to memorable epochs in his own experience — conversion; subsequent to conversion, epochs when he has risen to higher planes of thought and action. A church grows by revivals. The advance of Christ's kingdom in the world and the progress of Christian civilization is by epochs memorable in history.

This accords with the Saviour's analogy — first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. The growth of grain is continuous; but it is also by epochs — the blade, the ear, the full corn. In maize, for example, is first the blade, then the stalk marked by its successive joints, the tasselling and silking, the setting of the corn, its ripening, and the opening of the husk from the full ear.

1. The epochs are not themselves the growth of the kingdom, but are the results of the growth by which it is signalized. The grain grows continuously. The successive epochs of the blade, the ear, the full corn, are not the growth, but the result and manifestation of growth. They are the new forms in which the advancing life must manifest itself. They are the crises which mark the growth. So the continuous vital growth of a Christian or a church will manifest itself in new and higher forms of Christian life, and thus will create epochs. Epochs, therefore, are crises incidental to growth; but they are not the growth, nor is the growth confined to them.

2. An epoch is not necessarily by violence. When an apple-tree bursts into blossom, and covers itself with sweetness and beauty, that is an epoch in its growth. When this beauty passes away, and the fruit sets, that is an epoch; in this case attended with the falling of the blossom, cast off because its work is done. But these epochs are peaceful, because all the organic forces in the tree are subject to its life and in harmony with each other, and the crises of its growth come peacefully, as the natural expression of the life. So in the kingdom of God, if the spiritual life is full and unobstructed, its epochs come quietly, as the blooming and fruiting of a tree. The old falls away because its work is done, and peacefully gives place to the new. The change is not less, the epoch not less glorious, because it is peaceful. Revolutions and convulsions are not essential, nor desirable, in the great epochs of human progress. And in the individual, the spiritual life may blossom into the glory of a higher Christian experience, or, dropping the blossom, may concentrate itself on perfecting the fruit, without an attendant spiritual convulsion driving to the verge of despair. In general, the more completely the spiritual life possesses the soul, the more peaceful will be its successive epochs of growth; and the more completely Christian ideas rule society, the more peaceful will be the successive epochs of advancing Christian civilization.

3. Christ's kingdom is not responsible for the violence and revolution which are incidental to the epochs in its progress, and are occasioned by the opposition of the kingdom of darkness.

The kingdom of darkness is always in antagonism to the kingdom of light. It is founded and perpetuated in selfishness, and therefore powerful interests become enlisted in perpetuating its abuses, and in resisting the progress of the truth. Hence any epoch in the progress of Christ's kingdom is liable to encounter violent and bloody opposition, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom may be in the midst of revolution and convulsion. In reference to this our Saviour said: "I came not to send peace, but a sword." But the responsibility for the evil rests not on the progress of Christ's kingdom, but on the opposition to its progress and the selfish endeavor forcibly to perpetuate error and wrong. Vigorous maintenance of Christian truth and right, and opposition to prevailing error and wickedness provoke opposition; and the opposition is intensified, for the time being, as the vigor of Christian action increases; but truth and righteousness and love are not responsible for the opposition which they occasion.

It must be added, however, that if Christian fidelity is constant and uniform, as well as vigorous, there will be less danger that the opposition culminate in violence; for it will not have opportunity to gain strength and enlist the interests of society in its behalf. Negro slavery, for example, might easily have been excluded from the American colonies in the outset, if Christians had been clear-sighted to discern its evil, and decided in opposing it. Lack of spiritual discernment, unfaithfulness, and spiritual declension make Christians remiss in exposing and resisting evil, and thus the liability to violence and convulsion in the epochs of Christian progress is increased. The wicked are God's sword to punish the community which connives at their wickedness, or is negligent of Christianizing the people. Every ignorant person whom the community has neglected

to educate, every drunkard who poisons the air with his breath, every debauchee who corrupts the young, is a sword in the hand of the Almighty to punish the remissness which has taken no pains to train them aright. Every blasphemer who hardens the young in irreverence, every worldling who stupefies men's nobler sentiments and accustoms them to honor successful sordidness, every knave who blurs the sharp line between right and wrong and makes fraud familiar and respectable, every oppressor who gilds tyranny with prosperity and deadens the sensibility to human rights, every pretender who reconciles men to shams and weakens the sturdiness of sincerity and truthfulness, is a sword in the hands of God to punish men for remissness in Christian duty. The iniquity by toleration acquires strength, enlists powerful interests in its perpetuation, and renders certain and terrible the convulsion and violence attendant on putting it away.

The charge is often made that the Protestant Reformation carried the revolution in its bosom, and is responsible for the revolutionary and disorganizing tendencies of recent times; while it is claimed that the Romish church is the steadfast conservator of government, order, and tranquillity. It may be admitted that Protestantism, coming necessarily in the form of a protest against error and wrong, assumed an antagonistic attitude, and has been the occasion of revolution and convulsion. Yet the responsibility does not attach to Protestantism, but, according to the principle just now explained, to the Romish church, which allowed error, superstition, and oppression to usurp the place of truth, piety, and justice. "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." The woe is not on the truth, nor on its preachers, but on him who by his alliance with error and wrong makes the preaching of the truth an offence. It is not Elijah, but Ahab, who "troubleth Israel." In fact, since the Protestant Reformation, it is the most distinctively Catholic countries which have been characterized by political discontent, by abortive revolutions, and by the insurrection of socialists and the

enemies of social organization and order, while the people have made little progress toward well-ordered liberty; and it is the most distinctively Protestant nations which have been characterized by steady progress and comparative freedom from domestic revolution and disturbance.

4. The violence incident to an epoch in the growth of Christ's kingdom is an evil. Because our own government was founded in a revolution, we are in danger of associating a revolution with glory, of thinking that the overturn of what has been established is in itself progress to something better, and so of falling into that insatiableness of reform which, like Saturn, perpetually devours its own children; or, as Izaak Walton puts it, whets the knife till there is no steel left in it. But the American Revolution scarcely was a revolution in the proper sense of the term. It perpetuated the principles and, with little change, the form of government to which the colonies had been accustomed; it only separated them from a distant nation; it only accelerated an epoch which was coming as the inevitable result of growth; only shaking the tree to hasten the fall of the ripened fruit. The benefits accruing are not the result of the revolution, but come, in spite of the evils of revolutionary violence, because the change effected was the natural result of healthy growth. The immense majority of revolutions attempted by violence have been failures, and have hindered, rather than helped, the progress of society.

5. The epochs in the growth of Christ's kingdom are often not recognized as such at the time of their coming.

They who are not in sympathy with Christ fail to recognize them, because they have not spiritual discernment, and "cannot see the kingdom of God." So the Jews did not know the Messiah for whom they were eagerly looking, and their fathers before them did not know God's prophets. And even good men may fail to recognize such an epoch, because it is attended with confusion, conflict, and distress. Hence, in such an epoch, the noblest sentiments will be ridiculed as fanaticism; the principles of justice, when pro-

pounded as the principles of constitutional law and social organization and order, will be flouted, and they who are the prophets of righteousness abused as disturbers of the peace and order of society. In every such epoch are persons of the type of those who said of the apostles: "These men are full of new wine."

For the same reason such epochs are attended with discouragement and reaction. The Israelites, amid the hardships of their journey to the promised land, clamored to be led back to Egypt. It is a type of the reaction attending the epochs of human progress. Men see only the difficulties of the crisis, and long for the ease and quiet of the former life. The glory of such a period is fully seen only after it is past. It does not shine till the observer is far enough removed to see it in its wholeness. Then it shines like the moon, full-orbed in silver light, with only the dimmest intimation of its dismal ravines and horrid mountains. We then think all the actors in it to be heroes, and wish we could have shared in a work so great, and witnessed events so glorious.

6. In the epochs of the growth of Christ's kingdom the progress is usually further than the agents in them had originally intended. This is true of epochs in political and social progress. The American Revolution began with no intention of achieving independence; our civil war began with no intention of freeing the slaves; the Italian war began with no intention of giving unity to Italy. The same is true of the progress of Christ's kingdom. The Protestant Reformation began with no intention of separating from Rome; Wesley began with no wish to leave the church of England; American missions began with no expectation of becoming so extensive as they now are; even the apostles began to preach Christ with no very clearly defined purpose of separating from Judaism. God is bolder than man. His grace and providence are at work in human progress. Therefore the people find themselves borne on by a power beyond man's will, a wisdom outreaching man's counsel, a

boldness beyond man's daring. It is wonderful to see how, in such a time, the mere progress of events solves problems which had seemed insoluble, removes difficulties which had seemed insuperable, and makes safe and easy measures which had seemed perilous or impracticable.

7. Epochs necessitate new ideas and a new policy. The gospel is always the same; but what is wise in policy and practicable in statesmanship changes with the changing time. "The wisdom of winter is the folly of spring." It is not strange that in great epochs the old lingers after the new has come, like blocks of ice lingering on the river's bank after it has been broken up in the spring, and melting but slowly into the running stream. Sympathy with Christ and his kingdom is necessary in order to understand an epoch, to know the ideas, and wisely to determine the policy fitted to the changed conditions.

Here is the difference between the preacher of righteousness, the reformer or prophet, and the statesman. The former is a prophet rebuking sin, holding up the ideal of moral perfection, and warning against the displeasure of God. He preaches Christ's kingdom and righteousness to elevate the people and to prepare them for institutions embodying the highest moral purity. But the maxim of the statesman is always the words of Hesiod, with a new application: "Fools, who do not know how much better half is than the whole."[1] The statesman does not attempt to carry through measures and laws, and to create institutions realizing an ideal perfection. He seeks the practicable, rather than the ideal, approximating to the ideal as rapidly as the actual advancement of society admits. He knows that the attempt to embody in institutions an ideal of perfection far in advance of the actual character of the people would probably result in a reaction, undoing much of the progress already attained. The half is better than the whole. God himself has

[1] Νήπιοι· οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός,
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μεγ' ὄνειαρ.
Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, 40, 41.

sanctioned the principle that political institutions and laws are to be modified on account of the hardness of men's hearts.

Hence it is the Christian, in sympathy with God's truth, who sees the kingdom of God, and understands the epochs of its growth when they come. In the quiet times before the epoch comes, the Christian may be at fault. Intent on his moral ideals, and impatient of the seeming slowness of God's movements, he may unwisely insist on the immediate expression of all truth in institutions and laws, putting new wine into old bottles, and sewing a new patch on an old garment. But when the epoch has come, possessing the hearts of men with its new ideas, and demanding a new policy, then it is the Christian who sees clearly; while the man accustomed to the statesman's habit of thought is confounded, and, unable to see the significance of the new as it penetrates the old, babbles.

VII. The Progress of the Kingdom is Cumulative.

So our Saviour predicted: "He will show him greater works than these, that ye may marvel." Christianity has always undeveloped resources; its progress is a perpetual surprisal. Examples in our own day are the inception and growth of foreign missions, the results of home missionary work at the West, the termination of American slavery, and of the temporal power of the Pope. Every great advance of Christian truth is a surprisal even to those who had labored for it. It reveals undeveloped resources. Men marvel at the presence and energy of a power whose existence had been unknown or forgotten. The same is true of local revivals. Men acknowledge the presence and work of God; they marvel at the divine power in the Christian life.

The divine grace which advances Christ's kingdom is an inexhaustible fulness of power, which while old is always new, and every manifestation appears in the freshness of its divine nature. And the energy of faith and love which it calls forth in men is an energy which has never been put

fully to the test, and continually surprises by its character and results. Thus Christianity never grows old. It is like fire, always the same, if it exists at all. It comes to every generation as fresh and young as at the beginning, as the sun and the stars go up the sky as bright and glorious as in the day of their creation. It is this undecaying freshness of divine grace and human faith and love which gives to Christianity in every generation the power of astonishing the world by its new developments. And there is to-day a power in faith and love which Christians as yet imperfectly appreciate, which, if fully exercised, would do greater things in advancing Christ's kingdom than the world has ever witnessed. The greatest earthly power is the power of a human being thoroughly in earnest. And when that earnestness is sustained by faith and love, its power is immeasurable. The work accomplished by every Christian thoroughly in earnest, from Paul's day until now, has been a perpetual surprisal; before him and his achievements all men marvel.

This power is therefore cumulative; it is always able to produce greater and better effects.

The progress of the kingdom is cumulative, also, from the increase of numbers. Every convert becomes a new spiritual power for the world's conversion.

It is cumulative, also, from the Christian growth of individuals. The power of each one grows in intensity, is freed from conflicting elements, and reaches out in new directions, and finds wider scope for itself in resisting evil and bringing men to Christ.

Christian ideas, also, become incorporated into society, form public sentiment, determine customs, laws, and institutions, and thus create for themselves an organic force. Then the customary ongoings of life and civilization help the progress of Christ's kingdom. The currents of popular thought, political agitations, inventions, manufactures, commerce, contribute to its advance. Influences are incorporated into society which work with the Christian while he works, and work for him while he sleeps.

By this cumulative progress Christianity is working out in human history a demonstration of its divine origin and power. And when it shall have prevailed through the world, the demonstration will be complete. Humanity itself will have become a living epistle, known and read of all men — a word of God, declaring Christ the living Word — a second incarnation of the divine in humanity, demonstrating the reality of the incarnation in Jesus Christ.

Precisely here is the great want of this age — a demonstration of Christianity by its life-giving power. The Tartars worshipped their own scimetars — the mightiest and best helpers they knew. Civilized men will worship the steam-engine, if it prove itself mightiest and best. They must see a power, proving itself divine by its superior beneficence, using the steam-engine itself for high and beneficent ends.

Infidelity itself now unwittingly testifies to the power and truth of Christianity. It has become pious and philanthropic, and claims acceptance on the ground that it does more Christian work than Christianity itself. "The magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments." When the apostles cast out devils, Simon Magus insists on doing the same. The gospel must silence modern infidelity, not merely by proving that the philanthropy which characterizes modern civilization is the gift of Christianity, but also by showing a benevolence purer, more self-sacrificing, and universal; motives to beneficence more energizing and persistent; philanthropy more wise, comprehensive, and efficient; a character more complete, and a power more divine in the renovation of men. It stands before modern infidelity, as Paul did before the seven sons of Sceva, and must prove its power to cast out devils by doing it, leaving to the pretenders the shame of hearing the devils answer: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?" Its challenge must always be, like that of Jesus himself: "The works that I do bear witness of me; though ye believe not me, believe the works." The world accepts the challenge: "What dost thou work? Show us the desert blooming beneath thy tread, the dead in

sin living at thy touch, the powers of hell fleeing before thy voice." Faithful Christian workers, mighty in faith and love, are the best evidences of Christianity. We are not to prove that it is from God merely by its great works in the past. We are not to be obliged to point to the primitive church as the most beautiful exhibition and the sufficient proof of the power of the gospel, but to create now an age of Christian purity and power. "The fathers did eat manna in the wilderness"; we thank God for that. "But they are dead"; God now is giving us the living bread, that we may eat thereof, and not die.

ARTICLE V.

LYELL'S STUDENT'S ELEMENTS OF GEOLOGY.

BY JOHN B. PERRY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

ANOTHER volume by Sir Charles Lyell[1] appeared a few months ago in England, and is now republished in this country. It is partly a new book, in part a recast and revision of the last edition of the "Elements."[2] As its title indicates, it is designed for students. It has been the aim of the author to present the matter in such a light as, without sacrificing substance, to adapt the publication to beginners. By the omission of portions of the earlier work, room has been secured for large additions; while effort has been made to exhibit the subject in fullest consonance with the existing state of knowledge.

Of course, on the appearance of any such work, it is all-

[1] The Student's Elements of Geology, by Sir Charles Lyell, Bart. F.R.S. London. 1871. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1871.

[2] The latter work which was originally prepared as a "Supplement" to the Principles of Geology, was published as a separate duodecimo volume in 1838, and passing through successive forms reached the sixth and last edition in 1857. There was thus abundant occasion for a recension, and an ample opportunity for improvement, so great has been the progress made in geology during the last decennium.

important to know whether the task, gratefully assumed by the author, have been well executed; whether the subject, as profoundly grasped, have been genially and thoroughly elaborated; and whether the work be adapted to its end. One of the most prominent educators in the country having asked my opinion of the volume, I have read it with care, that my judgment might rest, not simply on familiar acquaintance with previous writings of the author, but especially on the merits of the book in question. In thus examining the work, I have had primary reference to its fitness for its proposed end, namely, to serve as a manual for students in elementary geology.[1] Thinking that the results reached might be of benefit to many teachers, and perhaps of interest to others enlisted in studies of this kind, I will transcribe some of the points noted.

It may be said, at the outset, that the volume, while in no sense exhaustive, is a repository of important facts. Being familiar with nearly, if not quite, all the previous editions of the "Elements," from the first impression down to the latest, I wish also to premise that each recension has been, as might have been reasonably expected, in some respects, an improvement on what has preceded, and that the volume now under consideration has some features deserving of praise, for which one will vainly look in any of the earlier forms of the work. While Sir Charles has seldom been in advance, he has labored hard to keep fully up with the march of science.

[1] Another point which stands specially prominent is not directly mentioned. It will be readily understood when it is added that the present Article is furnished as introductory to a series of papers on the Relations of Natural Science to Theology. As such, it is perhaps well suited to suggest, that while the great principles of geology rest on a substantial basis, there is not a little current in geological literature, and even in the writings of so-called standard authorities, that is by no means trustworthy. In a second introductory Article — which will appear in due time and be devoted to a critical review of Mr. Darwin — the question will be tacitly raised whether, while zoölogy as a science has a valid foundation, there be not much zoölogical speculation that is utterly untenable in the light of sound logic, and wholly unsupported by facts. These preliminary Articles will, it is thought, prepare the way for a thorough and impartial consideration of some of the relations of science to religion.

In this way he has been able to evince progress in each new issue of his writings. It is true that the nature of these progressive movements has been largely determined by the labors of others — by the progress actually achieved in science by original research. Still, these improvements, as should be added, have been made not merely in the way of supplements and addenda; there have been constant eliminations of obsolete matter, and a real incorporation of new material, — as it were an interstitial growth, — corresponding with the advance of the times. And this is a marked excellence — one too seldom met with in the publications of the day. It is in this direction that the present work has its special claim to favor.

But, while certain commendable points, which began to show themselves in the first edition of the "Principles," some forty years ago, have gradually become more apparent as the author has matured, there were also equally marked defects, some of which have augmented in like proportion with the lapse of time. These, having escaped correction, now reveal themselves with glaring prominence in this his latest work. A few of them, as seen in contrast with what one might expect to find in any widely-used manual of geology, may be now passed in hasty review.

Among these points, the *evolution of the subject*, including the method adopted, has special claim to attention. As must be evident, a right method is all-important, especially in a work designed for beginners. An examination of the one selected by the author will reveal the character of the work in this direction. To indicate his method, in a word, is not easy. Still, it may be, perhaps, appropriately designated as at once complex and regressive. From the multitudinous objects of to-day the movement is by slow degrees toward the greater simplicity of earlier times. Starting from the present, with all its multiplicity and diversity, the author, if I may so say, advances backward — often backward several steps at once, and then forward, and so gradually toward the more primitive periods by successive hitches. Such a

course almost inevitably necessitates confusion, rendering a mental translation or re-arrangement perpetually needful, if the pupil would get any distinct and just view of the real sequence and progress evinced in nature. Indeed, constant effort is requisite, even on the part of the expert, that he may keep this vast complication, as seen in its reversed order, clear in all its parts. In the "Principles" this regressive movement is appropriate. It is, in fact, admirable; for it is entirely consonant with the aim of the work. But the composition of that book seems to have put the author under a bias from which he has never recovered — a bias which appears in other works requiring an entirely different method. For his adoption of this course in the present volume there might be more show of reason, were the student at the start — as ordinarily he is not — thoroughly master of existing forms of life. But even in this case the historic method is far preferable.

Indeed, a few elementary forms need first to be plainly presented. From these there may be a gradual advance to a greater number, and, if the facts allow, to those of a more complicated structure. The advance is naturally made from the more rudimentary to those of greater diversity; from earlier and simpler to later and more complex; from forms, in short, with which the student at first readily associates the great types of the animal kingdom, to others which he may for the time look upon as representative of particular classes, orders, families, and genera; from the trunk, so to speak, of organic existence, to the branches, thence to the twigs and leaves and flowers, and all in the historic order of development.

To put the matter in a more specific shape, the student in geology should start, so far as may be, from the beginning. Going back, with whatever knowledge he has of the present, to the earliest fossiliferous rocks, he fitly commences his study on a few representatives of two, or at the most three, great divisions of the animal kingdom, and thus is not perplexed, much less overwhelmed, by a great multiplicity of

forms. From these he slowly, but steadily, advances to higher and later groups of rocks, thus to other slightly varying phases of organization, thence to larger and newer circles of existence, and so onward, from gradation to gradation, until he comes at last in some good measure to understand the meaning of things as they now are. This should be substantially true of his course, whether he take up the *composition* of the several different beds as superimposed in space; the *disposition* of strata as marks of orderly movements in time; their *formation* as effected by dynamic processes working under varying conditions; or, finally, *organization* in its progressive steps, as witnessed by distinctive cycles of vegetable and animal life in the rocky record of the ages.

Now, the book under consideration is exactly the contrary of this in its plan. By Sir Charles's so-called method no progress of this kind is made, no such view of creation secured. The movement is backward — the very opposite of that implied in the evolution of a principle or the unfolding of an orderly plan. It is as if one should write the history of the United States upon a regressive scheme, beginning with the last acts of to-day, or perhaps with the close of the "great conflict," describing, first, the surrender of General Lee, then each event that preceded it, and so, step by step, backward through the war, through the various presidential administrations, the revolutionary struggle for independence, the provincial period, and the colonial — all this, while no given point of more recent date can be adequately understood without a knowledge of much, if not of all, that went before it. To put it in a word, it is like telling a story backward.

Viewed in this light, the unfitness of the method must be evident, even to such as have never given the subject a moment's thought. To others its awkwardness may seem more striking, if looked at under some other aspects. Its futility will be, perhaps, more specially apparent to many, when it is remembered that existing species are not in any peculiar sense the standard by which nature is to be judged;

that they are not distinctively the types of creation, as some have seemed to suppose; that the more primitive forms, and thus in one sense the more typical examples, from which the existing are variations, belong to the past; that, while a special plan is revealed in each portion of animated existence, the earliest are the primal manifestations of the original archetype; that thus the present phases of life can be adequately understood only in the light of those that preceded; that the most ancient — for instance, the Taconic and Silurian, — being far fewer in number, are more readily mastered; and that, therefore, as always contemplated in connection with what now exists, they are the proper material on which a well-organized and wisely-devised method of study suggests that the student should begin his work.

If such be the case, Mr. Lyell's mode of proceeding is certainly unnatural. Indeed, it seems to be just the reverse of that of nature. It opens not with the premises, but with the conclusion; it sets out from the myriad forms of the present, instead of starting from the primordial with the aim of seizing the plan of creation in its more rudimentary aspects, and tracing it onward and upward through all the advancing stages of its evolution. It is not, therefore, at once simple and progressive, as the true unfolding of a subject should be. While it is in a sense orderly, it is not really methodical, because it is not according to the method of nature, which is ever historical. Genuine method, as even the very word implies, is a movement forward — a way onward from point to point; thus it is an orderly advance by progressive stages.

And still Sir Charles speaks of his so-called method as "chronological." "I proceed," he says (p. 100), "to treat of the aqueous or fossiliferous rocks, considered in chronological order." Of course, in one view, his scheme is chronologic, that is, according to a time order; but it clearly does not move in the direction in which time flows. Thus, in spite of the forced sense put upon the word, it is really anti-chronologic. Indeed, he elsewhere virtually confesses

this much. In giving the sequence of the formations, in a cut (p. 114), he properly numbers them from below upward, or from older to newer. So, in another place he calls, perhaps inadvertently, the order of superposition that of chronological succession. This, to him probably unconscious, play on the word reveals the incongruity of his method. That he sometimes dimly felt its unnaturalness seems evident from his occasional apologies for it. And yet, as should be freely admitted, there are some advantages in studying the recent and newer formations before the older. Indeed, there ought always to be a comparison of the ancient with the modern. So a regressive movement is occasionally desirable in a work of this kind; still, it should be one occupying not the main body of the treatise, but at most only a few chapters, or resorted to incidentally to prepare the way for a survey of the past in the light of the present, and thus for an intelligent and systematic advance from the introduction of life upon the planet through all the varying stages of its progress. Thus contemplated, the historic method is thought to have advantages immeasurably overbalancing its contingent defects — advantages rendering it overwhelmingly superior to that of Sir Charles, and which, all things considered, leave little room for doubt that it should be adopted in a work for beginners.

But let us turn to another point. While the method, as a whole, is thus vicious, it may be presumed that the *composition of the book* is faultless. In such a volume, one naturally looks for a clear, good style. A few specimens, selected, if not at random, at least from a large number of others, will show whether the "Student's Elements" can serve as a model of English "pure and undefiled." One may read, p. 73, "The *excavation* of both the valley and quarry *have* been gradual"; p. 102, "*None* [i.e. no one] *have* ever reappeared"; p. 118, "The *whole* of them *were* confounded"; and p. 129, "The greater *number* of each kind *are* obviously fashioned." If it be objected that these ungrammatical sentences would be, in whole or in part, awkward with their

verbs in the singular, I reply: They may, as some of them certainly should, be recast — transformed, if possible, into correct, if not into elegant, English.

Take another sentence (p. 27): "Great surprise was *created* some years *since* by the discovery ..... that a certain kind of siliceous stone *was* composed of millions of the remains of organic beings." Surprise "was occasioned," or "experienced," would be better than "was created." After the closest scrutiny, it still remains doubtful just what "some years since" properly means, while "some years ago" is perfectly plain. So the expression "*was* entirely composed," indicating a fact of unvarying import as to time, should obviously be, "*is* entirely composed." There is a similar example on page 144: "Geologists were not long in seeing that the boulder formation was [properly, *is*] characteristic of high latitudes."

A clause (p. 29) reads, "The rocks scarcely contain any *other* fossils *except* snail-shells." It is difficult, in this instance, to see the use of "other." If it be retained, "than" should be substituted for "except." One might drop both words, and use simply "but."

In respect to the sentence (p. 47), "It appeared clear ..... that certain spaces had been "*alternately sea*, *then* land, *then* estuary," it may be asked what the words "alternately sea" mean; also, what is the relation expressed by "alternately," "then," "then," — "alternately" supposing *two* points of contrast, and seldom three.

Such language as the following is of frequent occurrence: p. 99, "Which of the two may be the *oldest*; and p. 106, "The chalk was the *oldest* of the two formations," — cases in which the merest tyro in grammar would be expected to use the comparative, and not, like Sir Charles, the superlative.

On p. 91, there occurs: "The quantity of detritus *now being distributed* would cause an elevation," — strange language for an Englishman; English critics having condemned expressions like "now being distributed" as outlandish

Americanisms. Certainly, "now in process of distribution" is more elegant.

I find on p. 110, "This great work and *those* [viz. "great work"] of A. Brongniart ..... show" — a construction which, if occasionally pardonable in oral discourse, I trust has not yet become classic.

"Palaeontology" and its derivatives, with some other kindred words, are spelled sometimes with a diphthong, sometimes with a simple "e." Uniformity is surely preferable.

"Density" is used (p. 87) — probably from sheer carelessness — in the expressions, "maximum density" and "enormous density," the meaning clearly being not density, but a "thickness of 40,000 feet."

A specimen of carelessness in another direction occurs (p. 118): "Their geographical area [i.e. that of the Tertiary series] being usually small compared to the Secondary formations." These words, as comparing incompatibles, are, of course, sheer nonsense as they stand; the meaning evidently is "small compared with that [viz. the area] of the Secondary formations."

This example reminds me that "compare," "correspond," "conform," "parallel," and some other kindred words, with their derivatives, constantly occur with the particle "to," while their etymology suggests that "with" is their proper, and should be their usual, accompaniment.

The author (p. 118) speaks of "successive sets of strata" "lying one upon the other." "One upon the other" implies that there were only two, and would be proper if that were the case. There being more than two, he should have written "one upon another."

It may be remarked that the sense is often obscured by the misplacement of adverbs and adverbial phrases. These are almost invariably made to separate the compound auxiliaries, when they would more elegantly, not to say more consistently with the sense, follow them so as directly to modify the principal verb. For instance, in the clauses (p. 210), "The Miocene may *best* be studied," (p. 215)

"Cones have *recently* been obtained," and (p. 477) "Might *fairly* have inferred," what should "best," "recently," and "fairly," specially modify — the auxiliaries, or the main verbs? If the latter, they ought by all means to be placed as near them as the other words will consistently allow. In a few instances, over against hundreds of misplacement, the collocation of the words is right; e.g. (p. 445) "It has been *already* stated."

Instead of "some few," which frequently occurs, as on p. 180, "*some few* of those eleven shells," "a few" would certainly be in better taste, if not more correct.

An instance of affected correctness, which is, after all, inaccurate, may be seen (p. 177), "At the close of the Newer Pliocene, and in the Post-Pliocene periods." Now "Newer Pliocene" and "Post-Pliocene," in the sense of the passage, cannot agree with "periods." Rarely, if ever, does an additional adjective necessarily require a change from singular to plural in the noun described. Instead of this, sound criticism and exactness of thought suggest that the substantive is understood with the first adjective, it being expressed with the second. Take, as a good instance, "the Old [Testament] and the New Testament," not "the Old [Testaments] and the New Testaments." So it is properly, "the Newer Pliocene [period] and the Post-Pliocene period."

As is frequent in England, Sir Charles often uses the "present-perfect" tense when the sense and strict propriety require the indefinite past; e.g. (p. 144) "Erratics have not unfrequently travelled hundreds of miles from the parent rocks from which they have evidently been detached." While the tense of the first verb is perhaps defensible, that of the second is certainly incorrect. The last clause should clearly stand: "From which they were [indefinite past time] evidently detached."

The author almost invariably employs the indicative form of the verb after "if." It gives me great pleasure to cite one out of a few instances noted in which he more elegantly uses the subjunctive mood. Speaking of the tests of age, he

says (p. 505) "If a volcanic rock *rest* upon an aqueous deposit," it is still the newer mass.

In the clause (p. 78), "It could be assumed that *both* the upward *or* downward movement are everywhere uniform," "both" and "or" are brought into strange correlation.

Instances of the inelegant use of "where," for "in which," are frequent; e.g. (p. 122) "Cases will occur *where* it may be scarcely possible to draw the boundary line between the Recent and Post-Pliocene deposits."

In the sentence (p. 133), "Schmerling examined forty cases near Liége, and found *in all of them* the remains of the same fauna," good sense, not to say grammatical propriety, demands that "found in all of them" be changed to "in them all found."

I had almost forgotten to remark that words ending in "ward," and thus denoting tendency, as "toward," "forward," "southward," and the like, are almost invariably burdened with a superfluous "s." This corruption, so contrary to etymology and the sound usage of the classic writers in English literature, I am sorry to say has of late crept into use, and is now countenanced by many of the so-called standard dictionaries. The inappositeness of this form becomes evident, if one of the words, e.g. "southward," be made an adjective, as it often is when preceded by an article. Thus Sir Charles somewhere says, "the southward [not southwards] inclination of the country."

This reminds me of an equivocal use of "upward" on p. 146: "These angular blocks have been [were] brought for a distance of fifty miles and upwards [upward]." Is it meant by "and upward" that they were carried "to a higher level," or "more than fifty miles"? If the latter, as seems evident from the context, the words might have stood, "They were borne fifty miles or [and] more."

On p. 516, I find the prim and by no means well-authorized form "firstly," "secondly," for "first," "secondly," etc.

After the mention of certain features in a formation, it is said (p. 576), "*The same* phenomena are also repeated in

the beds below," by which is probably meant "kindred" or "similar," but not "the same."

In the sentence (p. 571), "Clay, marl, etc ..... often contain a considerable proportion of alkali, so much *so* as frequently to make them unfit to be burnt into brick," it may be asked what is the use of the second "so." If one attempt to complete the clause, he will see the incongruity. It is, in fact, one of the fag-ends so frequent in Sir Charles's style.

Without citing any more examples illustrative of the composition of this new volume, I think all will agree that it has many faults of style which should never mar a manual for beginners.

I proceed, next, to notice the *distribution of the matter*, having reference to classification generally. In the book now occupying attention, there is less excellence in this direction than might be at first supposed. While there is considerable formal regularity, some show of a systematic arrangement, the classification seems to be defective, as not resting on principles or founded in a profound apprehension of the nature of the things discussed.

Take, as an instance, the author's general, and it should be a fundamental, division of the rocks of the globe. He distributes them all into four great classes, viz. Aqueous, Volcanic, Plutonic, and Metamorphic. Now, as he professes to divide them "according to their origin," it may be fairly asked, whether, in this light, the so-called metamorphic rocks can be properly regarded as co-ordinate with the other divisions named. If the foliated or schistose masses were, as he supposes, really formed as sedimentary beds, they belong to the aqueous series, and thus are not an independent and comprehensive group. If crystallization was superinduced, as he holds, *after their formation*, another mark of subordination is added. Thus they constitute, on the one hand, only a part of the aqueous series; meanwhile, the transformation they have undergone, which is regarded as their characteristic feature, is certainly incidental. The

metamorphic rocks, therefore, according to the description given, must be looked at as a subordinate, and not, as Sir Charles, who named them, would have people suppose, a grand division. Indeed, metamorphic agency, while important in its place, is not sufficient to constitute a primary class; for it is, at the best, local and exceptional in its working, and cannot furnish characters more general than itself. Whether these rocks, in whole or in part, may not compose a grand division, is an entirely different point, which I do not propose here to discuss.

Another question: Are "granite, gneiss, and the other crystalline formations" to be classed together, as they are on p. 10? Surely not on the ground that, as suggested, the first is plutonic, while the latter are metamorphic; for these words, as ordinarily used by the author, suggest marked differences, and apply to rocks which were, according to the terms employed, of very unlike origin. If it be said that their origin may have been the same, I reply, (1) that is the point to be proved, and (2) the supposition ignores Sir Charles's distinction between plutonic and metamorphic. No more are they to be reduced to one division on the supposition that both are "nether formed"; since no positive proof has been yet given that all gneiss, for instance, is hypogenic. Indeed, for anything that has yet appeared to the contrary, the great mass of foliated rocks, with the exception of certain metamorphic aqueous beds lying in troughs, etc., may have been formed *before* any sedimentary strata were deposited. Accordingly, if they be classed together, it must no doubt virtually be from the fact that all are crystalline. As to how they took this form, whether under kindred or diverse conditions, and thus whether they should be referred to one circle, or to different series, I may have more to say hereafter.

If an additional instance of Sir Charles's infelicitous and, shall I say, shallow classification were needed, I might cite his major divisions of the Tertiary; viz. Eocene, Miocene, and Pliocene. These terms, as most know, were originally

given to particular beds, on the hypothesis that each contains a certain percentage of living species. It is now, however, the opinion of some of the best Palaeontologists that no fossil, for instance of the Eocene, belongs to a species still existent. But the error thus implied is not the worst feature in this system of classification: every new study of given beds, or series of strata, is liable and likely to reveal a different percentage of living forms, to say nothing of species once supposed to be now living, and thus from time to time to necessitate readjustments of their places in Sir Charles's numerico-Tertiary scale. As an instance, take those beds which Professor Beyrich has termed "Oligocene." These, in the last edition of the "Elements," Sir Charles arranged as Eocene; in the present volume, however, they are called Lower Miocene, as they must be, in order to sustain certain points in the proposed theory. Thus the tendency is to vacillation, not to stability.

I may add that, evidently with a like purpose, many other changes have been made. For instance, of beds of drift, some are arranged in the Tertiary, while others on the same island, and substantially identical in age, are placed in the Post-Tertiary; all this, while the demarcation between the Tertiary and the Post-Tertiary is far more distinctly marked in nature than that between the Miocene and Pliocene. Surely, such changes are a mending of matters with a vengeance, and for the most part, so far as I can see, simply with the aim to keep that time-honored percentage classification in harmony with new discoveries. Of course, as must be evident to all, a general division of the Tertiary into Lower, Middle, and Upper, and the latter into subordinate stages, — the beds being then arranged simply as they occur in nature, — would save much of this tinkering, and perhaps be equally favorable to a healthy advance in geologic knowledge. It must thus be clear that Sir Charles's classification is signally inadequate; it being neither fundamental nor really systematic, and therefore failing either to represent the true system of nature, or to serve as a matter of permanent convenience in aiding the memory of the student.

But it is time to consider a more special feature of the volume, viz. the *definition of terms*. This is a point of primary importance, particularly in a manual for beginners. Let us, accordingly, look at some of Sir Charles's work in this direction, and first at his definition of a fossil. "By fossil," he says (p. 5), "is meant any body, or the traces of the existence of any body, whether animal or vegetable, which has been buried in the earth by natural causes." The word as used at an early day included minerals, no less than organic forms, and thus meant, as etymologically defined, something dug up, anything excavated; though, according to its more recent employment, it mainly comprises only vegetable and animal remains. Of course, the implication is that the thing was once covered, no matter how. The author, in thus disregarding the etymon and the historic derivation of the term, for the most part merely gives an inference from the true definition. His statement, therefore, lacks, on the one side, breadth, for it fails to cover the whole ground; and on the other, precision, since it contains irrelevant matter. Comprehensiveness and exactness in this case, while not detracting in the least, but ministering to the student's information, would have added to his interest and the distinctness of impression.

In laying out his subject, the author (p. 11) defines the fossiliferous rocks as of three sorts, — "the siliceous, the argillaceous, and the calcareous." Instead of "siliceous," the word "arenaceous," as more comprehensive, might be used with manifest advantage, without any sacrifice of exactness; the siliceous beds being properly regarded as simply a variety of the arenaceous. While this may seem to some an unimportant distinction, it yet, when properly put, teaches the pupil to think according to the logic of nature.

This suggests another example of somewhat similar character. "Conglomerate" and "pudding-stone" (p. 12) are spoken of as synonymous. With a view to convenience, as when we wish to designate two or more kinds by one comprehensive term, and to exactness, if we would name one sort

by a single word, "conglomerate" may be well retained as a generic designation, "pudding-stone" and "breccia" indicating two varieties.

From the definitions of "conformability" and "unconformability of strata" (see pp. 15, 71, 72), it is evident that the author confines these terms to the agreement or disagreement of beds in respect to dip. Had he defined the words more comprehensively, as Jukes has done, so as to be able to speak of strata as conformable or discordant as to (1) dip, (2) strike, and (3) succession in time, he would have saved himself and his readers many cumbersome circumlocutions. He might perhaps with advantage even go further, describing beds as conformable or discordant in regard to mineral constituents and organic remains, thus bringing out even in definitions, the harmonies, circles within circles, which meet us everywhere in nature.

On p. 14, he mentions "magnesian limestone" and "dolomite" as synonymous; and yet, in the same paragraph, he speaks of the latter as a variety of the former. With a little more care, he might have increased at once the comprehensiveness and the exactness of his language, avoided the seeming inconsistency, and thus have aided the student.

Take another example: "Denudation," it is said (p. 73), "is the removal of solid matter by water in motion, whether of rivers or of the waves and currents of the sea, and the consequent laying bare of some inferior rock." So far as the definition goes, the student is not told that a particle of the surface of the earth beyond that occupied by seas and rivers is affected by the process. Such a removal of a portion of solid matter, in the bed of a stream or of the ocean, by water in motion, as lays bare a lower rock, might constitute, according to the terms, the whole of denudation. But, waiving this point, one cannot fail to see that the definition is, even on other grounds, very narrow and restricted. When specifications are limited, as in the present case, by general terms, such special points as are not expressly named as free from the limitation are of course excluded. In this

instance, there is an exclusion of one of the more important, if not of the most prominent agencies in the erosion of the earth's surface, viz. ice. So atmospheric action, in connection with moisture, heat, and cold, to mention no other omissions, seems to be overlooked, indeed virtually excluded, by the definition. It should be added that subsequent remarks show that the author recognizes the atmosphere as an eroding power; but in showing this they also evince the incongruity of the definition with what follows. Had he simply said: Denudation is mainly due to the action of water in some of its forms, the definition, while by no means exhaustive, would have been far more comprehensive. Meanwhile, it would have allowed exactness in specifications, and thus more harmony between the definition and subsequent statements.

The expression "fresh-water algae" occurs on p. 28 — an expression which, while not a definition, reveals the need of exact defining. While aware of the loose way in which "alga" is often used, even by many botanists, I may add that it originally denoted, and properly designates, a sea-weed; while "conferva," which was primarily applied to certain fresh-water plants of low grade, should be with strict exactness confined to this group. Thus the forms which Sir Charles had in mind when he wrote "fresh-water algae," and which he might have designated in a word, are properly termed "confervae," and not "fresh-water sea-weeds."

This reminds me of an additional instance of somewhat kindred character. Explaining the position of the beds of an anticlinal axis, the author says (p. 62): "They slope upwards [upward], forming an arch." Now, what he means is of course clear from the connection; but this does not excuse, much less vindicate, the self-contradictory expression. In strict propriety, "to slope" is to slant, not simply in any direction, but downward. Hence the combination "slope upward" is as incongruous as the expressions "descend to heaven," "ascend to hades"; indeed, it is more so. Such unions of incompatibles would be cheerfully overlooked in

playful conversation, but their use in sober earnest, and in what is intended to be a standard work, is a very different matter. This example, especially as taken in connection with the peculiar method of the "Elements," vividly recalls the expressive paradox implied in the old Greek word *ἀποκατάστασις*, a word which has been wittily, if not happily rendered, "progress backward"; with this difference, however, in favor of the ancient Grecian astronomers, — they had an established fact to announce — a fact to which the term very well answered, viz. a return of the heavenly bodies, after a given period, to their recognized point of departure; while Sir Charles's language, in this instance, whatever may be said of his "progress-backward" method, is clearly due to sheer carelessness.

As an instance of a loose, if not of the equivocal, use of language, take the following rule (p. 12): "Pure siliceous rocks may be known by not effervescing when a drop of nitric, sulphuric, or other acid is applied to them, or by the grains not being readily scratched or broken by ordinary pressure." According to the first test, the student may set down sulphate of lime, or gypsum, as pure silex, since it does not effervesce on the application of an acid. Simply following the second test, he might take a specimen of almost any of the so-called igneous rocks for pure silex. Perhaps, however, the author means that a rock may be known to be silex, if it do not yield *either* to the first *or* to the second test. In this case, his use of "or" is ambiguous. But, even when thus interpreted, the rule is altogether inadequate; for varieties of feldspar fail *either* to effervesce under the proposed conditions, *or* to be readily scratched or broken under ordinary pressure. Surely, such a rule from one who, like Sir Charles, is an adept in the determination of metamorphic rocks, is a marvel; and there need be no surprise if a student under such guidance make strange work in his identification of minerals.

In this place, perhaps, I should quote what the author says (p. 86) specially in regard to the student: "It is par-

ticularly his business to understand." Of course, this sage remark will be generally admitted, but on the ground that the statements made for the enlightening of the student are in good English, and that the rules and definitions are to some small extent free from ambiguity, not to say comprehensive and exact. Surely, comprehensiveness is necessary in definitions, in order that they may be, so far as possible, exponential of great principles, and that every particular legitimately within their scope may be included, certainly not excluded by infelicitous verbal improprieties. There is also need of exactness, that there may be no doubt precisely what is meant; the words just answering to the things intended. The few specimens cited will show that, even in this direction, the volume under review has defects and faults which ought never to appear in a work intended as the student's *vade-mecum* in geology.

Advancing to another point, I may notice Sir Charles's *delineation of facts*. In his exhibition of the European Tertiary and Post-Tertiary beds he evinces a considerable degree of explicitness and accuracy; for with these he is probably better acquainted than with any other part of the geologic record. And yet, in examining what he has to say even of these formations, on points respecting which I specially desire light, I fail to find it. Compared with his presentation, the minuteness of knowledge revealed by Carl Mayer in every utterance he makes on the Tertiary is marvellous, and, amidst the platitudes of the day, strangely refreshing.

As illustrative of the author's lack of explicitness, even in regard to the more recent formations, take a single point: On p. 157, he speaks of "marine shells having been found in glacial drift." What he thus calls "glacial drift" is not drift, in the strict sense of the term, but, according to his own showing, a stratified marine deposit, which, as having a very different form, and thus probably an unlike origin, ought to be everywhere closely discriminated from typical drift. Such want of precise discrimination is likely to lead

— as I well know it has led — many a beginner to suppose, what I believe occurs only in rare cases easily explained, that marine shells are found in the typical deposit of the drift period. The matter is no doubt left in this shape because of an early bias unconsciously fostered by Sir Charles in his effort to explain all the drift phenomena in consonance with his favorite iceberg hypothesis.

I may cite an additional instance, which, among other points, is perhaps indicative of the author's limited acquaintance with the exact history of the progress of geologic inquiry. He says (p. 160): "It was first pointed out by Professor Ramsay, in 1862, that lakes are exceedingly numerous in those countries where [in which] ..... signs of ice-action abound." Unless he mean that Mr. Ramsay, in pointing out this fact several times, did it first in 1862, the statement is erroneous. In reality, the fact was distinctly indicated by Professor Emmons some twenty years earlier, and repeated by him in 1858. The sentence, however, is ambiguous; still, the meaning probably is: Professor Ramsay was the first to point out, in 1862, etc. Without presuming that Professor Ramsay borrowed, I wish simply to suggest that he was anticipated by Dr. Emmons, and that Sir Charles is doubtless ignorant of the fact — a point easily understood by such as are intimately acquainted with the history of American Geology.

An example of the author's lack of accuracy, both from ambiguity and from defective statements, I take from p. 2. Speaking of the earth's crust, which he seems to divide into two parts, (1) what "is accessible to human observation," and (2) "the whole of that outer covering of the planet on which we are enabled to reason by observations made at or near the surface," he proceeds to say: "These reasonings may extend to a depth of several miles, say ten miles." Now, according to the language used, he appears to affirm that some ten miles embrace all those parts of the earth's crust respecting which one may reason from observations made at or near the surface. But, waiving this ambiguity,

and supposing that he means that the thickness of what is accessible to human observation is about ten miles, one may still demur, and think that the statement is made from very old estimates, and not in the light of present knowledge. The fossiliferous strata must have a maximum thickness of some one hundred thousand feet. To these should be added the foliated series of beds which clearly underlie the primordial formations, and are probably about thirty thousand feet in thickness. Thus the rocks that are open to the eye of man, to say nothing of those that may be reasoned about from observations made on these superficial masses, are, no doubt, from twenty to twenty-five miles in thickness — an estimate suited to remind the student that there is still room for original research. While an under-estimate may be in some respects better than its opposite, it still involves an injustice to the science; the exact truth being what is wanted, and what simple justice demands.

As an instance of a presentation of facts which is explicit, and in one sense correct, while it yet gives a very exaggerated impression as a whole, take what is said, in several editions of the "Elements," of the agency of icebergs. Particular cases, most of which are comparatively exceptional, are given with such a degree of explicitness, while so little is presented in a favorable light in regard to certain other instrumentalities, that false inferences and implications are almost unavoidably forced upon the mind of the student — implications and inferences calculated to impart a very distorted view of the actual state of things at given times in the earth's history. This being a kind of special pleading in which Sir Charles occasionally indulges, and by means of which some of his writings are likely to suggest a very one-sided aspect of nature, they are certainly not the best suited to go into the hands of beginners. For them a narration of facts should be at once explicit and accurate, and thus evenly balanced — explicit, it being duly spread out that they may get a distinct impression; accurate, there being an exhibition of the subject as it is, without defect or exaggeration, that their apprehension of it may be true.

To proceed: I would now briefly refer to Sir Charles's *exposition of progress*. A word touching what he says of the older fossiliferous rocks must suffice in that direction. The Obolus sandstone of Russia, sometimes known as the Ungulite grit of Pander, — which, indeed, with all the sedimentary beds around St. Petersburg lying beneath the Orthoceratite limestone, should be provisionally recognized as Primordial, — the author places, seemingly without a question, in the Lower Silurian. But when he treats of the older Palaeozoic rocks of England, which are rapidly gaining prominence in public estimation, he arranges the Tremadoc slates as Cambrian, though as a series of transition beds they appear to be as closely allied to the Silurian as to the Primordial.

While Sir Charles's exposition of what is known of these older rocks suggests many points of stricture, I must pass them all by, in order to notice his treatment of some of the more recent strata with which he is more especially at home. In arranging the Tertiary and the Post-Tertiary beds, he formerly placed the Drift and the immediately overlying stratified deposits, in the Tertiary, calling them "Newer Pliocene," or "Plistocene." Other strata, of more recent date, he termed "Post-Pliocene," and arranged them as a part of the Post-Tertiary, just above the Plistocene; the deposits known as Recent succeeding them. With the advance of knowledge it has become evident that the Drift, or Plistocene, is also strictly Post-Tertiary, and thus in a marked manner separated from the Older Pliocene. Now, to sunder the Newer Pliocene (or Plistocene) from the Older Pliocene, calling it Post-Tertiary, to be followed by the Post-Pliocene and Recent, would be very awkward, not to say, strangely unfit. Something, therefore, is to be done; the advance of science cannot be safely overlooked; but then the old percentage theory must be kept up. With a view to these ends, and as a sort of compromise, the author arranges the greater part of the Drift proper, with the overlying stratified beds, in what he now calls the Post-Pliocene. Reserving the remainder of the typical Drift, with its superimposed strata,

which in given localities seem to have a little greater percentage of extinct forms, he places it, with a few other beds, in what he designates in the "Student's Elements" as Newer Pliocene, silently dropping the "Plistocene" altogether. But this is not all. Having appropriated the term Post-Pliocene for the most part to the Drift and its associate stratified beds, he seems largely to ignore the time which really intervened between what he formerly called the Plistocene and the Recent. And this interval, which, in consonance with Sir Charles's terminology, I have sometimes called the Holocene, is not a mere cipher. It properly consists of two parts, viz. the Marl Period and the Peat Period, each of which sober geologists have estimated as at least twenty-five thousand years in length.

Now, whether such an exposition of progress be ingenuous, or whether a proceeding of this kind be trustworthy in its results, I leave others to judge. It is certainly fashionable in some quarters. The student, meanwhile, needs in a text-book, not the whims of a man, or the fashions of the day, but that on which he may rely.

A few words may be next devoted to Sir Charles's *recognition of investigators*. Speaking of the studies of Cuvier and Brongniart on the Tertiary beds in the neighborhood of Paris, which were published in 1810 the author says (p. 117), "Strata were soon afterwards [afterward] *brought to light* in the vicinity of London, and *in Hampshire*, which were justly inferred by Mr. T. Webster to be of the same age as those of Paris, because" of the marked similarity of the fossil shells. While this statement is in one aspect true, it is none the less unjust to previous laborers. Brander long before "brought to light" fossils of the Lower Tertiary "in Hampshire," which he deposited in the British Museum. Of these, in 1766, he published descriptions made by Solander, in a volume illustrated with excellent figures, and for the most part comparing favorably with work done to-day. As is clear from his preface, two remarkable results were reached, viz. (1) that most of the fossils differ from existing species,

and (2) that the representatives of the few forms which closely resemble species now living are only found in warmer latitudes. Thus Brander, while he by no means fully anticipated the grand generalizations of Cuvier, yet evinced extraordinary insight, and did much to prepare the way in England for the recognition of the light shortly to dawn. On these accounts, therefore, he was eminently deserving of credit, in some respects more so than any other man who has had to do with the English Tertiaries; and yet he receives in the "Student's Elements" no mention. Such failure to do justice to an Englishman not widely recognized would not be surprising in a foreigner; but in Sir Charles, who certainly knows Brander, or at least of him, and is supposed to be oracular in regard to the English Tertiaries, it is strangely surprising.

A second instance, out of many that might be cited, must suffice for the illustration of the point under consideration. If students simply read what is said of glacier agency in the eleventh chapter of this volume, and especially the reference (p. 145), "*I* have described elsewhere" (Principles, etc.), taken in connection with the fact that express mention is made of only Vinetz and Charpentier as early observers of the Swiss glaciers, they can hardly fail to get the impression that Sir Charles was foremost in noticing the evidences of glaciation, and that the main credit of the glacier-theory is due to him. Again, if they merely read what he says of the glaciation of Scotland, they will naturally infer that Professor Jamieson was the first to find evidence of the former existence of glaciers in that region. Now, the fact is that Professor Agassiz, having followed up the inquiries of the few earlier workers by critical investigations of his own on the glaciers of Switzerland, was the first to make the grand generalization that drift phenomena generally are due to the agency of continental ice-masses; that, in 1840, he was the first to extend this generalization to the British Isles; and that, during the same year, he designated the period of drift as the Ice or Glacial period. It is also a fact that Sir Charles,

having already proposed his iceberg hypothesis, probably did more than any other man in England, when the glacier-view was propounded, to prevent its immediate recognition, and continued by his influence and books to delay its acceptance for years. It is likewise a fact that the iceberg-hypothesis having proved inadequate as an explanation of the phenomena in question, the glacier-theory has gradually come to be more and more widely recognized as true, and that Sir Charles now appears indirectly as its advocate, — indeed, as one might readily infer, as virtually its original propounder. This neglect to recognize the labors of others, this underhand appropriation of credit not his due, this withholding from his peers the meet reward of merit, this speaking of the glacier-theory as if he had always held to it, this silently ceasing to advocate the iceberg-hypothesis as the main agency concerned in the formation of drift, certainly must be regarded, when duly weighed, as anything but fair and just. How much nobler and more honest would his part appear, if he cordially put things as they are; how much better it would be for himself, the student, and all concerned.

Taking another step forward, I would inquire how far Sir Charles has exercised a proper *discrimination of novelties*. A single instance may serve to show the character of the book in this regard. On p. 476, it is said: "The discovery of the Laurentian Eozoön, in Canada, ... discountenances such views" as are implied in M. Barrande's "term Primordial." This is so, if the Eozoön be organic. First observed in limestone of the foliated series from the Grand Calumet on the River Ottawa, it has been since found in rocks supposed to be of the same age in Bavaria, Bohemia, and Massachusetts. Citing as evidence several distinguished men who had to do with the discovery and examination of this curious form, the author says (p. 476): "On this oldest of known organic remains Dr. Dawson has conferred the name Eozoön Canadense." Now, if mere authority be appealed to in regard to the more ancient Palaeozoic organisms, surely few *savants* can stand as an offset to M. Barrande. But this

may not have been the aim. Without, therefore, questioning in the least the scientific insight of the persons named, or discussing the mode in which they have presented the supposed discovery, it may be remarked that Sir Charles distinctly assumes as facts, (1) that the form is *organic*, (2) that it is *known* to be such, and (3), by implication, that the rocks in which it occurs are *metamorphic*, *fossiliferous beds*. Surely these are wonderful assumptions, and seem to preclude all necessity for any further examination of points which I had supposed could be only settled as the result of patient, profound, and critical investigation. Waiving, then, all special consideration of these noteworthy assumptions, I have simply to add: In due time, I propose to show that genuine specimens of Eozoön — those recognized as such by the one who described them — are from non-sedimentary rocks — from rocks which were deposited in a veinlike form, and really constitute vein-stones. It is accordingly probable, if it cannot be demonstrated beyond a question, that this "oldest of organic remains" belongs to the departments of Chemistry and Crystallography, and therefore that it may be newer than some have supposed. Thus, in a word, I find not only probability, but even positive evidence, against the assumed organic nature of the so-called Eozoön. The form, while it resembles certain animal structures, as Dentrites simulate vegetable organization, seems clearly to be the result of chemico-crystalline agency. Without further comments on the matter, I may add that in some respects it is certainly singular that a man so cautious as Sir Charles should have committed himself, unreservedly and without critical examination, to what has ever appeared to me a wild vagary. The recent discovery that the particular beds from which authentic specimens of the supposed Nummulite were derived, are wholly of a non-sedimentary character, only renders the marvel still more strange.

It may be proper, next, to notice the author's *discussion of hypotheses*. As suited to reveal how far he is discriminating and logical in such discussions, his treatment of his pet child,

the doctrine of Metamorphism, may be passed in review. The hypothesis that the foliated rocks are sedimentary beds which have been changed by heat, and so disguised as scarcely to show their aqueous origin, has been very widely indorsed; and yet it by no means rests on so wide an induction of facts as is sometimes supposed, or has in its favor that logical evidence which ought to be required in the case of every generally accredited doctrine. The difficulty, perhaps, lies in the subject itself, and not merely in Sir Charles's treatment of it. Still, if this be so, it should be distinctly understood. The argument is substantially this: "Plumbago, associated with hypogene rock, *may* have been coal." Since it has been *already shown* that plumbago may have been coal changed by heat, therefore it *is* metamorphic coal. Or the case may be put in this more specific form: *Certain* sedimentary beds have been in *given parts* clearly changed by intrusive masses, or in some way so transformed by heat as to resemble the ordinary Schistose rocks. Thus far very well; for the position is according to fact. But again: *Other* beds, in which no unmistakable organic remains, no angular or water-worn pebbles, have been ever found, — which are, in other words, Schistose throughout, and thousands of feet thick, — *may* have been thus changed. This position, also, is legitimate, so long as the word "may" is used to express a mere supposition in aid of inquiry. When, however, "may have been changed" is followed by what is virtually, "*therefore* they were changed," and still more, when it is said, "*therefore all* the foliated rocks are metamorphic, fossiliferous strata," one who does not recognize the legitimacy of that kind of discrimination, and cannot see the force of the logic, must surely be allowed to question the conclusion. Because sedimentary beds have been changed, to a limited extent, by dikes and kindred agencies, — the most marked case respecting which there is certainty being less than a quarter of a mile in thickness, — it clearly does not follow that rocks from twenty to thirty thousand feet thick, and many hundred, if not thousand, miles in

strike, were originally aqueous beds which have been in this wise transformed, especially if they now show no positive sign of such origin.

A few special examples evincing Sir Charles's loose mode of reasoning and illogical statements respecting these rocks may be in point. When he speaks (p. 117) of "organic remains obliterated entirely," the question naturally rises: How does he know this? So, when he says (p. 8), "In some cases, dark limestones, replete with shells and corals, have been turned into white statuary marble, ... every vestige of the organic bodies having been obliterated," the query might be raised, whether it be meant that the limestones were changed in their whole extent, or only in portions. But, waiving the ambiguity that runs through the sentence, I should like the proof of the last clause. If it be admitted that no organic trace could be found in the metamorphic part, to say nothing of the whole rock, I fail to see any stable foundation on which to build an argument for the previous existence of fossils. Again, though organic forms may be sometimes effaced, it is a well-known fact that limestone may be burnt in a kiln, the included fossils remaining as distinct at the end of the process as they were at the beginning; also, that shells often occur in the changed portions of rocks near dikes, retaining their forms perfectly. Besides, it is difficult to understand how Sir Charles should know of this obliteration, or how he learned that there were originally any "shells and corals" in the changed parts of the rock, unless he were present when the transformation took place; since every vestige of organization was effaced, according to his showing, when the rocks were metamorphosed.

To look at another phase of the matter. The author is much disposed to make the so-called Eozoön and metamorphism prove each other. Speaking of the Laurentian rocks as metamorphic, he says (p. 477): "Even if we had not discovered the Eozoön [since, however, it is discovered, there remains no doubt!] we might fairly have [might have fairly?]

inferred from analogy that as the quartzites were once beds of sand [a point yet to be proved], ... so the calcareous masses ..... were originally of organic origin" [in other words, contained Eozoön]. Again (p. 558), he refers to the Laurentian rocks as "known fossiliferous strata." How so known? Of course, from the Eozoön. Thus the *assumed* sedimentary origin of the foliated rocks is, in one instance, presumptive proof of the organic nature of the Eozoön; while, on the other hand, the *known organic* character of the latter is taken as irrefragable evidence of the aqueous derivation of the beds in which it occurs.

But, waiving further instances, and granting all that the facts warrant, I would ask, what is proved? Simply this: Aqueous masses have been changed to a distance ordinarily of a few feet, rarely of yards, or rods by intrusive matter. And so much, or whatever more the facts clearly indicate, should be cheerfully granted. When, however, it is inferred that rocks some thirty thousand feet thick, and of almost indefinite range, have been as a rule so changed as now "to contain no distinct fragments of other rocks, whether rounded or angular," and to "be wholly devoid of organic remains" (p. 560), the famous Eozoön alone excepted, it is quite another thing. The overflows of recent lavas are often in beds. In this respect they have something in common, at least in appearance, with sedimentary strata. Shall we, therefore, infer that they are aqueous deposits, and that all the remains of ancient overflows had a like origin, they having in some cases lost their bedding by metamorphic agency? Surely, more evidence than this is needed. We should rightly require a vast amount of proof before calling recent lavas, or similar outbursts of the olden time, metamorphosed sedimentary rocks. It is even so with the vast pile of foliated beds, after we have eliminated all that is foreign. To call that thirty-thousand-foot mass metamorphic aqueous rock, while we have so little evidence to sustain us, is a stretch of the fancy, a tax upon credulity, a straining of proof, which needs to be shown up, if we would not teach

our children that much of our logic is mere jugglery, and what some call scientific discussion only *leger-de-main* — a skilful sleight of hand. To the proposal of such an hypothesis as a point for investigation, to its thorough consideration as a matter placed under review, or to its logical exposition as a thing to be candidly weighed, I do not object. But when it is assumed to be true, and put forth for acceptance with so slight a foundation for its support, I am constrained to demur, and to regard its presentation in such a light as wholly unsuited to grace a Student's Manual of Geology.

But this Article, already too long, must be brought to a close. Though there be other points as much open to criticism as those noticed, they must be waived. Accordingly, taking up the order of Sir Charles, who from the most recent pages of the book of nature proceeds to the earlier, I may now advance from the "finis" to the "title-page." Opposite to this stands the "frontispiece," presumed to be the crowning part of the work, and intended, as I suppose, to give in miniature the grand features of the ages. It has as characteristic of the Palaeozoic times a Trilobite, which, on the whole, does very well; of the Secondary, an Ammonite, which, though evincing progress in inferior and class characters, fails to show the distinctive advance thus far made; while the Tertiary is represented by a Nummulite — a form the position of which in the scale of organization, though still in dispute, is universally admitted to be low; there thus being, according to the scheme adopted, an actual regression as we go up the geologic ladder. Verily, this is "progress backward," in one view the proper title of Sir Charles's work. While these three forms respectively belong to the eras which they are intended to signalize, the Ammonite is certainly not the most significant type of the Mesozoic. So the Nummulite, a nondescript form with which palaeontologists are still unagreed what to do, is anything but a good representative of the third grand step in the onward aeonian movement, which witnessed the introduction of Mammals, at the head of which stands Man, the crowning work of creation. It is almost as if one should

characterize the Augustan period of Roman literature by means of the most illiterate and least known individual of the time. Surely, if we take the frontispiece as a specimen and evidence, we are virtually compelled to infer that the method adopted by the author has vitiated his taste, blunted his finer powers of intuition, and, while certain lower faculties have been sharpened, left him incapable either of appreciating the grand harmonies of the universe, or of duly unfolding and representing the majestic strides taken during the geologic ages.

And yet to judge a man with "final judgment" in this way, or by a single example, is not quite fair; and I would not do it. The impression, while it is certainly made by the book, is still partial; relating not to the whole man, but to particular points which I hope to see amended. Even Homer, as the report is handed down by the prince of Roman critics, was liable sometimes to doze. Possibly, this frontispiece, with some portions of the volume, was conceived in one of Sir Charles's dozing moods. Be this, however, as it may, the faults remain and mar the work. Indeed, the usefulness which might be expected from it, in view of much of its matter and of its many excellences, cannot fail to be greatly lessened by the method chosen; since, in its present form, it is not, what every such work ought in a measure to be, a natural and progressive exhibition at once of the primal revelation and of the gradual unfoldings of the divine plan as witnessed by the geologic record.

A closing explanation is needful, that I may not wrong myself. To write as I have written has caused me pain; for I have been indebted to Sir Charles for many hints, and for not a little instruction, in regard to the structure of the earth's crust. Having principally in view, however, not personal feelings, but the advance of science, as well as its dissemination, and particularly the establishment of sound processes of investigation and wise methods of instruction, I have not known how to deal otherwise than plainly. Upon the excellences of Mr. Lyell's new book I have made few

comments; for they speak for themselves, and will be lauded by every critic. Of parts which I regard as defective or faulty I have written more at large and freely, "not that I love Caesar less, but Rome more." It is mainly in this direction that good, yea, a constant increase of good, is likely to come. Teachers of geology need to see the defects in existing books and modes of instruction, that they may demand, and so be prepared to find, better ways than they have before known. And then the frank and honest exposure of faults and deficiencies in a work which has many and great excellences may incite and constrain the author, before it is too late, to make improvements which, as tending to the progress and diffusion of wholesome knowledge, and thus to the welfare of the race, will redound, as false praise never can, to his permanent honor and undying glory.

ARTICLE VI.

CHRIST AS A PRACTICAL OBSERVER OF NATURE, PERSONS, AND EVENTS.

BY REV. SELAH MERRILL, SALMON FALLS, N.H.

In studying the words and discourses of Christ, one cannot but notice that his mind was intensely practical. It is impossible to find in his teachings and conversations a single visionary or dreamy sentiment. Every thought and statement of his is fresh, vigorous, and pointed. There is also in all that he has said, whether in plain instruction, in reproof, or in sympathy, a healthy tone, which commends his sayings to our ideas of every-day life, as well as especially to our minds and hearts. Although a "carpenter" (Mark vi. 3), he was, as we should say, an exceedingly well-informed man on almost all the social and business affairs of the day. His power of observation was very great; and not less was the skill he had in elevating the humblest employment or

the most ignoble object to the position of a moral teacher, and making it utter some beautiful and surprising lesson. The style of his teaching was so marked in a certain direction that it could be said: "Without a parable spake he not unto them" (Matt. xiii. 34). In him this style of teaching reached its highest development. But, in order to manage it even well, there must be a groundwork of extensive observation and careful study and reflection. One needs not only much and varied information; but his information must be minutely accurate. We will proceed to specify, in general terms, some of the departments with which Christ seems to have been more particularly familiar. We may mention the details of his own trade; the department of agriculture, with which his knowledge seems to have been as extensive as that of a practical husbandman; he was conversant, to some extent, with shipping and sailors, and very conversant with the fisheries of the Sea of Galilee, with the art of fishing, and with the fishermen themselves; also, with the nature and habits of many domestic and other animals; with the social distinctions of the time, from king to beggar; with the prevailing laws and civil customs, both Jewish and Roman; with many sorts of handicraft, and with many of the details of manufacturing and trade; dress and clothing, household utensils and details in regard to housekeeping, physicians and their duties and the care of the sick, customs which made up the social life of the day, soldiers and their weapons, war, crime, legal proceedings and courts of justice, the human body and the function of many of its parts, the busy life of the great cities, and the splendid architecture of the Temple and other public buildings, even nature in its calms and storms, its mountains and quiet landscapes — these, and still other of the practical affairs of the day, Christ had closely observed. It may be added here that we have intentionally omitted any reference to his acquaintance with the history of his own nation or with the Old Testament scriptures; since these topics, including the use he makes of the Old Testament, hardly belong to the limits of the present Article,

and, on account of their great merits, deserve a careful treatment by themselves. It must be borne in mind that the reported words of Christ belong to that period of his life which was covered by his public ministry; they are words of his mature years, when he spoke nothing without a purpose. Hence every hint or allusion is valuable; for, however insignificant any particular allusion may seem to us, it still was based upon something which Christ had observed, and was used by him for some definite and noble purpose. A fine example is found in the words of Christ (John x. 9), "shall go in and out and find pasture." He is speaking of the affairs of the soul; yet no one would be likely to speak in that way but he who had often observed flocks grazing in pastures, or going back and forth from the fold.

The aim of the writer has been to introduce into the text nothing but what the very words of Christ would justify, i.e. not what is said about him, but what he said himself. In two or three instances this rule has been violated, as, for instance, where it is said, "He took a basin," etc. On the other hand, his idea has been to collect *every* reference to such matters as the title suggests which the words of Christ contain. He hopes the Article is complete in this respect; yet he does not claim that it is. One might say that, taking the idea and object of the writer as just stated, the work of preparing such an Article was merely one of enumeration; but even under that name, the task has been no easy or slight one.

In connection with agriculture and husbandry and the fruits and other productions of the earth, it is surprising how few things escaped the Saviour's notice. He calls attention to the grass with which God had covered the earth, green and inviting for the multitudes which he fed to recline upon (Matt. vi. 30; Mark vi. 39), to the beautiful lilies which adorned the fields (Matt. vi. 28), the thistles which annoyed the husbandmen and cumbered the ground (Matt. vii. 16), the thorn, through whose matted twigs the tender stalks of

grain could not force their way (Matt. xiii. 7), the tares which some evil-disposed person had sown in his neighbor's wheat (Matt. xiii. 25), and which at harvest time must be gathered out from the wheat and burned (Matt. xiii. 30), the bramble-bush, from which no one expected any good (Luke vi. 44). He refers to the reed which flourished on the banks of the Jordan (Matt. xi. 7); speaks of the sycamine-tree, from whose fruit a cooling drink was made (Luke xvii. 6); of the withered branches of vine or fruit-tree which the pruner cuts off, and which men gather and burn (John xv. 6), and of the tree the quality of whose fruit has proved so poor that the husbandman decides to cut it down and use it for fuel (Matt. vii. 19); alludes to mint, anise, cummin, rue, and "other herbs" (Luke xi. 42); and the product of the spikenard-plant, which was used in anointing the body (Mark xiv. 3, 8). Some private gardens are arranged with quiet walks where Jesus loves to resort (Luke xiii. 19; John xviii. 2); he observes the grounds of some rich man, which had been cultivated to the highest state of fertility, producing unlimited abundance of grain and fruit (Luke xii. 16); also the rich pastures where sheep and cattle grazed, the fields which laborers tilled, and those which were covered with corn, or white with the ripening harvests (Matt. xii. 1; xxiv. 18; John iv. 35; x. 9); he refers to various qualities of soil — the good, which always rewarded the labor of the husbandmen, that which was poor and thin and lacking in moisture, also the very stony ground where nothing could mature (Matt. xiii. 3–9), and to that where fig-trees were planted, and which needed careful dressing (Luke xiii. 6–9); he speaks of the beautiful vineyards which covered the warm slopes of the country in every part, the hedges of stone or thorn-bushes about the same, the towers whence the keepers watched, the presses where flowed the fragrant juice, the vine — perhaps Christ's choicest symbol — and both its unfruitful branches and those which brought forth much fruit, the grapes hanging in rich clusters from the vine, and, lastly, the wine itself, sparkling in the cup, or drank new

from the press, or kept stored away till by great age it had attained the choicest flavor and strength (Matt. vii. 16; ix. 17; xxi. 33; xxvi. 27, 29; John xv. 1, 2); also, of the fig-tree putting forth its tender branches and leaves — a sign of approaching summer; some of them were barren, and others yielded only evil fruit; others still brought forth good fruit, choice figs pleasant to the taste and suitable for the nourishment of men (Matt. vii. 16–20; xxi. 19–22; xxiv. 32). He notices the ploughman turning the furrow in the smooth fields of Galilee; the unskilful ploughman looks about and spoils his work; oxen are yoked for service, and the yoke may be easy, but is sometimes galling to their necks (Matt. xi. 29, 30; Luke ix. 62; xiv. 19; xvii. 7). He does not fail to notice the insignificant mustard-seed; but even this, being sown, develops into a tree "as tall as a horse and his rider," and in its shady top the birds find shelter (Matt. xiii. 31, 32). He observes that the corn of wheat which men sow must die, or else no new blade is produced (John xii. 24). He watches the sower casting seed upon the earth; some seeds fall by the wayside, which the birds soon gather up. When the seeds have sprung up, some of the stalks are withered by the scorching sun, and others perish from lack of moisture or on account of the poverty of the soil; while others still are choked by thorns. Yet for the most part the seed prospers and comes to maturity — first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear (Matt. xiii. 3–9; Mark iv. 26–28). The ears are sometimes plucked, rubbed in the hand, and the corn eaten by hungry travellers (Matt. xii. 1). At length signs of the approaching harvest begin to multiply, which Christ also observes. The sickle is taken down from its resting-place, and reapers and laborers go forth to reap and gather — first into "bundles," and then into store-rooms — the thirty, sixty, or hundredfold which the bountiful earth has yielded (Matt. ix. 37, 38; xiii. 30; Mark iv. 8, 29; John iv. 35). Nor does the Master fail to notice some who by stealth or violence reap where they did not sow, i.e. in fields belonging to another; taking from

others unjustly what they had accumulated by honest and legitimate toil (Matt. xxv. 24; comp. John iv. 36–38).[1]

His acquaintance with household and domestic affairs, and the use he makes of customs and utensils pertaining to the same, is also surprising. The bed on which the sick are lying, and the couch where one rests at night (Matt. ix. 6; Luke viii. 16); the custom of two persons sleeping together in one bed (Luke xvii. 34); the anxiety of the housekeeper for the care of her house, together with her faithful attention to her family and guests (Luke x. 40, 41; comp. Matt. viii. 15); the house itself, and the house-top — a place for public conversation, or where the family sat when at leisure, and also a place for retirement (Matt. xxiv. 17; Luke xii. 3); the chamber set apart for guests (Mark xiv. 14); the secret chambers for retirement and closets for prayer; some dark rooms, in order to sweep which, the housekeeper must take with her a lighted candle or lamp (Matt. vi. 6; xxiv. 26; Luke xv. 8); the door of a house or other building or separate apartment, the furniture of the house, and the practice of sweeping it (Luke xi. 25; xv. 8); also the house that has been deserted and left to desolation and decay (Matt. xxiii. 38); and the storehouses where the family supplies are kept (Luke xii. 24). The needle which the housewife used in sewing (Matt. xix. 24); the water-pots or pitchers which women carried, either in the hand or on the

[1] *Palm-trees* are mentioned in connection with Christ; they grew then on the sides of Olivet (John xii. 13); the "Sycamine" is the black mulberry of to-day; the *sycamore*, mentioned in connection with Christ, was an evergreen, and grew only in the plains of Palestine; its fruit, figlike in shape, was woody and indigestable. Rob. N. T. Lexicon makes no distinction between the Sycamine and Sycamore; yet there was a distinction (see Tristram, Nat. Hist. Bib. 396–399). "Mint" was a garden-plant, and used for flavoring meat; "anise" resembled our caraway; "cummin," our fennel or dill; "rue" was used as a disinfectant. On these see Tristram, in order, 471, 419, 443, 478; on "Gardens," see Article in Smith's Dict.; on size of mustard tree see Tristram 472; Thomson's "Land and Book" 414–416 (Eng. ed). Mentioned in connection with Christ's crucifixion: the hyssop, the bitter gall plant, the myrrh tree, which was a low thorny bush, its gum made a choice perfume, and was used to flavor wine; also the product of the Indian aloes tree; the latter, together with the product of the spikenard plant, were brought from the far East.

head, back and forth from the house to the fountain (Mark. xiv. 13; comp. John iv. 28); the stone water-pots which always stood in the court of the house for the purpose of washing the hands and the vessels or dishes used at any meal (John ii. 6, 7); the practice of cleansing the dust from the feet after a journey, even of washing and wiping them, and the towel used for this latter purpose (Mark vi. 11; John xiii. 5); the custom of washing the hands before eating, and the dishes afterwards (Luke xi. 38; John xiii. 5; Matt. xxiii. 25, 26); the "brazen vessels" and tables, the platter for food, the cup and pitcher for wine, water, or milk, the new and old bottles for new and old wine respectively (Matt. ix. 17; x. 42; xxiii. 25; Mark vii. 4; Luke xxii. 10, 17); the bushel — the common measure of the household — which was sometimes placed over a burning light, in order, whilst it was kept burning, to prevent its effects for a time (Matt. v. 15); the cubit, or common measure of length, also the other measures in use for wheat and oil (Mark iv. 24; Luke xii. 25; xvi. 6); the bag, or purse, which was carried about the person, or sometimes by one individual who acted as treasurer of a party (Luke xii. 33; comp. John xiii. 29); candles, candlesticks, lampstands, lamps themselves, and oil for the same, and the vessels which contained the oil; also lanterns and torches, which then, as now, must be used if one would walk forth at night with any safety (Matt. v. 15; xxv. 2–8; John xviii. 3); the necessity of providing daily food (Matt. vi. 11); the meal or flour for bread, and the leaven or yeast which the housekeeper added to it (Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 21); the oven where the bread was baked, the fuel used, and the ashes which remained (Luke xii. 28; ashes, Matt. xi. 21); the barley-loaves, the bread, the fresh fish, the broiled fish, the honey-comb, the meat, the kid, the fatted calf, the eggs, the salt with which the food was seasoned, and the salted sacrifice (Matt. vii. 9, 10; xiv. 17; Luke xi. 12; xv. 23, 29; xxiv. 42; John vi. 9–13; comp. Matt. v. 13; Mark ix. 49). The fact is noticed that what a man eats does not defile him

(Matt. xv. 11); the blessing which every pious Jew invoked before eating is sought (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27); the bread is broken and passed, together with the cup of water or wine (Mark xiv. 22, 23). The practice is noticed of two or more persons dipping their sop together in the same dish (Matt. xxvi. 23); also the custom of one family borrowing bread or other necessaries from some neighbor when they are unexpectedly short at home (Luke xi. 5–8); the fact that some are reduced so low as to be willing to eat what is given to the swine (Luke xv. 16); that others shared with the friendly dogs the crumbs which fell from tables loaded with dainty food, about which the rich were feasting (Luke xvi. 21); the baskets in which the food left after a meal was gathered, and the fragments of food themselves which an economical housekeeper would save with care (Matt. xvi. 9, 10; John vi. 12; comp. Matt. xiv. 20).[1]

His references to domestic and other animals are also numerous. He alludes to the cunning of the fox, and also to his habit of burrowing in the earth (Luke xiii. 32; Matt. viii. 20); to ravening wolves prowling about sheep folds at night (Matt. vii. 15; x. 16); and to scorpions lurking everywhere ready to give their fiery, poisonous sting (Luke x. 19). He speaks of serpents and vipers fastening their fangs upon the heel of some unwary traveller (Matt. x. 16; xii. 34); of the eagles which feed upon dead flesh (Matt. xxiv. 28); of the ravens for which God's providence cares

[1] Christ spoke of the ἀφεδρών, i.e. the sink, or general receptacle of all house-filth (Mark vii. 19); he used a pillow for his head (Mark iv. 38); he saw the tiling of the flat roof which was opened to let down into his presence a certain sick person (Luke v. 19); was acquainted with the custom of drawing water from deep wells (as Jacob's), and the arrangements for that purpose (John iv. 6, 11); he drank sour wine, such as soldiers carried in their canteens, from a sponge, which was a necessary article in every household (John xix. 29); the fire by which people warmed themselves may be added, also the fire of coals on which fish was broiled, also the unleavened bread (Luke xxii. 55; John xxi. 9; Matt. xxvi. 17). The "bushel" held about a peck. For "lampstand" see Lange on Matt. v. 15, p. 104. Col. ii. note. — In regard to the "needle," I suppose there is no more doubt as to what Christ meant by it than there is as to what he meant by the word "camel" in the same sentence.

(Luke xii. 24); of birds building their nests on the ground or in the branches of trees (Matt. viii. 20); of fowls of the air living free from toil (Matt. vi. 26); of the innocent sparrow and the harmless dove (Matt. x. 16, 29); of the gnat, destroying, when alive, the comfort of men by its sting, and defiling, when dead, the milk or wine which they would drink (Matt. xxiii. 24); of the swine kept in large herds east of the Sea of Galilee for purposes of trade with surrounding nations (Matt. vii. 6; Mark v. 11–16); of the camel, the most valuable of all the beasts of burden in the East (Matt. xix. 24); of the ass and her colt, which last must be trained for the service of men (Mark xi. 2–7); of the dog, watching for crumbs which fall from its master's table, making its home, then as now, in the streets of the city or village, and kindly licking the sores of some wretched beggar (Matt. vii. 6; Mark vii. 28; Luke xvi. 21); of the hen gathering tenderly her chickens beneath her wings (Matt. xxiii. 37); of the cock which counts regularly the night-watches, and wakes the sleeper by his shrill crowing both at midnight and at the early dawn (Matt. xxvi. 34, 75; Mark xiii. 35); of the patient ox which draws the plough, and which must be watered or taken from the pit where it has accidentally fallen, even though this occur on the Sabbath-day (Luke xiv. 5, 19; comp. Luke xiii. 15; xvii. 7); of cattle pastured in the fields, or fed or fattened in stalls (Luke xiii. 15; xvii. 7); of the fatted calf, prepared for some special feast (Luke xv. 23); of the kid, the common dish at any ordinary entertainment (Luke xv. 29); of the goats, which, though folded with the sheep at night, always collect in groups apart from them (Matt. xxv. 32, 33); and of the sheep with their fine wool and their lambs (Matt. x. 16; John xxi. 15–17; wool, Matt. vii. 15); the shepherd carefully watches them by day, and folds them by night (Matt. ix. 36; xxv. 32, 33); they recognize their own names, and will not follow a stranger's voice, but obey implicitly the voice of their own keeper (John x. 1–6); they are sometimes scattered because their shepherd has been killed by robbers (Matt. xxvi. 31; Mark vi. 34;

John x. 1–6) ; they sometimes fall into the pits with which the country abounds (Matt. xii. 11), or are lost in the wildernesses or among the mountains (Matt. xviii. 12–14 ; Luke xv. 4–6) ; and then the careful shepherd searches for them, and when found brings them home upon his shoulders (Luke xv. 5).[1]

He made use, likewise, of many of the social customs of the day which he had carefully observed. Knocking at the door of a neighbor's or friend's house (Luke xii. 36 ; xiii. 25); the common salutations on meeting (Matt. v. 47 ; x. 12) ; a father kissing his son returned from a long absence (Luke xv. 20) ; or one friend kissing another (Luke xxii. 48) ; the rejoicing of neighbors in each other's good fortune or success (Luke xv. 6, 9) ; the cup of cold water given to some thirsty traveller (Matt. x. 42 ; Mark ix. 41) ; the custom of travelling through one's own country or into foreign lands (Matt. xxv. 14), and all the necessary preparations for the journey, as purses, gold, silver, and smaller coins, coats, shoes, staves, — the complete outfit of those who travel on foot and pay their way (Matt. x. 9, 10) ; cleansing the feet from dust after a journey (Luke vii. 44) ; even washing the feet of those loved best (Luke vii. 44 ; John xiii. 5) ; shaking the dust from the feet in the presence of certain persons as a reproof for their inhospitality (Mark vi. 11) ; dressing in sackcloth and putting ashes on the head on occasions of deep mourning (Matt. xi. 21) ; neighbors and friends borrowing of each other and lending again in turn (Matt. v. 42) ; a father dividing his property among his sons (Luke xv. 12), or brothers dividing their inheritance among themselves, in case the father had made no disposition of his property before his death (Luke xii. 13, 14) ; of families which were sometimes broken up by private quarrels, or of kingdoms

[1] Christ mentions the "dunghill" near the cattle-stalls (Luke xiv. 35) ; and was acquainted with "wild beasts," such as live in desert places (Mark i. 13). On the "gnat," see Tristram, p. 327 ; the "cock," see Tristram, p. 221 ; the "fatted calf," see Tristram, p. 90. He alludes to the fact that swine sometimes turn upon their keepers and tear them with their teeth (Matt. vii. 6);—the allusion may be to wild swine.

where two or more aspirants contended for the throne (Mark iii. 24, 25); of walking by day, and the danger of stumbling if one attempts to walk in the night (John xi. 9, 10); of the hospitable custom of providing a chamber for guests (Luke xxii. 11); of the very common custom of making feasts (Luke xiv. 13), and inviting guests (Luke xiv. 7), and of the rude scrambling of the latter sometimes to get the best seats on such occasions (Matt. xxiii. 6; Luke xiv. 7), and the promotion which those received who were willing at the outset to take the lowest rooms (Luke xiv. 10); the eating and drinking and drunkenness of servants whose master is absent (Matt. xxiv. 49); the depraved habit of some of eating and drinking to excess (Matt. xi. 19); that those who are accustomed to drink wine prefer that which is old (Luke v. 39): the riotous living of some who wasted their property or had no thought for the future (Luke xv. 13); men lounging in the market-places, where also are passed the flattering compliments of the day (Matt. xxiii. 7; Mark xii. 38). Children, both boys and girls, also in the market-places played upon "pipes," or rude instruments, and danced and sung for the entertainment of the street crowds (Matt. xi. 16, 17); music and dancing of a higher order were an accompaniment of feasts (Luke xv. 25). The practice of taking rest and recreation after fatigue and labor is commended (Mark vi. 31); the vain repetitions, or "babblings," of the heathen in their prayers is condemned (Matt. vi. 7); the proselyting spirit and practices of the Pharisees are severely denounced (Matt. xxiii. 15). The exciting events of the day are noticed, as the slaying of certain Galileans by Pilate (Luke xiii. 1, 2), and the falling of a tower in Siloam which was attended with serious loss of life (Luke xiii. 4); also famines, pestilences, and earthquakes, which sometimes visited that country (Matt. xxiv. 7; Luke xv. 14); or some sudden conflagration, which perhaps had destroyed some town or district (Luke xii. 49). The furnaces where ore is melted or pottery baked are noticed (Matt. xiii. 42); oil and wine are mentioned as

suitable for the wounded and sick (Luke x 34; comp. Mark vi. 13); anointing the head of some beloved friend with precious ointment is commended (Matt. xxvi. 7–10); and the practice of washing the face and anointing the head when preparing to attend a feast is likewise noticed (Matt. vi. 17).[1]

He is familiar with the Temple and synagogical service, the sacrifices, the Sabbath worship, preaching, teaching, discussion, prayer, singing, also fasting and other religious duties; observes that the most prominent seats in synagogues are sought by some, and given out of compliment to others (Matt. xxiii. 6); sits one day near the treasury, and sees the rich cast in of their abundance, and at the same time a poor widow casting in two mites — all the living she had (Mark xii. 41, 42); speaks of the altar and the gift of the worshipper (Matt. v. 23); of those who give alms to be seen of men (Matt. vi. 1, 2), and of others who bestow them from the purest motives (Luke xi. 42; xii. 33); also of those who pay tithes of mint, anise, cummin, rue, and "all other herbs," but still neglect the most important things (Matt. xxiii. 16–23; Luke xi. 42); and does not fail to notice with

[1] The following customs may be added as those with which Christ must have been familiar: leaning upon the bosom of some intimate friend (John xiii. 23; xxi. 20); the salutations at parting with friends (Luke ix. 61); washing the hands, and the special washing which they received on a person's returning from market, which became the occasion of an excited discussion between Christ and the Pharisees (Mark vii. 4 et seq); the feasts made by tax collectors, perhaps for political purposes (Luke v. 29); the fact that some sick persons spend all their means for medical advice, yet receive no benefit (Mark v. 26); rending one's clothes from indignation at the utterance of blasphemy (Matt. xxvi. 65); persons becoming so full of liquor that they can no longer tell whether they are drinking good wine or poor (John ii. 10); the practice of singing or chanting psalms after certain holy feasts (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26). The figure of a person's stumbling in the night would be a very striking one in the East; the common divisions of time are mentioned: as year, month, week, day, night, the hours of the day, and the watches of the night (John iv. 35, and elsewhere). We may also allude to the fragrance of the precious ointment (John xii. 3); the words "burning and shining light" were no doubt suggested to the speaker by some prominent fact which he had observed, but which cannot now be definitely named (John v. 35). On sudden conflagrations in that country see Ritter (Gage) 2. 252; Gesenius. Comt. Jes. 5. 24.

censure the sanctimonious faces of certain hypocritical worshippers (Matt. vi. 16).

He uses very many of the various relations of family and kindred; speaks, also, of many of the common expressions of sympathy in bereavement; of some of the customs connected with the house of mourning and death; and makes, likewise, many allusions to the circumstances connected with the birth of children.[1]

He makes many allusions, likewise, to the details and customs connected with marriages and wedding-feasts — the brilliantly lighted rooms or halls where the wedding-feast was held, contrasted with the darkness outside (Matt. xxii. 13); the bride and bridegroom (Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29), the marriage itself (Matt. xxii. 2–4), the wedding (Luke xii. 36), the wedding-feast (Matt. xxii. 2–4), the governor of the feast (John ii. 8), the invited guests (Matt. xxii. 10), the wine to be drunk (John ii. 3), the virgins and others who graced the occasion (Matt. ix. 15; xxv. 1–13), the wedding garment (Matt. xxii. 11), the bridechamber (Mark ii. 19), the husband (Mark x. 12), and the newly married wife (Luke xiv. 20).

He is familiar with many of the social distinctions among men, the position and mutual relations of those who rule and those who serve; and mentions, also, many of the various professions and callings of people at that time — the king, his throne, and his footstool (Matt. v. 34, 35); the householder and his servants (Matt. xiii. 27); the steward of the rich man (Luke xvi. 1); the householder hiring laborers by the day (Matt. xx. 1–16), or for a longer period (Luke xv. 17); also the price agreed upon for day-laborers,

[1] Relations: father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, son, daughter, children, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law (Matt. viii. 14; Mark x. 29, 30; Luke xii. 52, 53; John iv. 17); people weeping at the death of a friend (Mark v. 39); the "minstrels," hired to mourn on such occasions (Matt. ix. 23); add, the weeping of friends at the grave (John xi. 31); the weeping of Christ himself (Luke xix. 41; John xi. 35); being with child; the pains of birth; the joy in the household when the child is born; and the nursing of infants (Matt. xxiv. 19; John xvi. 21).

and the very common fact of the scarcity of laborers in the time of harvest (Matt. ix. 37; xx. 2); masters and slaves (δοῦλος, Matt. x. 24); servants who waited for their absent lord (Luke xii. 36), and who sometimes became negligent and profligate because their master delayed to return (Luke xii. 45); domestic servants (οἰκέτης, Luke xvi. 13); the position of head-servant or overseer (over the παῖδας and the παιδίσκας, Luke xii. 45); the porter at the gate (Mark xiii. 34; John x. 1–6); those who were hired (μισθωτός) to look after sheep by day (John x. 12, 13); men laboring together in the field (Matt. xxiv. 40); the laborer receiving his wages (John iv. 36); those who dug with the spade in the rich gardens and fields of Galilee (Luke xvi. 3); the women grinding together at the hand-mill (Matt. xxiv. 41); the stripes which were administered to the disobedient servant (Luke xii. 47, 48); the impossibility of one servant serving two masters at the same time (Matt. vi. 24); the humble, perhaps degrading, employment of feeding swine (Luke xv. 15); the business of the spinner (Matt. vi. 28); and those also are mentioned who bore heavy burdens put upon them by their idle superiors, who would not lift a finger themselves (Matt. xxiii. 4).[1]

He is likewise familiar with much of the business of the day — borrowing and loaning money at interest (Matt. v. 42; Luke xix. 23); buying and selling land (Matt. xiii. 44; Luke xiv. 18); carrying on a farm (Matt. xxii. 5); the buying and selling of cattle, as oxen and sheep, also of doves and sparrows, and that of the latter two are sold for one farthing, and five for two farthings (Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6; John ii. 14); the renting or leasing of vineyards and lands to those who did not own estates themselves, perhaps, also, to agents or overseers (Matt. xxi. 33, and elsewhere);

[1] Christ mentions also that class of servants called οἱ διάκονοι, somewhat higher in position than οἱ δοῦλοι (see Matt. xxii. 13). These served at weddings (John ii. 5). The "fuller" is spoken of in connection with him (Mark ix. 3). He speaks of those who bought and sold, planted and built (Luke xvii. 27, 28), and still of men engaged in other employments which can better be mentioned under the following head.

paying and collecting yearly rent for the same (Matt. xxi. 34); paying also the landlord of a public-house or inn the ordinary charges (Luke x. 35); dealing in olive oil, at that time a very extensive and lucrative branch of business (Matt. xxv. 9, 10); the business of changing money, like our brokers of to-day (Matt. xxi. 12); and the tables or desks on which these brokers transact their business he overturns (Mark xi. 15). He alludes to the selling of clothing (Luke xxii. 36), the merchandise and general business of the merchant (Matt. xxii. 5); to dealers in jewels and precious stones (Matt. vii. 6; xiii. 45); to valuable stones or minerals which are fortunately discovered in some hillside or field (Matt. xiii. 44); to some who are amibtious to gain the whole world (Mark viii. 36), whose only god is mammon (Matt. vi. 24), and to others who accumulate property and keep it (Matt. vi. 19–21); to bills and receipts which pass between buyer and seller (Luke xvi. 6); to the relations of debtor and creditor (Luke vii. 41–43). Some debtors were too poor to pay what they owed, and were released by their creditors from all obligation (Matt. vi. 12; xviii. 27); but in the case of others, likewise too poor to pay, their hard and exacting creditors sold them, together with their wives and children, for debt; and some exacting creditors descended even to personal violence, taking their debtors by the throat in order to wrest from them a few pennies that remained due (Matt. xviii. 23–35).[1]

Also he was familiar with the life of a sailor, and with shipping, chiefly that on the Sea of Galilee (Matt. viii. 23–27); with the business of fishing, which was at that time extensive and profitable; with many of the fishermen themselves, their hooks, their nets, casting the same, and also breaking and repairing them (Matt. iv. 18–22; xiii. 47; xvii. 27; Luke v. 2, 6).

[1] Christ observes that business men are frequently burdened with the care of their business (Luke xxi. 34). He was, no doubt, familiar with the fact that men frequently enter into partnership in business for their mutual benefit (Luke v. 10); also, with the matter of buying bread, provisions, and other necessaries (Matt. xiv. 15; John iv. 8; xiii. 29).

He refers to some prevailing crimes; as adultery, murder, theft, oppression, "devouring widows' houses," slavery; to robbers and the arts of robbery and violence; to the caves where thieves congregate and lurk in bands; to the thief breaking and entering a house, his struggle with the occupant of the house, the goods and valuables which he desires to get, and the watchman whose business it is to guard the property by night (Matt. v. 28; vi. 19; xii. 29; xxii. 7; xxiv. 43; Luke xi. 21, 22; John x. 1–6).

He mentions many of the coins which were current in his day; observes that some are stamped with the name and face of the king (Matt. xxii. 20); observes the place at the city-gate where customs were paid (Mark ii. 14), the receiver of customs (Matt. ix. 9), the Roman tax-collectors and officers of the revenue, and that some of these had become rich by extortion, and also the fact that these were generally despised by the Jews (Matt. xviii. 17; Luke xix. 2). He mentions the tribute due to Caesar, i.e. the *property-tax* and the *poll-tax*, which, together with the *customs* collected from travellers and on merchandise, went to the state; and also the sacred *Temple-tax*, due yearly from every Jew in whatever part of the world he might be.[1]

He mentions, also, many of the parts of the human body, and the functions of the same; many of the bodily sensations and wants; and the liability of the body to suffer from want, injury, or disease.[2]

[1] Stamped coin (Mark xii. 15, 16). Greek coins mentioned (δραχμή Luke xv. 8, 9; στατήρ Matt. xvii. 27; λεπτόν Mark xii. 42; Luke xii. 59); Roman coins, *as, quadrans, denarius, dupondius;* of which Greek names were: ἀσσάριον, κοδράντης, δηνάριον, and the latter = ἀσσαρίων δύο (Comp. Luke xii. 6; Matt. x. 29, and the Vulgate); references to these words in order (Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6; Matt. v. 26; Mark xii. 42; Matt. xviii. 28). There should be added also (not mentioned in the text of our Article), χαλκός, and κέρμα: see excellent Article in Madden's "Jewish Coinage," chap. xi. pp. 232–248; on places where customs were received, see Smith's Dictionary. On taxes; τέλος, on merchandise and travellers (Matt. xvii. 25); φόρος, annual tax on property (Luke xx. 22; xxiii. 2); κῆνσος, poll-tax (Matt. xvii. 25; xxii. 17; Mark xii. 14); Temple-tax (Matt. xvii. 24–27).

[2] Hairs of the head which God has numbered; head itself, body in general,

He is familiar with the details connected with the dead; as the dead body, the worms which feed upon it, the bier on which it is carried to the grave, the pall-bearers, the grave itself, the stone at the door, the grave-clothes, the customs of burial; the tombs in the rocks, some of which must have been old and empty even in Christ's time; the graves which had by neglect been levelled down until they could no longer be distinguished, the bones in the sepulchres, and the tombs of the prophets and great men of the past, which a grateful posterity built and cared for with tenderness and respect (see Matt. viii. 21, 22, 28; xxiii. 27, 29; Mark ix. 44; Luke vii. 14; xi. 44, 47; John xi. 38, 44).

He mentions very many articles of dress and clothing — the soft raiment of kings and queens (Matt. xi. 8); the rags of the beggar (Luke xvi. 20); wedding garments and grave-clothes, the bandage which was tied about the head of a dead body (Matt. xxii. 11; John xi. 44); sackcloth for mourning (Luke x. 13); the purple robes and fine linen of the rich (Luke xvi. 19); the best robe, with which an indulgent father clothes his son (Luke xv. 22); the ring for the finger (Luke xv. 22); the loose cloak of the traveller (Luke vi. 29); the purse, the shoes or sandals, the coat (Luke ix. 3; x. 4); the girdle for the loins and the girding of the same, the towel for wiping the hands and face (Luke xii. 35; John xiii. 4, 5); the handkerchief or sweat-cloth (σουδάριον) which was in common use (Luke xix. 20); the dress suitable for meals, the long robes of the scribes, the broad phylacteries, the borders of the garments enlarged for show (Matt. xxiii. 5; Mark xii. 38; John xiii. 4). The richness of Solomon's apparel is alluded to (Matt. vi. 29). The danger to which

shoulders, hand, eye, foot — these last three become diseased sometimes, and must be removed; ear, tongue, mouth, teeth, bosom, belly, loins, fingers; sensations of heat, cold, hunger, thirst; also nakedness, sickness, imprisonment, and the necessity for meat, drink, and raiment; the eye being hurt by dust; the color of the hair, and the smallness of stature in some, and the stature of the body in general, which cannot be increased or diminished. Sweating is spoken of in connection with Christ (Luke xxii. 44). See Matt. v. 29, 30, 36, 38; vi. 22–32; vii. 3–5; x. 30; xiii. 16; xviii. 8, 9; xxv. 35–46; Mark vii. 33; ix. 43–47; Luke vi. 41, 42; xii. 35; xv. 5; xvi. 24; xix. 3.

clothing is exposed from moths is spoken of (Matt. vi. 19, 20); also the rust or mould which gathers on clothing that is hung or laid away, and even the very practical matter of mending garments that are rent or worn, and the folly of putting new and old cloth together (Matt. ix. 16).[1]

He had observed much in regard to the art of war and the life of a soldier, and alludes to many details connected with both — one king making war with another, a small army not being able to contend successfully with a large one, the preliminary correspondence or negotiations which take place before war is declared (Luke xiv. 31); alludes (probably) to the fact that a conquering army generally clears the country before it of both green and dry wood (Luke xxiii. 31); speaks of many facts connected with a siege — the trench about a city, roads blocked and communication cut off, the besieging army, the walls thrown down (Luke xix. 43, 44); the armor of the soldier, his sword worn upon his side or thigh, and the sheath in which it belonged (Matt. xxvi. 52; Luke xi. 22; xxii. 36; John xviii. 11), and the trumpet which called him to duty (Matt. vi. 2; xxiv. 31); also the Roman captain, and some of the details of his duty and life (Matt. viii. 5–13).[2]

He refers to criminals whose hands and feet are bound (Matt. xxii. 13); to prisons where men are confined (Matt. xviii. 30); to the practice of public scourging and smiting upon the cheek (Matt. v. 39; x. 17); to the custom of imprisoning for debt; also to the practice of "tormenting" by heavy chains and half-starvation (Matt. xviii. 30, 34); to the right masters had of beating their slaves (Luke xii. 47); to the practice which then prevailed of fastening a stone about the neck of some criminal, and casting him down from a rock or city-wall into the Sea of Galilee (Matt xviii. 6); to the fact of a person condemned to be crucified

[1] The beautiful cloth which the fuller prepares is spoken of in connection with Christ (Mark ix. 3).

[2] He was no doubt familiar with still other weapons of the soldier, besides those mentioned (See John xviii. 3).

stretching out his arms to be nailed to the crossbeam of the cross (John xxi. 18); observes that condemned persons were generally mocked by the crowd (Matt. xx. 19); and sometimes were stoned to death (Matt. xxi. 35); and that persons about to be crucified carried their own cross to the place of execution (Matt. xvi. 24). He alludes to councils and to courts of justice; some are sued at law and summoned before the courts; speaks of the adversaries or parties in any given case, the witnesses, the officers, the judge, the law itself in general, and the particular law of divorce, together with the legal instrument which the wife was to receive from her husband in case she was divorced from him (Matt. v. 22, 25, 31, 40; x. 17).[1]

The classes of persons of whom he speaks, or with whom he had intercourse, are also very numerous: Caesar, Herod, and John the Baptist; Pharisees, Sadduces, Herodians, and Scribes; military officers, soldiers, and sailors; travellers, collectors of the public revenue, and those who collected the yearly tax for the Temple; civil rulers and rulers of the synagogues; men of the Sanhedrin, lawyers, magistrates, judges, and other officers of the law; rich men and beggars; fishermen and carpenters; merchants and tradespeople; all sorts of laborers, slaves, and serving men and women; dancing boys and girls of the street and market-places; eunuchs, prodigal sons, and harlots; Syrophoenicians, Greeks, and Romans; ambassadors and landlords; stewards, agents, and overseers; widows, orphans, and little children; physicians and the long list of the wretched — those possessed with devils, those sick with a fever, those with withered hands, the lunatic, the palsied, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the lame, and the leper.

His attention rested to some extent, as would be natural, on matters pertaining to building. He observes that some cities are built upon hill-tops, and are seen from afar (Matt.

[1] Christ referred also to the spear-wound in his side, and the nail-wounds in his hands (John xx. 27); in his crucifixion he experienced some of the acts by which persons about to be executed were mocked; blindfolding, spitting in the face, striking with the fist, and words of insult and abuse.

v. 14); much digging is first necessary, in order to reach a rock foundation (Matt. xvi. 18; Luke vi. 48); some stone which is being raised to its place falls by accident, and one or more workmen are crushed thereby (Matt. xxi. 44). His eye rests upon some proposed corner-stone which the workmen had pronounced unsuitable (Matt. xii. 42). He speaks of the common tower of the vineyards, and of the more elegant and expensive structure of some nobleman (Mark xxi. 1; Luke xiv. 28); of storehouses and barns, and stalls for cattle (Luke xii. 18; xiii. 15); floods and winds cannot move the house which is built on a rock, whilst the first heavy gale destroys the one that is built on the sand (Matt. vii. 24–27). Christ walked sometimes in Solomon's porch, and observed the Temple, the "goodly stones" of which it was built, and also the gold and other rich furnishings with which it was adorned (Matt. xxiii. 16; xxiv. 2; John x. 23). In this connection, it may be added that he alludes to the gates of Jerusalem, the wide and narrow ways, the ditches by the roadside where the blind are liable to fall, the streets, lanes, highways, and hedges, and even to the stones of the streets over which men and beasts stumbled (Matt. vii. 13; xv. 14; Luke xiv. 21–23; xix. 40).

Then, further, Christ's acquaintance with nature was by no means limited; nor in respect to it was his mind indifferent, as many suppose, but, on the contrary, was keenly alive to its aspects of sublimity, beauty, and desolation. He often walked or sat by the seaside, and listened to the waves as they dashed upon the rocks or beat gently upon the pebbles and sand of the beach (Matt. iv. 18; xiii. 1); from the shore he had watched the storms upon its surface, or, in a ship over whose deck the waves swept, had himself been tossed upon the wild and boisterous deep (Matt. viii. 23–27; "roaring waves," Luke xxi. 25). He was familiar with the solitude of the wilderness and desert-places, where only nature's voices were heard (Matt. xi. 7; xiv. 13; xxiv. 26; Mark i. 35); and likewise with the sublimity of mountains — Hermon, Tabor, Gilboa — and mountain scenery and

picturesque landscapes, among which the vast panorama-landscape which his own Nazareth hill overlooked was one of the finest in the world (Matt. v. 1; xxiv. 16; xxviii. 16; and elsewhere). He refers to the phenomena of the seasons — winter with its cold and summer with its heat (Mark xiii. 18; John xviii. 18; Matt. xxiv. 32; Luke xii. 55); he alludes to the moon and stars, beaming as they beam only in an Eastern night (Matt. xxiv. 29); he was familiar with the glories of an Oriental dawn (Mark i. 35); he alludes to the blazing sun of a Syrian summer (Matt. xx. 12), to the south wind blowing softly and gently, and to the wilder blasts which sounded among the mountains (Luke xii. 55; John iii. 8). He refers to the appearance or "face" of the sky, notices the signs of fair or foul weather, the clouds which gather at sunset, and the red, murky atmosphere of some threatening morning (Matt. xvi. 2, 3; Luke xii. 56); alludes also to the sun rising in glory upon the hills of Galilee, and setting in the midst of serene and golden splendors; to the showers which fall gently and refresh the earth, and to the rain which descends in torrents, and fills the ravines with rushing, noisy streams and floods, which sweep away houses, trees, men, and beasts (Matt. v. 45; vii. 25, 27; Luke xii. 54); also to the thunder-storm whose lightning-flashes light up for an instant the whole vast sky (Matt. xxiv. 27); and in many ways to the mild, pure, pleasant "light" itself, pouring forth with the freshness and fulness of morning, or bathing at evening with softer beauty the fair landscapes and the mountain summits which were visible from his Nazareth home (Matt. v. 14, and many other places).

The review now closed justifies us in saying that Christ was a man of very extensive and correct observation. During thirty years, unobserved by the world, he was storing his mind with facts, studying their relations, and fitting them, in a sense, to become teachers of truth. There are, in the use he makes of his facts, no false parallels, no unfair deductions, no forced or unnatural senses. But, on the other

hand, there is brevity, dignity, directness, and an appropriateness which is marvellously beautiful. How far from Christ to introduce anything for effect! Christ's wonderful power in gathering and using materials is a topic worthy of the most careful study. We are accustomed to admire and praise the poet who looks upon nature and life with a fresh and hearty spirit, who speaks of them with a healthy tone, who sees with clear, correct vision, their facts, events, and relations, and who forces every fact and object, high or low, near or remote, old or new, to yield its hidden lesson. Christ, then, deserves our highest praise. He had sympathy with nature and with men. He was not indifferent to the world in which he lived. He was no recluse; but loved, on the contrary, to mingle with men, to listen to their songs or their complaints, and to watch or encourage them in their toil. And this interest which he felt in men and in the affairs of the world about him we have throughout regarded as a purely human interest; this power of observation and this skill in the use of the facts which he observed purely as characteristics of his human nature. As a man he used diligently the means at his command for improvement, and thereby "increased in wisdom" (Luke ii. 52).

ARTICLE VII.

Ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι. — John i. 26.

BY REV. JOSEPH TRACY, D.D., BOSTON.

Our English version of the scriptures, it is said by some, errs in translating these words: "I baptize with water." The prepositon ἐν, it is said, should be translated "in"; and when the dative ὕδατι is used without a preposition, ἐν should be understood, and the phrase should be rendered, "in water." Instead of this, we are told, they have translated it, "with water," as if σύν were understood. The correction of these errors, it is claimed, would show, even to the mere English reader, that "baptize" means "to plunge." [1]

The question thus raised concerning the meaning of βαπτίζω, as shown by its grammatical construction, is certainly a fair one, and we propose to examine it carefully.

In the first place, then, it is a mistake to suppose that where ὕδατι is used without a preposition the translators understood σύν. The dative with σύν never designates the instrument, but always a companion, or accompaniment, or co-operator. Βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς σύν ὕδατι must mean, "I baptize you and water, both together," or, "I and water, acting together, baptize you." It could not mean, "I baptize you, using water as an instrument"; for σύν never means "with, as an instrument." The few apparent exceptions are cases where the instrument is personified and spoken of as a companion or an assistant.

The fact is, that in such phrases no preposition at all is understood in the Greek, though we must supply one in English. By one of the best-known idioms of the Greek language, the relation of instrumentality is expressed by putting the name of the instrument in the dative without a

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra, Jan. 1869, p. 43.

preposition, as we, in English, express the relation of ownership, by putting the owner's name in the possessive case without a preposition. So Luke, the purest Greek writer in the New Testament, writes: *Ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς* (Luke iii. 16), which are the very words which the rules of the language required him to use, if he meant to say: "I baptize you with water," as an instrument. So, in the next verse: "But the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable" — *πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ*, the dative of the instrument without a preposition.

It is another mistake to suppose that the sacred writers, if they meant to mention water as the instrument, must have used the genitive, *ὕδατος*, with *μετά*. They need not do it, because, as we have seen, the simple dative without a preposition is the proper form of expression for that idea. And they could not do it, because *μετά* with the genitive would not express their meaning. It never expresses the relation of instrumentality, but always accompaniment, like *σύν*, except that *σύν* may express a closer relation.

We conclude, therefore, that "I baptize with water" is the correct translation of *βαπτίζω ὕδατι*, and that the evangelists did deliberately record the fact that John baptized with water as an instrument. But how is it where they use the preposition, and write, *βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι*?

Doubtless, *ἐν* primarily expresses locality, and means *in*, *on*, *at*, or more loosely, *among*. From this the transition is easy to the idea of time, as *at* such a time, or *in* such a year, or *during* the occurrence of such events; to the employments *in* which one is engaged; to the manner or spirit *in* which one does anything; and finally, in some cases, to the means *by* or *with* which a thing is done. So in Matt. viii. 32, the swine died *ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν*, *by the waters;* 1 Cor. iii. 13, Every man's work shall be revealed *ἐν πυρί*, *by fire;* Rom. x. 9, "If thou shall confess (*ἐν τῷ στόματί σοῦ*) with thy mouth." Luke xxii. 49, "Shall we smite (*ἐν μαχαίρᾳ*) with the sword." Rev. vi. 8, *ἀποκτεῖναι . . . ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ*, "to kill with sword." In this last sense it is seldom used

by classical writers. They commonly express the same idea by the dative without the preposition. Among later writers it is more common, and in the New Testament its use was probably favored by its resemblance to a well-known Hebrew idiom.

Ἐν ὕδατι, therefore, may mean either *in* water or *with* water, as the context may determine.

In some cases, in connection with *βαπτίζω*, *ἐν* is used in its most primitive sense, denoting locality; as John i. 28, where it is said that John was baptizing *in* (*ἐν*) Bethabara, and, iii. 23, *in* Enon, and Matt. iii. 6, *ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ*, *in* the Jordan. So, also, Mark i. 4, John was baptizing *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*, *in* the wilderness, and the next verse, *ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ*, *in* the river Jordan.

In other cases, *ἐν ὕδατι* means simply *ὕδατι*, *with water*. The same discourse of John is reported in Matt. iii. 11, Mark i. 8, and Luke iii. 16. According to the reports of Matthew and Mark, he said, *ἐν ὕδατι*; but according to Luke, simply *ὕδατι*, without the preposition. John probably spoke in the Hebrew, as they called it, of that age; and the three evangelists translated it, each in his own way, into Greek. The three reports, therefore, very naturally differ in several words, but agree in meaning. Luke, the most classical in style, translates John's word by the simple instrumental dative, *ὕδατι*, *with water*. If the three writers have all given John's meaning correctly, Matthew and Mark must have used *ἐν ὕδατι* to mean exactly what *ὕδατι* means in Luke, that is, with water. In John i. 26, *ἐν ὕδατι* is used, evidently in the same sense, though the conversation there reported probably occurred at a different time.

It is certain, therefore, that *ἐν*, in this connection, may be rendered *in*, locally, or *with*, instrumentally, as the context may require.

But it cannot be rendered *into*, or by any form of speech which expresses the idea of motion *into*. That idea must be expressed by *εἰς*, with the accusative. See John i. 9, *εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, *into the world*; and in vs. 11, *εἰς τὰ ἴδια*, *to*

his own. The only apparent exceptions to this distinction between εἰς and ἐν are merely apparent. A verb describing motion *to* or *into* a place *to stay there*, may be followed by ἐν with the dative, if the idea of staying there is most prominent in the mind when the preposition is used. Matt. xiv. 3, ἔθετο ἐν φυλακῇ, "put him in prison," where he was still confined. Mark xv. 46, κατέθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνημείῳ, "placed him in a tomb." In these passages, ἔθετο and κατέθηκεν describe motion *into*, and would require εἰς with the accusative; but the mind passes from that idea to the idea of continuance *in* the prison, or the tomb, which requires ἐν with the dative. But when the idea of coming *to* or *into* is not thus crowded out of mind, εἰς with the accusative must be used. Luke xxiv. 36, it is said that Jesus ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. No mention is made of his coming, but only of his presence, which is expressed by ἐν with the dative. But in John xx. 19 we are told that in the evening, the doors being shut [locked] for fear of the Jews, on purpose to prevent anybody from *coming* in, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον, "Jesus came into the midst of them, and stood there," as we should arrange these words in English; and vs. 26, Jesus came, the doors being locked, and stood, εἰς τὸ μέσον, *into* the midst of them. His coming notwithstanding the locked doors was the remarkable fact, and controlled the choice of the preposition. The passage cannot be translated, *ad verbum*, into elegant, idiomatic English; for we have no preposition which can at once express the relation of both verbs to *midst;* nor does the genius of our language permit a preposition to pass over the nearest verb and show relation to the preceding one. Hence, to give the exact and entire meaning of the Greek in good English, we must change the order of the words, and translate, as above: "He came into the midst of them, and stood there."

There is one instance of this kind in connection with John's baptism (Mark i. 4–9). Having told how people resorted to him from Jerusalem and all the region of Judea, he mentions the remarkable fact that Jesus made the long journey from

Nazareth in Galilee to the Jordan (at Bethabara, as we know from John), and was baptized there by John. In speaking of those from a short distance, whose walk was an easy task, not worth notice, he says, ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ; using ἐν with the dative of locality. If Jesus had been a resident of the same neighborhood, his baptism might have been recorded in the same form. But his coming from a comparatively distant region, where less was known of John, and where there was no general movement towards him, demanded notice, and the preposition must be changed accordingly. He therefore writes: ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην. The ἦλθεν, "came," required εἰς with the accusative. The ἐβαπτίσθη did not require it, any more than did ἐβαπτίζοντο, in the fifth verse. Apart from that long journey, the relation of the baptizing to the Jordan was the same in the case of Jesus as of the others, expressed by ἐν with the dative. It was not the relation of *motion into*.

And this is the only mention of baptism in the New Testament in which the name of the element used is in the accusative with εἰς. In every other instance the complement of the verb is the local or instrumental dative with ἐν, or the simple instrumental dative without a preposition.

In another class of instances, where baptism is mentioned as a coming, or promising to come, or profession of having come, into some new relation or condition, εἰς with the accusative is commonly used, if not always; as εἰς μετανοίαν, "unto repentance"; εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, "for the remission of sins"; εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, "unto the name," and the like.

Both idioms are illustrated in 1 Cor. x. 2: "And were all baptized unto Moses (εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν), in the cloud, and in the sea (ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καί ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ)." The idea that they came *into* a new relation to Moses is expressed by εἰς with the accusative — εἰς Μωϋσῆν. The idea that the cloud and the sea were the means by which this was done is expressed by ἐν with the datives νεφέλῃ and θαλάσσῃ.

It has been said that this passage describes a complete

immersion, as the cloud was over them and the sea on each side of them. This, if true, would be nothing to the purpose, as it would still be true that ἐν expresses the relation of instrumentality. But the comment is untrue, and even ridiculous. It represents them not as completely surrounded by water, but as in a tunnel open at both ends. And Paul does not say that they were baptized in or by *the cloud and sea*, as if cloud and sea co-operated in effecting one baptism. He speaks of two baptisms, "in the cloud, and in the sea"; and they certainly were not immersed in either. If the object were to describe one baptism, effected by the joint action of cloud and sea, the repeating of the preposition ἐν would be such a grammatical blunder as Paul never commits.

In classical Greek βαπτίζω may mean *plunge*, implying motion *into* the water; but when used in that sense, it imperatively requires, as its complement, εἰς with the accusative; as when Plutarch says, βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς θαλάσσαν, "plunge yourself *into* the sea. But in such cases the whole meaning, including the idea of *motion into*, is not inherent in the verb alone, but in the verb and its complement.

We conclude, therefore, that the Greek verb βαπτίζω, when not followed by εἰς with the accusative, cannot be truly rendered by any word or words signifying or implying *motion to* or *into*. The idea of *motion into* is not in it; and to translate it by any word which contains that idea is to introduce an idea into the translation which is not in the original Greek, and is therefore a false translation. The authors of our common English version were right in not interpolating that idea.

This argument does not settle the question whether John baptized by immersion. It only shows that the fact of immersion is not asserted in the words and phrases now under consideration. So far as this argument shows, it may be that the evangelists thought that question sufficiently settled by other proofs, or that they did not think it worth settling at all. On either of these suppositions, they would naturally write just as they did. But if it should be shown, by proof derived from other sources, that John and the apostles did

sometimes, or always, baptize by immersion; it would still remain true that these passages do not teach it, and cannot be so translated into any language as to teach it without introducing into the translation an idea not in the original, and that the faithfulness of our English version in these passages is fully vindicated.

ARTICLE VIII.

CHURCH CREEDS.

BY REV. ENOCH POND, D.D., PROFESSOR IN BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

In all ages, Christian churches must have had creeds. As every Christian who believes anything has a creed, so every society of Christians which holds any articles of belief in common must have a common creed. Where there is no creed, a profession of *faith* cannot, in the nature of things, be made. Faith in what, if nothing is believed? And if anything is believed, then, of course, there is a creed.

A creed is as necessary to a church as the truths of the gospel are to the individual believer. As Christian piety cannot exist but in connection with some Christian truth, no more can a church exist without a professed reception of the gospel. The truths of the gospel are the basis on which it stands, the substance which it holds, the means, the aliment by which it is nourished and sustained. Without some truth to feed and rest upon, the church would vanish into nothing.

The churches of the apostles undoubtedly had a creed. It may have been a short one at first; it may not have been reduced to writing. But there was a creed, else those who joined these churches could have made no profession of faith at all. Martha professed her faith, and recited her creed, when she said: "I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world" (John xi. 27). And the eunuch did the same, when he said: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God" (Acts viii. 37). These

creeds may have been as full and as satisfactory at the time and in the circumstances when they were uttered as was the Athanasian creed three hundred years afterwards. Paul speaks to the Romans of "*the form of doctrine* which he had delivered unto them," and exhorts Timothy to "hold fast *the form of sound words* which he had received"; referring, in both cases, to a virtual creed.

I have said that the creed of the apostolic churches may not have been formally written at the time; but this is a point of small importance. Nothing was written at the first; the New Testament was not all written until the last apostle was just about to leave the world. But the creed of the church *was written* at a very early period. The Apostles' Creed, so-called, is a very ancient document, though not written by any of the apostles. This was soon followed by other creeds, as occasion called for them. There was the creed of Irenaeus, of Origen, of Tertullian, of Lucian the martyr, and of the churches of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Antioch.[1] These were followed by the creeds of the General Councils, which were of high authority at the time, and in some places are so still.

There have been various objections to church creeds, chiefly by those who, secretly or openly, have departed from them, and are afraid of them. It has been said that they are made to take the place of scripture, and become, what the Bible should be — the standard of faith. But this is not true. A written creed must never be substituted for the scriptures. Indeed, we doubt whether it ever has been. It is rather regarded as a concise expression of what is deemed to be the sense of scripture. It is not itself the standard of faith, but a transcript, an epitome, of that infallible standard which God has given us in his word.

It is said, again, that church creeds are an infringement upon Christian liberty. Individuals must assent to them, or they cannot be admitted to the church. Christian liberty would be encroached upon, if a church should undertake to *impose* its creed upon others. But this is never done; at

[1] See Bingham's Orig. Ecc. Book iii. chap. 2.

least, it never should be. The church does not *impose* its creed, but merely *proposes* it for consideration, leaving those to whom it is submitted at full liberty, either to accept it and walk with that particular church, or to reject it and walk somewhere else. And is not this liberty enough? To attempt or desire a greater liberty would be to encroach on the liberty of others.

It is still further objected to creeds, that they are brought forward and professedly adopted where they cannot be understood. Persons in humble life, and even children, are made to stand up and express their assent to the more profound and mysterious doctrines of the gospel. And may not the same objection be urged against adopting the Bible as our creed? Who will pretend to understand all the profundities of scripture? Yet those who urge this objection against creeds are commonly willing to accept the Bible, and insist that this is creed enough.

The creeds of our churches, instead of making the truths of scripture more mysterious and incomprehensible, are designed to connect and simplify them, and make them more plain; so that where the Bible is understood the creed can be with greater ease.

A creed properly constructed should do little more than state the plain facts of scripture, avoiding all connected inquiries and difficulties. And, as simple facts, these statements in general *can be understood*. The child of ordinary capacity can understand it, as a fact, that there is but one God; while neither the greatest philosopher nor the profoundest theologian can grasp all that is included under this grand idea. The child may understand that somehow we are sinners in consequence of our first parents' transgression; but it has puzzled some of the wisest heads to make plain the precise nature of this connection. And so of many other doctrines. Let our creeds set forth the truths of scripture as facts, to be received as facts, without discussion or much explanation, and there will be little ground of complaint as to their abstruseness or mystery.

Experience has shown that a written creed is of essential importance to a church of Christ. It is important as a *testimony* to the great truths and facts of the gospel. It is in this way, more especially, that the church, as a body, bears its testimony. Whenever its creed is read publicly, or by whomsoever read, the church virtually says: "This is the gospel, as we understand it. These are the truths on which we rest our faith and hopes." A "Confession of Faith" is, from the very terms employed, an open testimony for Christ and his gospel. When our fathers adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, instead of drawing one up for themselves, they did so, to use their own words, that they "might *with one mouth,* as well as heart, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ." They wished, with their brethren in England, to bear a *united testimony* for God and his truth.

A church creed is also important, as it tends to promote *unity*, *affection*, *confidence*. Those who are to unite habitually in the services and ordinances of religion should be agreed as to the essential points of doctrine. As they have but one Lord, and one baptism, they should be of *one faith*. They should, so far as possible, "be of the same mind and the same judgment." They must *know* and *feel* that this is the case, in order to have fellowship and confidence as Christians. But how are they to be satisfied of this, unless they have a creed, a confession of faith, to which all have given their assent? For one to profess to believe the Bible amounts to nothing in such a case. Persons of every shade of belief will profess to believe the Bible. We want to know how our brethren understand the Bible, and what opinions they draw from it; else we do not get at their real creed, and cannot know whether they agree with us in receiving the gospel.

A written creed is also of great importance as a means of preserving the purity of the church. The apostle Paul speaks of some "who had made shipwreck of the faith," and says: "He that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." But how are such persons to be known, and how detected and convicted, unless the church have an

established creed? Without the Nicene creed, Arius could not have been excluded from the church. He was prepared to assent to almost anything. It was with great difficulty that a word was selected (ὁμοῦσιος) which the wily heretic could not swallow. But for the creeds of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, they could never have cleared themselves from the taint of Unitarianism. The Unitarians did what conscious heretics have always done — they made war upon creeds long before their peculiar doctrines were disclosed; hoping that if the creeds were taken out of the way they might be safe. But the creeds were retained, and in some instances strengthened, and those who could not walk with the Orthodox churches were obliged to submit to a separation.

The necessity of creeds is so very obvious that Protestant churches universally, as well as Catholics, have been led to adopt them. The Augsburg Confession, prepared by the joint labors of Luther and Melancthon, was drawn up the same year (1529) in which the memorable protest was entered which gave to the Reformers the name of Protestant. This was followed by the confessions of the Swiss churches, of the Protestants of France, of the German Reformed, of the English, Scotch, and Dutch Reformed churches — indeed, of all the early Protestants, not excepting the Socinians of Raçon.

Soon after the settlement of New England, our fathers accepted the doctrinal part of the Westminster Confession, and afterwards what was called the New England Confession. These confessions, which are substantially the same, were not only received by the churches, but sanctioned by the General Court. The effect of this action, which gave to the churches an established creed, was to do away, for a time, with separate creeds for particular churches. They had a *common creed*, on the basis of which they all professed to stand; and why should separate creeds be adopted? It is for this reason that we fail to find among most of the early churches of New England such confessions of faith as are now in use. The church covenants recognized most of the essential doctrines, and a public creed had been sanctioned

which embraced them all. But, as the authority of the old confessions gradually declined, and more especially when the churches began to be threatened with Unitarianism, they quickly resorted to the more consistent practice of a creed for each individual church — a practice which it is hoped may never be laid aside.

In more recent times, the necessity of creeds has been asserted by Unitarians themselves, — at least, by the better part of them. Their denomination became infested with a class of radicals whom no one bearing the Christian name could consent to tolerate; and in order to be rid of them, they were as earnest in favor of creeds as they had formerly been in denouncing them.

But, granting that our churches should have creeds, how shall their creeds be formed? How much shall they embrace?

Some tell us that a church creed should embrace no doctrine which a truly pious person can, by any possibility, reject; since, if it do, we may be under the necessity of excluding some child of God from his church and his table. But in a creed formed on this principle, it will be difficult to determine what to exclude, and what to retain, or whether we shall retain anything. There are two kinds of essential doctrines — those which are essential to a consistent scheme of evangelical religion, and those a belief of which is essential to piety. The first class of essential doctrines may be pretty accurately ascertained. But who shall tell us precisely what doctrines must be received in order to be a pious person? Who will say that there can be no pious Unitarians, or Universalists? Shall we, then, omit from our creeds the Divinity of Christ, the Trinity, and eternal punishment? Yea, who will pretend that there never was, and never can be, a pious heathen? Some of the Germans tell us that piety attaches only to the feelings, and has no connection whatever with dogma. It is obvious that, on the principle we are considering, a church creed must be a very short one, if indeed any creed at all is possible.

It is not for us to decide into what minds and hearts the grace of God may possibly enter and form a renovated character. We may judge a system of doctrine, and condemn it; but we are not called upon to pass sentence upon the characters of individuals, but must leave them to the just judgment of God.

The question returns, then: What shall the creed of a church contain? What doctrines shall it embrace? Perhaps not the same in all cases. Some regard must be had to circumstances, and to the opinions of those immediately concerned. In cases where the members of a church, or those proposing to become members, are agreed in our Congregational theology and polity, a creed may be more full and explicit than in other cases would be desirable. But in cases where there is some diversity of opinion on minor points, and where a union is intended, — as is the case in many of our new settlements, — a creed may be formed on the union principle, omitting or modifying particular parts, so as to make it acceptable to all.

But in no case should a church creed omit or disguise aught of what may be regarded as the essential doctrines of the gospel — essential, I mean, to a full and consistent scheme of evangelical theology. Such doctrines as the plenary inspiration of the scriptures, the Trinity, the Divinity and atonement of Christ, regeneration by the special influences of the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, and eternal punishment — these and the like doctrines must never be omitted. And if any seemingly pious persons cannot accept such a creed, they have no reason to complain. The church has rights to be respected, as well as they; and if they cannot come into a church formed on the above principles, they may find another where they shall be more at home. In this country, where sects are so numerous, no hardship on this ground is likely to occur.

Some think that the church creeds in common use, which have come down to us from our fathers, are too long, and insist on their being curtailed. In cases of admission to

the church, too much time is taken up in the reading of them. I do not advocate a tediously long creed; it is not necessary. Neither would I advocate a meagrely short one. It should be long enough to set forth explicitly the great doctrines of the gospel; and it will be no detriment to a congregation to hear such a creed read occasionally in public, even if the reading of it should occupy several minutes.

Some persons have thought to obviate the difficulty here suggested by having two creeds. Let the old one stand unaltered, unrenounced; but have a shorter one adapted to be read in public. But there are objections to this expedient. The short one will ultimately supersede the longer. The latter, being laid up on file and never read, will soon be forgotten. Besides, the new members, having never seen, heard, or accepted the old creed, may not consent to be bound by it. If brought forth, at any time, for their reproof or conviction, they have only to say: "*This is no creed for us.*"

It has been made a question, whether a church can properly change its creed, substituting a new one, or one essentially modified, in place of the old. This can be done, undoubtedly, and without embarrassment, in case the church are all united in it. But suppose they are not united — there is a respectable minority opposed to the change. Under these circumstances the case is one of much difficulty, and should, if possible, be avoided. I have known more than one minister dismissed, and the church divided, from this very cause. It is certain that a majority cannot bind a minority, in a case like this. No man can be holden to a creed which he has not freely accepted. A minority may withdraw from a church, on a change of creed, or may be tolerated in it, that is, if they walk orderly in other respects; but on the mere ground of their dissent from the new creed they cannot be excluded. They may still remain in the church, and participate in all its privileges and responsibilities, amenable only to the creed they have adopted.

On the whole, the difficulties are so great of changing a

church creed in opposition to a respectable minority, that it should never be attempted but for the gravest reasons. If the existing creed is radically defective, or positively heretical, a change, with all its hazards, may be necessary. But no change, on the mere ground of taste or of personal preference, should ordinarily be attempted, until it can be done without rending the church.

Of the importance, and even necessity, of church creeds I have sufficiently spoken; and the impression of this fact, I hope, may not be lost. It was a stale artifice of those who prepared the way for another gospel among us in the early part of the present century, to reject and denounce confessions of faith. Creeds were represented as useless and of bad influence; as inconsistent with Christian liberty and with the first principle of Protestantism — the sufficiency of scripture. But these charges, we all now understand, were utterly without foundation. Our creeds were never regarded as the ultimate *standard* of our faith, but only the *expression* of it. We have never substituted them in the place of scripture, but have merely used them, as a matter of convenience, to set forth what we regarded as the true sense of scripture. And what absurdity to pretend that Christians may not study the scriptures for themselves, gather their opinions from them, express them one to another, reduce them to writing, and thus form a creed, and a church on the basis of it, without incurring the reproach of undervaluing and superseding the use of scripture, and encroaching upon the liberty of others.

That indifference to religious truth and dislike of creeds, which has once brought so much mischief upon us, I have feared was beginning to show itself again. Hence the desire of short and imperfect creeds, and a renewal of the old and oft-refuted objections against them. Now against this spirit, wherever it shows itself, we cannot be too cautiously on our guard. Is it not enough that we have once been caught in this way? Shall we consent to fall into the same snare again? "In vain," says the wise man, "is the net spread *in the sight* of any bird."

ARTICLE IX.

HEBREW GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY.[1]

BY REV. GEORGE H. WHITTEMORE, A.M., ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

UNDER the title of this paper it is proposed to notice some features of the publications below which establish their claims to be regarded as real services to the English student of the Hebrew scriptures, and to offer some remarks suggested by the general subject.

It may seem superfluous to commend a Grammar which has been so long before the public, and has so well earned the following encomium of the "British Quarterly Review," in welcoming this new edition: "Its simple and intelligible arrangement of materials, its generally sound conclusions, and its highly convenient form will always make it the favorite text-book in all our schools and colleges, and the companion of every student of the Old Testament scriptures." In America this verdict has been emphasized by the authority of Professor Stuart, who, after six editions of his own Grammar had been published, devoted himself to the translation of Gesenius, whose principles he had always followed, and by that of Dr. Conant, who a little earlier had undertaken the same task, executing it with a fidelity which has so long made it the standard representative of the original work among us. But Dr. Roediger still lives to devote his accumulated experience and unceasing attention to the perfection of the tasks which were his legacy from the great master Gesenius. Twenty editions of the Grammar have appeared in Germany, and the volume before us is declared to be virtually from the twenty-first, and, by his special arrangement and attention, even in English Roediger's own work as much as in German. Dr. Davies brings to his part of this joint undertaking the experience of long service in Hebrew instruction, as well as the ability resulting from foreign study. It will not, then, be amiss to

[1] Gesenius's Student's Hebrew Grammar, from the Twentieth German Edition, as revised by E. Roediger, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Berlin. Translated by B. Davies, LL.D. With special Additions and Improvements by Dr. Roediger; and with Reading-Book and Exercises by the Translator. Student's Hebrew Lexicon. A compendious Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament, chiefly founded on the works of Gesenius and Fürst, with improvements from Roediger, Dietrich, Ewald, and others. Edited by Benjamin Davies, Ph.D., LL.D., Translator of Roediger's Gesenius, or Student's Hebrew Grammar. London: Asher and Company.

point out some of the new titles to favor possessed by this work so monumental of modern Oriental philology.

In the first pages of the book, preceding a complete collection of paradigms, we meet with a new and fuller Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets, in the drawing up of which Professor Roediger acknowledges the valuable aid of Dr. M. A. Levy, the learned Professor at Breslau. The facilities and interest of alphabetic research have been promoted by recent discoveries of antique inscriptions; and it may be hoped that, in these days of archaeological zeal, the Moabite stone will not retain its present solitary eminence of age and value as a witness to the Bible and to the paternity of the systems of writing derived from the Greek and the Latin.

In the Introduction, besides the three branches of the Semitic languages heretofore recognized, — the Arabic, the Aramaean, and the Hebrew, with the Canaanitic or Phoenician, — as a distinct and fourth chief branch is enumerated the Assyrian (with the old Babylonian), as it appears in the Cuneiform inscriptions; the language of the Elamites and Assyrians, after long doubt, having been proved Semitic.

Of particular value in this part of the book is an addition inserted in the section on an historical survey of the Hebrew language. It indicates the lines of investigation by which an earlier stage of the language than is preserved in the present written documents can be recognized and established. One result of this regressive inquiry consists in the ability to see more clearly how the Old Testament Hebrew acquired its system of sounds and grammatical forms. This is so desirable, that, merely mentioning the first and third of the paths which conduct to this earlier stage of the language, — viz. archaic forms in the Hebrew itself, and comparison with the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, often conservative of them, — a brief notice may be profitably given to the second, viz. retrospective inference from the present lexical forms, in so far as they clearly, in the law and analogy of the letter-changes, point back to such an older form of the language. Here would be included the transitions from hard and rough consonants in the earlier times to smoother ones of the same class, or, while the original consonant was still retained, to a degenerate pronunciation of it; the extensive rejection of consonants at the end of words, to which is owing the present form of so many of the particles especially; and the change of the feminine ending ־ַת to ־ָה.

Further on in the work attention is called to the fact that the changes which have passed upon the Hebrew language in respect to its sounds have also affected its vowel-system; and examples are cited in English spelling according to Arabic analogy, exhibiting the original forms of words, as *Sădăqăt*, for צְדָקָה, righteousness. Here, in § 27, by a few prefatory remarks, the whole subject of the changes of vowels, especially in respect to quantity, has a new light thrown upon it for the patient and diligent student. He is made aware of the fact, more elaborately pre-

sented by Hupfeld in his uncompleted fragment of a Hebrew Grammar, of the prevalence of short vowels in the early language; the *ă* sound predominating among these. He is thus better prepared to realize the assertion of all the grammars that the present vowel-system is highly artificial, and exhibits the intoning style of the schools and the synagogue. Every service of this kind is inestimable to the student; for probably two thirds of those who take up the study think it as difficult as did the writer of a recently published reminiscence of Professor Stuart, though it is to be feared that a large number never get even a temporary impetus and beguilement such as he records: "Even into the dry, monotonous task of teaching the Hebrew grammar — as it was the practice of Professor Stuart to teach it even to beginners,— he would infuse such life and interest that for the time you forgot the difficulties, the almost unintelligible nature of the language, and of the rules you were trying to master."

An improvement of note is the unequivocal substitution of our *w* as the sound and equivalent of ו, instead of the German *w*, or *v*. It is surprising that the latter should have been retained so long, especially in view of the correct statement, in every successive edition of the Grammar, that it is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant; since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes are dependent on, and can be explained only by the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. To be sure, the real equivalency of ו and *w* was stated in the discussion of the peculiarities of ו; but, in face of the retention of the *v* sound, it may be doubted whether in very many cases there was not an inveterate perplexity in the mind of the student, if, passing beyond the laborious memorizing of the Ayin-Waw verb, he attempted to give an intelligible account of its apparent wide deviations from the normal form. It is not only in morals that the attempt to combine correct theory with doubtful practice is darkening and bewildering in its effects. All, however, becomes easily intelligible, if *kāwăm*, instead of *kāvăm*, be brought to comparison with *kātăl*. It must also, on the old practice, have seemed strange that so common a word as "and" should be pronounced now *vĕ*, and again *û*, as in rule. An ancient Hebrew, it may also be confidently affirmed, would have been astounded to be told that he ever discriminated in his utterance of this connective. The apparent anomaly disappears when the true *w* sound is employed, and it is seen that, though the pointing is different, the difference of sound is very slight in the initial utterance of וְהָאָרֶץ, *wĕhâārĕtz*, and וּמֶלֶךְ, which, says Dr. Davies, ought probably to be pronounced, *wūmālĕkh;* the ו retaining its feeble *w* sound before the Shureq.

The origin of the vowel sounds from the three primary ones is more fully stated and exhibited than heretofore. Fuller, also, and more serviceable are the remarks in the section on the character of the several vowels. For example, Kal and Piel participles become better understood

in their inflection by the statement that short Chireq is sometimes an original ĭ lengthened by the tone to ē, as in אֹיְבֵךָ (thy foe), from אָיַב, originally *aybh*.

In the treatment of the verb, we find a useful remark prefixed to the Guttural verbs, to the effect that their deviations can only in part be taken for actual weakness, as in the omission of the doubling by Daghesh forte; while, on the contrary, in forms like יַהְמֹד, the original ă of the preformative is kept, which in the corresponding form of the model verb, יִקְטֹל, is weakened into ĭ. This, it will be seen, has the same aim as so many of the additions and improvements, some of which have already been specified,—the explanation of the present phenomena of the language out of its reconstructed earlier condition. Hupfeld, asserting the accumulation by advanced philological inquiry of sufficient facts to explain with great probability the problem of the vocalization and the historical course of its cultivation, states as one of the main points upon which this explanation is founded, that the vocalization was originally far simpler than now, as is established through a comprehensive analogy of language. It is the valuable office of many a little remark and note to call attention to this early simple vocalization.

The sections which treat of the various participial and infinitive forms of nouns derived from the regular and irregular verbs remain as before. The conviction may here be expressed of the exceeding importance of their careful study to any who would gain such a knowledge of Hebrew as not even the most faithful and extensive memorizing of forms can convey, but which comes from *feeling* the force of the form as built on a certain plan from the stem-word. Of the word חָסִיד, for example, it may be learned from the lexicon that it is applied to a godly, pious man, as well as to a kind and merciful one. But to the inquirer into the significance of its structural form may there not be suggested the important and beautiful lesson that such a one both receives and exemplifies the grace of God, the source of all grace of character? Hupfeld strongly insists on the proper passive force of the form as a denominative, signifying one who is the object of God's mercy. Certainly it is allied to the passive participle, although the same form occurs with an active signification in intransitive verbs. May not the best conciliation of the etymological indications and the facts of the word's usage come from supposing it a pregnant designation of one in whom inhere the distinctions and the virtues of the "gracious state" of which the old divines speak?

One must seek to have the exact correspondence between certain Hebrew and English terms felt instantly and instinctively. Thus the very appellation of the language may suggest to us that Abraham, from whom it came, was "the Hebrew," not merely as an immigrant into Canaan, but, being such, was called by the native inhabitants of the land, as he came from "the over side" of the Euphrates, the "over-sider," as we say

"outsider." These native inhabitants, in turn, by a similar Hebrew termination of the word for "Canaanites," are thereby designated in a manner exactly answering to our "lowlanders," or "Netherlanders." Amid the multitude of subjects in Old Testament study, some notice of all which seems desirable, and almost imperative, a few exercises, at least, should be devoted to the branch which has been glanced at, the structure of words in their primary forms as distinct from their changes by inflection. It is due to the student that he be directed in the path. Here, as elsewhere, it will rest with him to follow it until conducted into that real acquaintance with a language which transfers the principles and statements of grammars and lexicons from without to within, so that they are a part of the man.

Exception has sometimes been taken to the 'declensions' of Gesenius, as cumbrous and artificial, and even then as not entirely exhaustive. Undoubtedly, statements can be framed, like Ewald's, inclusive under four or five heads, of the changes underlying all the nouns which Gesenius distributes into nine declensions. It may be questioned, however, whether we have not in Gesenius the most convenient method for determining, after an instant's thought, the forms of a noun throughout its whole inflection, of which it is so desirable to be possessed.

A useful page is added by the translator, with the modestly expressed hope that it will perhaps make the complicated inflection of the segholates somewhat plainer. It is believed that the plural in the absolute and with light suffixes points for its origin to the prevalence in the older state of the language of the form מָלֵךְ, so common in Aramaean.

In the Syntax, Dr. Davies has added on many points foot-notes of a suggestive and illustrative character, or directing to fuller information, as in the case of several references to Ewald's Grammar. He has also appended to the Grammar a Hebrew Reading-Book, with Exercises in Grammar and Composition, designed to aid the student in acquiring the inflections and constructions by presenting suitable matter for translation and analysis, accompanied with copious references to the forms and rules of the grammar.

It is prefaced by some very judicious remarks upon the most approved method of studying Hebrew, in which the author espouses, correctly, we think, the side of a full grammar, rather than a skeleton, or outline, for the beginner, though not insisting that every point should be mastered at first by all learners alike. He makes reference to the views of Gesenius and Winer on this important subject, which were first presented to English readers in the Appendix to Dr. Hackett's Hebrew Exercises, now for many years out of print. The exercises before us, though not so full and elaborate upon some points, are constructed upon the same general plan as those of the work first named, and may be very profitably employed by the instructor.

It is a great advantage of the Student's Hebrew Lexicon, which is dedi-

cated to Dr. Roediger, that it contains frequent and valuable references to the Student's Hebrew Grammar. The special and exact adjustment of the works to each other, combined with their inexpensive, convenient, and highly attractive form, may well induce the teacher to recommend them together to the beginner. If the latter shall at a further stage wish to possess a Gesenius or Fürst unabridged, the substantial merits of this compendious book will still cause it to be retained upon his shelves. For, as Dr. Davies says, the work may be regarded as new, though not claiming to be original; presenting everywhere freshness, indicating a measure of independence and of endeavor after progress — not, however, in a dogmatic, but in a tentative, spirit. The direction of his efforts may be indicated, according to the author's own characterization of them, as follows:

Fuller indications and illustrations of the affinities and interchanges of the letters have been given, and also of their formative uses or their effect in word-building.

In dealing with derivatives, and particularly those that seem to have more than three radical letters, many improvements have been essayed.

The Onomatopoetic origin of many roots is surmised, to which the theory has not been heretofore extended, and notwithstanding the objection of some Sanscrit scholars to such derivation.

As the Assyrian tongue has taken its place among the branches of the Semitic family, the names of the monarchs of that empire occurring in the Bible have tentative Semitic etymologies assigned them.

Comparative philology has been laid under requisition to produce affinities and analogies between words in different forms and of various dialects or languages. A few of the interesting examples under this head may be mentioned. The word חֹם, meaning heat, comes from a root found in Syriac and Arabic, as well as in Hebrew. From this Semitic source, says Dr. Davies (the same root being also found in Coptic) came, through the Arabic, our *alchymy*, *chymist*, having reference to *heat*, as the dissolvent or means of analyzing substances. Hence chymistry is fitly said to be *the science of heat*. From חֵב, bosom, is deduced, through the Arabic, the Italian *alcovo* = our *alcove*, and (by insertion of the liquid) κόλπος = Italian *golfo* = our *gulf*; compare Latin *sinus*, also German *busen*, for both *bosom* and *bay*. The "devouring element" of penny-a-liners has a respectable ancestry in בָּצַר, first, 'to browse, feed upon'; secondly, 'to consume with fire.' This root is regarded as probably mimetic, and traced in the Greek βορά (βι- βρώ- σκω), Welsh *pawr*, *poru*, *baru*, Latin *voro*, English *forage*, *browse*, *bread*, German *brod*.

Among those who encouraged Dr. Davies to undertake this volume and render this service to Hebrew learning, he mentions Dr. Payne Smith, the successor of Dean Alford, at Canterbury; Dr. Gotch, President of Bristol Baptist College; Dr. Hackett, of Rochester Theological Seminary; and

Dr. W. Wright, now Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, England.

They certainly must feel, in looking upon the completed work, that it is well adapted to the end which the author declares will be, by the favor of God, the coveted reward of his labor — the real aiding of the student to gain a good knowledge of the Old Testament scriptures in the original tongues.

ARTICLE X.

DR. HODGE'S SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.[1]

An orator recently addressing the Massachusetts Medical Society remarked that "progress is the pride of the day; and the charm of antiquity is broken. In the early history of the country, medicine and theology were allied together, each having firm faith in the infinite and none in the infinitesimal; but now sugar is the staple article both in theological and medical dispensaries." In the system of theology which Dr. Hodge is giving to the public, there are signs of progress. It contains more of the saccharine element than is found in the older treatises emanating from his school. Still, it is in the main, allopathic rather than homoeopathic in its treatment of its patients. It is in this respect as it should be. It gives evidence of its author's sound mind and extensive learning. It is written in a vigorous and flexile style. It presents theology in a compact form. The spirit of it is candid and fair. It propounds various theories which we regard as untenable, and defends the real truth by some arguments which we regard as inconclusive. The excellences and the faults of the system — the excellences being greater than the faults — appear in almost every chapter. Let us look, for example, at volume one, part one, chapter one, entitled "Origin of the Idea of God."

Dr. Hodge supposes that the existence of God can be proved, and also that it is self-evident. We have an "innate knowledge" of his being. Dr. Hodge defines innate knowledge to be "that which is due to our constitution as sentient, rational, and moral beings." "The soul is so constituted that it sees certain things to be true immediately in their own light. They need no proof. Men need not be told or taught that the things thus perceived are true." These immediate perceptions are called "intuitions," "primary truths," "laws of belief," "innate knowledge or ideas"

[1] Systematic Theology. By Charles Hodge, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. Two Vols. pp. 648 and 732. New York: Charles Scribner and Company; London and Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons. 1872.

(I. 195). "All that is meant is that the mind is so constituted that it perceives certain things to be true without proof and without instruction" (I. 192). "What is seen immediately without the intervention of proof to be true, is, according to the common mode of expression, said to be seen intuitively" (I. 193).

Among the truths of which we have an innate knowledge, Dr. Hodge specifies the following: "The part of a thing is less than the whole;" "A straight line is the shortest distance between two points;" "Nothing cannot be a cause;" "Every effect must have a cause;" "Sin deserves punishment," etc.

Dr. Hodge places the truth of God's existence in the same category with the axioms which we have now specified, and affirms that it is a "primary truth," one of which we have an "immediate perception," "intuition," "innate knowledge," "innate idea."

I. Let us inquire whether Dr. Hodge has shown that the perception of God's existence is so *immediate* as to prove the perception to be innate. Has he shown that we believe in God's existence as soon as the truth is presented to us, and without the intervention of any other truth? If there be the intervention of *another* truth, then *this* truth is perceived through a medium; and not being perceived immediately, it is *not* perceived intuitively. Dr. Hodge says: "All the faculties and feelings of our minds and bodies have their appropriate objects; and the possession of the faculties supposes the existence of those objects. The senses suppose the existence and reality of the objects of sense. The eye, in its very structure, supposes that there is such an element as light; the sense of hearing would be unaccountable and inconceivable without sound; and the sense of touch would be inconceivable were there no tangible objects. The same is true of our social affections; they necessitate the assumption that there are relations suited to their exercises. Our moral nature supposes that the distinction between right and wrong is not chimerical or imaginary. In like manner, our religious feelings, our sense of dependence, our consciousness of responsibility, our aspirations after fellowship with some Being higher than ourselves, and higher than anything which the world or nature contains, necessitates [necessitate] the belief in the existence of God" (I. 200). From the fact that a fish has an instinct for the water we may draw the inference that there is water in which the fish has the power to swim. Dr. Hodge will not doubt that this is an *inference*, and is not an independent belief. From the fact that a bird has an instinct for flying we may come to the conclusion that there is an atmosphere in which the bird has the power to fly; but Dr. Hodge will not say that this *conclusion* is a "primary perception." He may, indeed, say that we have a primary perception of an atmosphere, but not on the ground that there exists an instinct to fly in it, or an apparatus for breathing it. From the thirst of a young animal for milk we may derive an inference that milk is somewhere provided for it,

and is good for it; but this inference is not innate knowledge. "From the very structure of the eye" we may draw the conclusion that there is such an element as light; but will Dr. Hodge affirm that this conclusion is "a law of belief?" He may say that light is seen "in its own light," but is it not a self-contradiction to say that it is seen "intuitively," "primarily," in "the very structure of the eye?" If we learn that there is a being endued with a sense of hearing we infer that there will be sound which he can hear, but *this* belief in sound is not derived from sound itself, but from another object; it comes through a medium, and is not immediate. If we are informed of a being who has the sense of touch, we conclude that there will be objects which he can touch; but this conclusion is not "innate knowledge." Dr. Hodge says that the sense of hearing and of touch would be inconceivable without audible and tangible objects. (I. 200). He might as well say that audible and tangible objects would be inconceivable without the sense of hearing and touch. We cannot form an apprehension of the sense without forming an apprehension of its objects; nor can we form an apprehension of its objects without forming an apprehension of the sense; but a mind may think of visible, audible, and tangible objects, before it believes in the *existence of* any sense to recognize them, and it may think of a sense of sight, sound, and touch, before it believes in the *existence* of any visible, audible, or tangible objects to be recognized. If we are told of beings who have a constitutional love for parents and children, we reason in favor of the proposition that parents and children do or will exist. The idea of a parent involves the idea of a child, and *vice versa;* but the idea of a parent does not imply the actual existence of a child, and the idea of a child does not imply the actual existence of a parent. Our reasoning in favor of their actual existence is the opposite of an "innate knowledge" of it. "In like manner our religious feelings" constitute a premise from which we reason in favor of the existence of an object on which these feelings may rest; but the belief that there actually exists such an object forms the conclusion, and this conclusion is, of course, not a "fundamental law of belief." Dr. Hodge says that our sense of dependence "necessitates" our belief in the divine existence; so does our perception of the adaptation of means to ends throughout the material universe. First, we are conscious of a sense of dependence; secondly, we recognize the truth taught by observation that all our constitutional feelings have their appropriate objects; thirdly, we apply this truth in our argument proving that our constitutional sense of dependence has its appropriate object—God. Dr. Hodge says that our "consciousness of responsibility" necessitates our belief in the being of God. What is our consciousness of responsibility? It is a consciousness of accepting as true the statement that we are responsible. What is the accepting of *this* statement as true? It is the acceptance of the statement as true that we shall receive a reward for doing well, and a punishment for doing ill. So

far we have intuition. But so far we have no intuition of God's existence. Our accepting of the statement as true that we shall be rewarded for doing well or punished for doing ill may be a mere imagining, or apprehending, or surmising, or thinking, or supposing, or presuming, or hoping, or fearing, or expecting, or it may be a *believing*, that we shall be thus recompensed; but even this *belief* is not the "innate knowledge" of a God. It involves the premise of an argument. The argument is this: We shall be rewarded; therefore there will be a rewarder; we shall be punished; therefore there will be a punisher; *moral agents* have been and now are rewarded and punished; therefore there has been and is now a rewarder and punisher; there has occurred the event, the happiness, or the misery of a moral agent; this event has a cause, a moral governor; this moral governor is God.

Again, if it be true that our sense of accountability involves an "innate knowledge" of God, then it involves an "innate knowledge" of our future existence. The dying man has a hope of reward, or fear of punishment; this reward or punishment cannot be experienced in this life; therefore it will be experienced in a life to come. This is reasoning; but it is analogous to our reasoning in favor of the divine existence; if the latter reasoning be resolved into an innate belief, so may the former.

II. Let us inquire whether Dr. Hodge has shown that the knowledge of God is so universal as to prove it to be innate. He admits that when he affirms this knowledge to be inborn he uses the word God "in a very wide sense"; only "in the general sense of a being on whom we are dependent and to whom we are responsible" (I. 194, 195). But if our constitutional feeling of responsibility involves an innate belief in God, then it involves an innate belief in a *holy* God; also in a holy God who knows every secret act of virtue or sin which our own consciences approve or condemn. Can Dr. Hodge maintain that *all* men have this innate knowledge of a God who thus "searches the heart," and who will reward our most secret holiness, and punish our most hidden sin? He says that our belief in God's existence is necessitated by our "aspirations after fellowship with some being higher than ourselves and higher than any thing which the world or nature contains" (I. 200). Is this *merely* a being on whom we are dependent and to whom we are responsible? Will Dr. Hodge maintain that the fetich-worshippers have those lofty aspirations? Do the worshippers of an insect, who crush it when they are vexed with it, feel such a responsibility as involves a knowledge of "an invisible being, higher than self, and higher than man" (I. 197)? Is Dr. Hodge consistent with himself when at one time he represents this intuitively known being as so spiritual, so far exalted above nature; and at another time affirms that the being is merely one to whom we are accountable and on whom we are dependent? He teaches: "As we are born with the sense of touch and sight, and take cognizance of their

appropriate objects as soon as they are presented; so we are born with the intellectual faculty of perceiving these primary truths as soon as they are presented" (I. 193). Therefore, do all the heathen perceive the truth of God's existence as soon as it is presented to their minds? Dr. Hodge affirms not only that they do, but that the Bible teaches that they do. He writes: "The apostle tells us that those who have a written revelation shall be judged by that revelation; that those who have no externally revealed law, shall be judged by the law written on the heart. That the heathen have such a law he [Paul] proves first from the fact that 'they do by nature the things contained in the law,' i.e. they do under the control of their nature the things which the law prescribes, and, secondly, from the operations of conscience. When it condemns, it pronounces something done to be contrary to the moral law; and when it approves, it pronounces something to be conformed to that law (Rom. ii. 12–16). The recognition of God, therefore, that is, of a being to whom we are responsible, is involved in the very idea of accountability" (I. 196). On examining *one* written law we reason in favor of the fact that Solon existed; on examining *another*, we reason in favor of the fact that Draco existed; on examining a *third*, we reason in favor of the fact that Justinian existed. On examining a *fourth*, i.e. the law which is written on the heart of man, we reason in favor of the fact that God exists. Our belief that this fourth law has a cause is no more intuitive than is our belief that the three other laws have a cause. Dr. Hodge proceeds: "Hence every man carries in the very constitution of his being as a moral agent, the evidence of the existence of God" (I. 196). This is true. Every man has in his constitution a *proof* that there is a God. The evidence of God's existence is not in the statement of it, but in the constitution of the soul; the truth is not self-evident, but is learned from something lying under it. Dr. Hodge continues: "And as this sense of sin and responsibility is absolutely universal, so must also, according to the Bible, be the knowledge of God" (I. 196). On the same principle if, during the reign of king David or Solomon, a Jewish peasant had a knowledge that he had violated a Jewish law and had made himself liable to a civil punishment, he must have had an innate knowledge of the existence of David or Solomon. "The simple fact of scripture and experience is, that the moral law as written upon the heart is indelible; and the moral law in its nature implies a lawgiver, one from whom that law emanates, and by whom it will be enforced" (I. 198). The moral law implies a lawgiver, in the same sense in which a law in a certain French code implies a lawgiver; but the mind has not an "innate knowledge" that Napoleon was the author of that code. The thought of a substance is not separate from the thought of its qualities; and the thought of qualities is not separate from the thought of their substance; but the thought of a particular event is separate from the thought of its cause, and the thought of a cause is separate from the thought of a

particular event. The thought of a particular event leads to a thought of its cause; but we must not mistake the fact of its *suggesting* a cause for the fact of its *involving* one.

Dr. Hodge regards not only the scriptures, but also history, as showing that the knowledge of God is so universal as to prove it innate. That the divine existence is perceived intuitively he attempts to prove by alleging the fact that it "is one of those truths which reveal themselves to every human mind;" that it belongs to "a class of truths so plain that they never fail to reveal themselves to the human mind." He remarks: "Hence the criteria of those truths which are accepted as axioms, and which are assumed in all reasoning, and the denial of which renders all faith and all knowledge impossible, are universality and necessity. What all [men] believe, and what all men must believe, is to be assumed as undeniably true. These criteria, indeed, include each other. If a truth be universally admitted, it must be because no man can rationally call it in question. And if it be a matter of necessary belief, it must be accepted by all who possess the nature out of the constitution of which the necessity arises" (I.193,194). Dr. Hodge, then, is discussing the question, not whether the belief in God is intuitive to *some* men, but whether it is intuitive to *all* men (I. 193). In answering the objection "that travellers and missionaries report the existence of some tribes so degraded that they could discover in them no traces of this knowledge" of God, Dr. Hodge says: "Even if the fact be admitted that such tribes have no idea of God, it would not be conclusive. Should a tribe of idiots be discovered, it would not prove that reason is not an attribute of our nature. If any community should come to light in which infanticide was universal, it would not prove that parental love was not one of the instincts of humanity" (I. 196, 197). Here we remark, first, that Dr. Hodge is inconsistent with himself. He is attempting to show that the knowledge of God is intuitive, *in the sense that* it never fails to reveal itself to the human mind (I. 193). Can it be intuitive in *this* sense, if it does fail to reveal itself to whole tribes of men? He says: "When it is asked whether the existence of God is an intuitive truth, the question is equivalent to asking whether the belief in his existence is universal and necessary" (I. 194). On this principle, if we answer the second question by asserting that the belief in God's existence is not universal, our assertion is *equivalent* to answering the first question by asserting that the belief is not intuitive.

We remark, secondly, that Dr. Hodge confounds one statement with another. He confounds the question whether all men *do* believe immediately in the Divine existence, with the question whether they have the faculty for thus believing. The inquiry whether all men do *exercise* the faculty of reason is entirely distinct from the inquiry whether they *have* the faculty. The question whether all men actually exercise the parental sensibility is different from the question whether all men *possess* the

sensibility. If he attempts to prove that all men possess this sensibility by asserting that all men exercise it, this last assertion would not be valid, provided that whole tribes of men do not exercise it. If he attempts to prove that all men possess the faculty of reason by asserting that all men exercise it, this last assertion would not be justifiable, provided that whole tribes of men do not exercise it. On the same principle, if he attempts to prove that all men have the faculty for an immediate perception of God, and to prove this by asserting that all men *do* perceive God immediately, this assertion would not be allowable, provided that whole tribes of men have no idea of God at all. Dr. Hodge is professedly discussing the question, whether all men have the innate idea of a deity; but he sometimes wanders into the other question, whether all men have the faculty for gaining this idea. He ought to be engaged in proving that the knowledge of God is universal, and *therefore* results from the very constitution of our nature; but sometimes he inverts the proposition, and asserts "that the knowledge of God results from the very constitution of our nature, and is therefore universal." (I. 196). The universality of the belief he makes an *inference from* the fact that it is intuitive; but he professes to be proving that the universality of the belief is an *argument for* the fact that the belief is intuitive. We remark, thirdly, that Dr. Hodge seems to be reasoning on the principle that the universality of a belief is not only a sign but a *sure* sign that the belief is intuitive. There are various beliefs, however, which are universal, and yet founded solely on argument. The mere universality of a belief is *one* sign, but is not an *infallible* sign that the belief is a fundamental law of the mind. In order to be an infallible sign, the belief must be shown to arise in all men before or without their perception of an argument for it; therefore, to arise as early and as uniformly as the nature of the mind at different periods allows.

III. Let us next inquire whether Dr. Hodge has shown that the belief in the divine existence is so necessary as to prove it to be innate. To the question whether the existence of God is a truth "to which the mind *cannot refuse* its assent," is "*forced* to assent"; a truth in which "no man *can possibly* disbelieve," which exists "*of necessity*" in every human mind, he gives an affirmative answer. Still he admits it to be "possible that the moral nature of a man may be so disorganized by vice, or by a false philosophy, as to have its testimony for the existence of God effectually silenced." He adds: "This, however, would prove nothing as to what that testimony really is" (I. 198). But if it be *possible* for a man to withold all testimony in favor of this truth, how can it be *necessary* for him to give the testimony? Dr. Hodge may reply: "The denial is forced, and can only be temporary." But how long may it continue? Why not during a man's entire life? If one man can thus remain through life without a knowledge of God, why cannot a whole tribe of men? Dr.

Hodge says that, "the *probability* is" in favor of a *universal* belief in God (I. 197). Therefore he can only say that the *probability* is in favor of a *necessary* universal belief in God. He derives this probability from an inadequate premise. Speaking of tribes who are reported to have no idea of a Deity, he says: "Unless such people show that they have no sense of right and wrong, no consciousness of responsibility for character and conduct, there is no evidence that they have no knowledge of such a being as God" (I. 197). He has failed to show that this "sense of right," and this "consciousness of responsibility" *involve* the knowledge of God; and if they do *result* in it, he has failed to show that they result in it necessarily; and if they result in it necessarily he has failed to show that this necessity is a *sure* sign of the knowledge being innate; for he says or implies: It "may be very true" that "there are many things which children and illiterate persons learn and can hardly avoid learning, which need not be referred to the constitution of their nature" (I. 199).

We agree with Dr. Hodge in thinking that the belief in some kind of a deity is universal, but we do not regard it as uniform in all men so as to prove the belief to be intuitive. We agree with him in thinking that the belief is necessary in certain conditions of the mind, but we do not regard it as unconditionally necessary so as to prove it to be intuitive. We differ from him in his main position that we are conscious of believing without proving that there is a God; and we think that in the general course of his discussion he first assumes that we do believe this truth without reasoning in favor of it; secondly, he infers that such an unreasoning belief is universal and necessary; thirdly, he uses his own inference as an argument to prove that we believe the truth without reasoning in favor of it.

It is, of course, unfair to pronounce any unfavorable opinion of a work until that work is finished. The parts which are to appear may modify those which have appeared already. The two volumes of Dr. Hodge's Theology which have been thus far published contain the Introduction, in six chapters; Part I., Theology proper, in thirteen chapters; Part II., Anthropology, in nine chapters; Part III. Soteriology in fourteen chapters. We look for the third volume with much interest, and have no doubt that it will be well stored with sterling thought. It is certainly an encouraging sign that a work involving so much thorough discussion is so well patronized by the public. If a larger number of such volumes emanated from the American press we should hear no more of our age as a superficial one, and of our country as one abandoned to material interests.

ARTICLE XI.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. A new Translation, Edited by the Rev. Marcus Dods, M.A. Volumes I. and II. The City of God; translated by Rev. Marcus Dods. Volume III. Writings in Connection with the Donatist Controversy; translated by the Rev. J. R. King, M.A., Vicar of St. Peters in the East, Oxford; and late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong. 1871–72.

The history of the doctrines of the church cannot be thoroughly learned without a careful attention to the writings of Augustine. If one will acquaint himself with the forms of religious doctrine and also of Pagan philosophy which prevailed before and during the age of Augustine, and if one, in the light of this antecedent as well as of contemporaneous history, will examine in the original *all* the works of that Father, and give the results of his study to the world, one will do more than has ever been done yet, more than can be done in any other way, for elucidating the history of doctrines as they have been held since the Augustinian epoch. A young man, intending to devote his days to dogmatic history, can serve his generation far better by devoting them to this fundamental study of the writings of Augustine than by extending his studies over the whole body of patristic literature. The writings of this father are not yet understood; are often misunderstood. Many of the errors in regard to him result from misapprehending the systems of Aristotle, Plato, and the other philosophers who before Augustine's day had exerted an influence on the theology of the church. To acquaint one's self with these philosophical systems and with their bearings upon the theology of Augustine and his predecessors, and then to give a fair and comprehensive view of Augustine's opinions, in their various mutations and phases, would be the labor of a long life.

It is a labor, however, which few men, if any, will undertake. The professed students of Augustine confine themselves either to the thorough examination of select parts of his works, or to a superficial examination of them all. For our theologians in general it is doubtless better to examine carefully a few of his best treatises, than to read cursorily the larger part of his works. To those who do not make the writings of this church Father a specialty, the translation of them into the English language is a convenience. His Homilies and his Confessions have been extensively circulated among English readers. His City of God is nearly as well

known as his Confessions. Every well educated minister regards it as a treasure. Augustine's writings in connection with the Donatist Controversy are less familiar to our pastors. They deserve, however, to be studied. It was by the writings of Augustine, more, perhaps, than by any other single cause, that the Donatist schism was checked. The present new translations of the works of this Father will commend the works to the English reader. They are printed in an attractive style, on a fair octavo page. The Messieurs Clark, to whose publishing house we are indebted for these volumes, as well as for many others invaluable to our clergy, intend to publish in the autumn the first volume of Augustine's Letters, his Treatises against Faustus the Manichaean, etc. etc.

A Guide to Reading the Hebrew Text; for the Use of Beginners. By the Rev. W. H. Vibbert, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in the Berkeley Divinity School. 8vo. pp. viii. and 67. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1872.

One of the cheering signs of the times is the increasing study of the language of the Old Testament scriptures; and books which really facilitate this study are to be cordially greeted. The "Guide," by Professor Vibbert, is eminently of this character, and the student who follows its guidance cannot fail to read the Hebrew text with ease, certainty, and fluency. One thing only is taught at a time, and that with such clearness and fulness of illustration that there is no escape from understanding it completely. The capacity for reading the Hebrew text has probably not been generally required for admission to our theological schools, simply because of the difficulty of its attainment without a teacher. After entering upon a regular theological course, but a part of the student's time can be given to Hebrew, and the drudgery of learning to read drags along with weary tediousness to both teacher and pupil, with a probability of its being imperfectly accomplished at last. By the aid of this little book the difficulty may be perfectly overcome beforehand, and our seminaries will certainly gain by making it a requisite for admission. At the close are ten pages of Hebrew text from Genesis, printed with the utmost clearness and accuracy; and this is followed by an appendix of a few pages, giving, with admirable brevity and clearness, rules for the formation of the verb, together with the characteristics of the various parts of the verb, noun, and suffixes, with a page of hints for finding words in the lexicon. The type and paper of the whole leave nothing to be desired.

Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek. By Hermann Cremer, Professor of Theology in the University of Griefswald. Translated from the German, by D. W. Simon, Ph. D., and William Urwick, M.A. 8vo. pp. 635. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong.

It is a great convenience for the English scholar to have a Greek dic-

tionary with English definitions. He may be familiar with the Latin or German language, yet when a Greek word is defined in Latin or German words he often obtains only an indefinite idea of its meaning. He is in haste when he consults the dictionary, and satisfies himself with dim conjectures when he ought to obtain exact knowledge. The English definition comes home to him; is not only more perfectly understood but is also longer remembered.

For these as well as other reasons, we are happy to see the English translation of Cremer's Lexicon. Dr. Simon, with whom our readers are familiar, translated pages 1–120, 177–220, 277–381. Mr. Urwick translated the remainder. The English work was printed by Trowitzsch and Son, Berlin, Germany; and this fact accounts for several typographical errors in the volume. The original Lexicon is said to have procured for its author his appointment to his Professorship of Theology in the University of Greifswald; and a translation of the work is now in progress in Holland. The Lexicon is not printed in double columns like those of Schleusner, Bretschneider, Wahl, and Schirlitz. The perusal of it therefore, is like that of an ordinary treatise, grammar, or commentary. The merits of the work are obvious and well-known.

There is a tendency of a lexicon to intrench on the province of a grammar, as of the grammar to intrench on that of the lexicon. The Dictionary of Cremer is free from this tendency. It does not proceed too far into the etymology of the words defined, and is by no means liable to the charge of favoring visionary hypotheses in tracing the derivation of words. It is acute and discriminating in its treatment of synonymes, as is seen in the definitions of Κήρυξ, Κηρύσσω. It is fair in its chronological and statistical statements, as is seen in the remarks on Βασιλεύς, and gives many fine illustrations of the rhetorical element in lexicography. Of course its chief value is, as it ought to be, in the exegetical department. See for examples, the words Ἅδης, Αἰών, οὐρανός, πιστεύω, πίστις. It proceeds on the principle that lexicography is no objective science, and, therefore, does not give its definitions for the accommodation of the learner, but for the sake of doing justice to the words defined. It gives a circumlocution, where no one English word will exactly express the meaning of the Greek. A lexicographer is always tempted to introduce some one short word or phrase in English, as corresponding with an equally short one in Greek; but the Greek term has certain shadings of meaning which the English term does not intimate. We regard the Lexicon of Cremer as in this particular very accurate. It does not *explain* the meaning of a word by its use in an isolated passage of the New Testament, but it *accounts for* its use in that passage by the etymology or chronology or rhetorical affinities of the word. We presume that the work will find an extensive patronage in this country.

Sacred Geography and Antiquities. With Maps and Illustration. By Rev. E. P. Barrows, D.D. 12mo. pp. 685. New York: American Tract Society.

"Within the present century the investigations of missionaries and intelligent travellers have shed a flood of light on many points once involved in obscurity. Still clearer light may be expected as the result of further investigations. Meanwhile it seems eminently desirable that the great mass of valuable information already collected, which is scattered through so many volumes, should be condensed and put into a methodical form, that it may thus be made available to the great body of biblical students. In the present Outlines of Sacred Geography the attempt is made to perform this work with as much brevity as is consistent with a clear statement of the various topics that come up for consideration. In the *Geography of the Holy Land* its natural divisions have been followed, all of which lie in a north and south direction. To the description of each division is appended an account of its principal cities and villages, with the scriptural reminiscences connected with them. Then follows a brief account of the *Countries adjacent to Palestine* — on the south, on the southeast and east, on the northeast and north; and finally a notice of the *More Distant Empires and Regions* in their relation to the covenant people." (p. 4).

This volume has cost its author much study. It is indeed the result of a life devoted to Biblical investigation. We are glad to see that the American Tract Society have secured for clergymen and teachers of Sabbath-schools so learned and valuable a work. It is written in a lucid style, and its arrangement of multifarious details is orderly. A vast amount of labor has been expended on its references and indexes. Some of its pictorial representations are admirable. They transport us at once to the scenes which they represent. We are not acquainted with another work on Biblical Geography which adapts to so many minds so large an amount of information.

The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ: A complete Critical Examination of the Origin, Contents, and Connection of the Gospels. Translated from the German of J. P. Lange, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Bonn. Edited, with additional Notes, by the Rev. Marcus Dods, A.M. 8vo. 4 vols. pp. 544, 504, 512, 500. Philadelphia: Smith, English, and Company. 1872.

The first of these volumes is translated by Miss Sophia Taylor, and J. E. Ryland, M.A.; the second, by Mr. Ryland, and M. G. Huxtable; the third by Rev. Robert Ernest Wallis, Priest-Vicar of Wells Cathedral, and Incumbent of Coxley, Somerset, and by Rev. S. Manson; and the fourth by Rev. S. Manson, and Rev. Robert Smith.

Lange's Life of Christ has been for a long time before the public. The author's Preface is dated in 1843, and the British Editor's Preface, in 1864.

The work, however, is worthy of being now republished in the United States. It is replete with learning and acute criticism. Dr. Lange is imaginative and not seldom mystical. It is very difficult to translate his peculiar sentiments into idiomatic English. In despite of his occasional obscurities, however, he is an instructive writer. If we do not always believe all that he asserts, we believe more than would have occurred to us if he had not suggested it. He makes his readers think, and this is one of the most valuable powers which belong to an author. Many questions are discussed in a masterly manner by him in these volumes as well as in his commentaries.

An Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language, with Exercises and Vocabularies. By Samuel H. Taylor, LL.D. Based on the twenty-fifth Edition of Kühner's Grammar. 8vo. pp. 394. New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and Co. 1872.

The revised edition of Kühner's Elementary Grammar was commenced by Dr. S. H. Taylor, late Principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, "early in the autumn of 1870. At the time of his decease the manuscript was prepared so far as page 138. It seemed best to the Publishers that the work should be finished, and it has been done as nearly as possible according to the plan of Dr. Taylor. Though as a basis the last edition of Kühner has been strictly adhered to, the compiler has not hesitated occasionally to insert what his experience as a teacher has taught him would be of use."

This Grammar is not designed to be an exhaustive treatise on the Greek language, but, as its name indicates, is purely elementary. It is designed to be sufficiently simple for beginners and yet to embrace all the more general principles of the language. We think that the arrangement of the etymology is very felicitous. The classification of the nouns of the third declension amply illustrated by paradigms, and pre-eminently the arrangement of the verb (which has been copied by several authors) are well worthy a careful investigation. The syntax is clearly arranged and with mathematical precision, yet is not so full in some directions as many other grammars. There is added to this edition a catalogue of verbs, embracing nearly all presenting any irregularity, which may prove of great convenience to the student. The exercises which were formerly with the text have been abridged and placed together at the end of the book.

"The grammatical principles of this work, so far as they extend, are the same as those contained in the larger Grammar" of Dr. Kühner, translated by Dr. S. H. Taylor and Prof. B. B. Edwards. The plan of it "is admirably adapted to carry the student forward understandingly, step by step, in the acquisition of grammatical knowledge. As soon as the letters and a few introductory principles, together with one or two forms of the

verb, have been learned, the student begins to translate the simple Greek sentences into English, and the English into Greek. As he advances to new forms or grammatical principles, he finds exercises appropriate to them, so that whatever he commits, whether forms or rules, is put in immediate practice. The advantage of this mode of study is evident. The practical application of what is learned is at once understood; the knowledge acquired is made definite; the forms and rules are permanently fixed in the mind, and there is a facility in the use of them whenever they may be needed. The student, who attempts to commit any considerable portion of the Grammar without illustrative examples, finds it difficult to retain in his memory what he has learned. There is a confusion and indistinctness about it. One form often runs into another, and one rule is confounded with another. But if each successive principle is carefully studied, and then immediately put in practice, in translating the Greek and English exercises, and is afterwards frequently reviewed, there will, in the end, be an immense saving of time, the student will be prepared to advance with pleasure from the less to the more difficult principles, and in the subsequent part of his course he will experience no difficulty in regard to grammatical forms and rules" (pp. iii, iv).

The Grammar, being left unfinished by Dr. S. H. Taylor, has been completed and published under the editorial supervision of his son, Mr. George H. Taylor, who has devoted to it much time and labor. He has been eminently successful in his delicate and critical work. We trust that this is but the commencement of a series of publications by which he may advance the cause of classical learning, and thus perpetuate the influence of one who devoted his life to that cause.

Studies in Poetry and Philosophy. By J. C. Shairp, Principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews; Author of "Culture and Religion." 12mo. pp. 340. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1872.

These Essays originally appeared in the North British Review. The first, consisting of eighty-nine pages, is an appreciative description of Wordsworth. The second, consisting of a hundred and fourteen pages, is a discriminating notice — the author will not allow us to call it a criticism — of Coleridge. The third, consisting of sixty-four pages, is a beautiful presentation of Keble. The fourth, containing seventy-two pages, is devoted to what the writer calls "The Moral Motive Power," and defends the proposition that "only in vital Christianity, or rather, to speak plainly, in God revealed in Christ, lies the adequate and all-sufficient moral motive power for man" (p. 325.) The Essays are written in a graceful, attractive, style, and they exhibit what Professor Peabody describes in his notice of the author's previous work on "Culture and Religion," "culture wreathing faith with its beauty; faith crowning culture with its glory."

The philosopher and theologian will be especially interested in the most extended of these essays — that on Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The following explanation of Coleridge's theory of Original Sin, presents a favorable specimen of the clear and facile style in which the Essays are written, and is in itself a valuable discussion:

"Coleridge rejected that interpretation of original sin, which makes 'original' mean 'hereditary,' or inherited like our bodily constitution from our forefathers. Such, he held, might be disease or calamity, but could not be sin, the meaning of which is, the choice of evil by a will free to choose between good and evil. This fact of a law in man's nature which opposes the law of God, is not only a fact, but a mystery, of which no other solution than the statement of the fact is possible. For consider: Sin, to be sin, is evil originating in, not outside of, the will. And what is the essence of the will? It is a self-determining power, having the original ground of its own determination in itself; and if subject to any cause from without, such cause must have acquired this power of determining the will, by a previous determination of the will itself. This is the very essence of a will. And herein it is contradistinguished from nature, whose essence it is to be unable to originate anything, but to be bound in the mechanism of cause and effect. If the will has by its own act subjected itself to nature, has received into itself from nature an alien influence which has curtailed its freedom, in so far as it has done this, it has corrupted itself. This is original sin, or sin originating in the only region in which it can originate — the Will. This is a fall of man.

"You ask, When did this fall take place? Has the will of each man chosen evil for itself; and, if so, when? To this Coleridge would reply that each individual will has so chosen; but as to the when, the will belongs to a region of being, is part of an order of things in which time and space have no meaning; that 'the subject stands in no relation to time, can neither be called in time or out of time; but that all relations of time are as alien and heterogeneous in this question as north or south, round or square, thick or thin, are in the affections.'

"Again you ask, With whom did sin originate? And Coleridge replies, The grounds of will on which it is true of any one man are equally true in the case of all men. The fact is asserted of the individual, not because he has done this or that particular evil act, but simply because he is man. It is impossible for the individual to say that it commenced in this or that act, at this or that time. As he cannot trace it back to any particular moment of his life, neither can he state any moment at which it did not exist. As to this fact, then, what is true of any one man is true of all men. For, 'in respect of original sin, each man is the representative of all men.'

"Such, nearly in his own words, was the way in which Coleridge sought, while fully acknowledging this fact, to construe it to himself, so as to get rid of those theories which make it an infliction from without, a calamity,

a hereditary disease; for which, however much sorrow there might be, there could be no responsibility, and therefore no sense of guilt. And he sought to show that it is an evil self-originated in the will; a fact mysterious, not to be explained, but to be felt by each man in his conscience as his own deed. Therefore, in the confession of his faith, he said:

"'I believe (and hold it a fundamental article of Christianity) that I am a fallen creature; that I am myself capable of moral evil, but not of myself capable of moral good; and that an evil ground existed in my will previously to any given act, or assignable moment of time, in my own consciousness. I am born a child of wrath. This fearful mystery I pretend not to understand. I cannot even conceive the possibility of it, but I know that it is so. My conscience, the sole fountain of certainty, commands me to believe it, and would itself be a contradiction were it not so; and what is real must be possible.'"

The Publishers of the work just named, Messieurs Hurd and Houghton, have issued during the present year another of their choice volumes, which we intended but failed to notice in our last number. It is the FABLES OF PILPAY, in a revised edition of 274 pages 16mo. It is a fascinating volume. It allures the reader onward from one Fable to another in a style which well illustrates what is called the "rhetorical artifice."

MEMOIR OF NATHANIEL GOOKIN UPHAM, LL.D. Read at the Annual Meeting of the N. H. Historical Society, June 14, 1871. By Daniel J. Noyes, D.D. Professor in Dartmouth College.

This is a neat and interesting tribute to the memory of a distinguished lawyer and politician of the State of New Hampshire. It derives especial value from the portraiture which it gives of a man who, while engaged in the legal profession and holding various political offices (both State and national), maintained the character of a scholar and a Christian. The following paragraph illustrates this fact. "Judge Upham was engaged for many years on a literary work in which he felt great interest, and to which he devoted, in the later years of his life especially, most of his leisure hours. It may properly be termed a 'Dictionary of Thought.' It is a collection of the best thoughts of authors, ancient and modern, which he had collected in his extensive reading, and also valuable maxims which were the fruit of his own reflections. These are classified according to subjects, in divisions and subdivisions so minute and full, that anything contained in the collection can easily be found. When published it will make three or four large volumes. It is regarded by those who have carefully examined it, as a work of great merit, and one that will fill an important place in literature. One, whose judgment is worthy of confidence, remarks respecting it: 'The completeness and extent of this work; its admirable plan; its clear and systematic arrangement; its satisfactory and exhaustive

character; its excellence, in whatever light viewed by the critic, — are at once a wonder to the reader, and a proof of the great literary attainments of its author.' Among the manuscripts which he left, is a metrical version of the book of Job. It was prepared during the last years of his life, and bears marks of extensive reading on the subject of Hebrew poetry. Though not designed for publication, it is thought by competent judges well worthy of public attention."

We hope that Judge Upham's "Dictionary of Thought" will be given to the public. Every comprehensive reader will make a selection different from every other. We are here reminded of a new work entitled:

TREASURY OF THOUGHT, forming an *Encyclopaedia of Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authors.* By Maturin M. Ballou. 8vo. pp. 579. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company. 1872.

This is an extensive collection of racy sayings. We do not know how we can more highly commend it, than by copying some of its terse sentences.

"It is almost impossible, after all, for any person who reads much, and reflects a good deal, to be able, upon every occasion, to determine whether a thought was another's or his own. Nay, I declare that I have several times quoted sentences out of my own writings, in aid of my own arguments in conversation, thinking that I was supporting them by some better authority." — *Sterne.*

"Abstracts, abridgements, summaries, etc., have the same use with burning-glasses, to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the reader's imagination." — *Swift.*

"The proverb answers where the sermon fails, as a well-charged pistol will do more execution than a whole barrel of gunpowder idly exploded in the air." — *Simms.*

"Why are not more gems from our great authors scattered over the country? Great books are not in everybody's reach; and though it is better to know them thoroughly than to know them only here and there, yet it is a good work to give a little to those who have neither time nor means to get more. Let every book-worm, when in any fragrant, scarce old tome he discovers a sentence, a story, an illustration, that does his heart good, hasten to give it." — *Coleridge.*

"Whatever we may say against such collections, which present authors in a disjointed form, they nevertheless bring about many excellent results. We are not always so composed, so full of wisdom, that we are able to take in at once the whole scope of a work according to its merits. Do we not mark in a book passages which seem to have a direct reference to ourselves? Young people especially, who have failed in acquiring a complete cultivation of mind, are roused in a praiseworthy way by brilliant passages." — *Goethe.*

The publication of works like this tends to prevent literary plagiarism. It is not uncommon to see in some recent essay a bright thought which was expressed in the same language by Emerson, or Goethe, or Richter. The essayist would not have ventured upon that expression if he had known that it was already, or would hereafter be, published in a Dictionary of Quotations. It is important that every man have the credit of his own sayings. Many a remark is now ascribed to Charles Lamb which was originated by Jeremy Taylor. Dr. South is the author of sentences which are attributed to Charles Kingsley. Such volumes as this of Mr. Ballou's tend to fix quotations in their proper place, and have thus an historical, as well as ethical, value.

Choice Specimens of American Literature. Selected from the Chief American Writers. By Prof. Benjamin N. Martin, D.D., L.H.D., Professor in the University of the City of New York. 12mo. pp. 223. New York: Sheldon and Company.

It is impossible that a scholar who has a mind so acute as that of Prof. Martin should not introduce valuable paragraphs into a book designed to furnish specimens of American literature. We think, however, that he might have selected paragraphs more illustrative of their authors, and in themselves more interesting than some which he has here given us. The paragraphs on pages 18 and 112 are examples of what we mean. Would it not have been advisable to cite one unbroken paragraph of an author, rather than to cite fragments of different paragraphs? Can a man form the right idea of John Randolph from the three brief excerpts on page 105? It seems to us that the proper proportion is not observed in this volume. Two pages are given to J. F. Cooper, one page to John Randolph, one to James Parton, a half page to John Quincy Adams, and the mutilated fragment from Adams affords a view of him even less characteristic than that given of Randolph. A half page is devoted to William Ware, not a line to his brother Henry, but an entire page is devoted to William Gilmore Sims. A mutilated fragment is given from Thomas Buchanan Reid, but not from his best, most celebrated poetry; and while a page is devoted to him, only a half page is devoted to James A. Hillhouse. We do not understand why Rufus Choate is introduced before Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Cass. After all, the compilation, as one would expect from the character of Prof. Martin, is a very instructive as well as interesting one.

A Hand-Book of English Literature. Intended for the Use of High-Schools, as well as a Companion and Guide for private Students and for general Readers. By Francis H. Underwood, A.M. British Authors. 8vo. pp. 608. Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Lee, Shepard, and Dillingham. 1871.

So far as we have examined this work, we are highly pleased with it.

The historical introduction is appropriate and scholarly. The biographical sketches are concise, just, and pertinent. The selections are made with rare taste and skill. Some of them we should have omitted for the general reader; although they are appropriate to the uses of a high-school. For example, the quotation from Jeremy Taylor is admirable for a youthful student, but far too hackneyed for a mature scholar. Some of the citations, on the other hand, appear to us more proper for a literary man than for a schoolboy. The earl of Clarendon's description of Oliver Cromwell is one instance. Still, on all these questions, the judgments and tastes of men may be allowed to differ. The Hand-book is well fitted to chasten and elevate the taste of the community, and deserves an extensive circulation.

Republication of the Gospel in Bible Lands. History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches. By Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., late Foreign Secretary of the Board. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 426. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1872.

A recent opposer of foreign missions remarks: "I have had some opportunities of studying the subject in China, India, and Egypt; and I am convinced that the attempt to wean the people of those countries, or even an infinitesimal portion of them, from the worship of their fathers, sanctified to them by the influence of the ages, is worse than futile. I say worse than futile, because 'the attempt, and not the deed, undoes' the missionary in the eye of the people about him, and, by exciting their suspicion, ridicule, or hatred, lessens or annihilates his influence for good..... Millions of money expended in the support of foreign missions have been absolutely wasted by the misdirected services to which it has been applied; and millions of men, who would have turned and listened and been made better by eloquent appeals in behalf of morality, justice, love, peace, temperance, industry, and the cardinal virtues (which even the pagan makes the foundation of his faith) have been kept at a distance, or driven away, by the attempts of zealous missionaries to convert the native to a faith which, when explained, he but blindly comprehends, and which is rendered more obscure by the different and opposing tenets which different and opposing missionary agents tell him are absolutely necessary to his salvation."

Such objections, having been presented in various forms and at different times, may be best refuted by the history of missions. No man is better qualified to write such a history than Dr. Anderson, so long connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His volume on the Sandwich Islands has convinced all its readers, we apprehend, that Christian missions are the means of temporal, as well as spiritual, good. The present volume, on the Missions to the Oriental

Churches, will, we think, have a similar, if not an equal, influence. His narrative of the missionary labors at Jerusalem, Smyrna, Athens, Beirût, Trebizond, Broosa, Constantinople, Oroomiah, Koordistan, and other places; his biographical sketches of Parsons, Fisk, Temple, Grant, King, Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, and other Christians, are replete with interest. He is singularly blessed by Providence in having been allowed to labor forty years in one department, and then to record the signal events which have occurred in that department, associated as it is with the self-denying efforts of men and women eminent for their intellectual and moral worth. The first volume of this history excites a strong desire to see the second, which will not, we trust, be long delayed.

Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford. By H. P. Liddon, M.A., Student of Christ Church, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury. Third edition, revised. 8vo. pp. 350. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons; Oxford: James Parker and Co.; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Co.

The printed sermons of Mr. Liddon do no justice to him as a pulpit orator. He is far more eloquent in the sanctuary than in the study. We do not regard him as eminently learned; yet these and his other sermons prove him to be more learned than multitudes of clergymen. We do not regard him as distinctively logical; yet these sermons exhibit no small degree of reasoning power. As discussions of great themes, they are decidedly superior to sermons in general. We are glad to find modern discourses like these grappling with arguments which are often considered two recondite for the pulpit. The intellectual character of the pulpit would be elevated, we think, if the style and spirit of this volume should be familiar to our preachers.

Dictionary of American Biography; including Men of the Time; containing nearly Ten Thousand Notices of Persons of both Sexes, of Native and Foreign Birth, who have been remarkable, or prominently connected with the Arts, Sciences, Literature, Politics, or History of the American Continent. Giving, also, the Pronunciation of many of the Foreign and Peculiar American Names, a Key to the Assumed Names of Writers, and a Supplement. By Francis S. Drake. 8vo. pp. 1019. Boston: James R. Osgood and Co. 1872.

This Dictionary has great merits. It is clear, definite, and precise. It is full, candid, and fair. We notice thirty-four distinguished persons bearing the name of Williams, and a hundred and fifteen bearing the name of Smith. A very large proportion of the literary men noticed in the volume are clergymen. There are some errors of omission, and some of commission; but the errors are less numerous and important than in the majority of biographical dictionaries.

The Life of Joel Hawes, D.D., Tenth Pastor of the First Church, Hartford, Ct. By Edward A. Lawrence, D.D. With an Introduction by Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D. 8vo. pp. 385. Hartford: Hamersley and Company. 1871.

Dr. Hawes was in some respects a representative man. He was not a metaphysician, but was in his earlier and later life closely united with metaphysicans. He had too much of conscience and good sense to become the slave of superior men, but had not those inward resources which made him thoroughly independent. He was more popular in the pulpit than others who were more instructive; and he was more instructive than others who were more popular. He held the second place in some departments in which several of his brethren held the first; but he retained the second place in other departments in which these same brethren held the third. We cannot altogether agree with Dr. Lawrence in his estimate of Dr. Hawes, and of the men associated with him; but we heartily thank the author for his Memoir. It is faithful as well as interesting. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the New England churches. We hope to receive more such contributions from the pen of Dr. Lawrence. He is able to furnish yet more materials for the future history of American theology.

Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College. By Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D. 16mo. pp. 315. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company. 1872.

President Dunster is well known as a man of learning and piety; but the present volume gives many details of his life which were new to us and highly interesting. He has been long noted as an honest and rigidly conscientious man. He was appointed President of Cambridge College in 1640, and he resigned his office in 1654. He had become a Baptist, and thereby obnoxious to the churches of Massachusetts. Having left the Presidency of the College he requested the privilege of remaining, for some time, in his house. Being denied his request, he wrote a second letter to the General Court, dated Nov. 10, 1654, and presents the following "Considerations" in favor of a favorable answer to his petition. We remember hearing the late Hon. Josiah Quincy, President of Cambridge College, read these "Considerations" before an immense assembly of *literati*, and we have seldom heard more plaintive tones than he then employed, and seldom seen a more obvious effect produced by a recitation. The "Considerations" are written in a truly affecting style.

"1st. The time of the year is unseasonable, being now very near the shortest day, and the depth of winter.

"2d. The place unto which I go is unknown to me and my family, and the ways and means of subsistence to one of my talents and parts, or for the containing or conserving my goods, or disposing of my cattle, accustomed to my place of residence.

"3d. The place from which I go, hath fire, fuel, and all provisions for man and beast, laid in for the winter. To remove some things will be to destroy them; to remove others, as books and household goods, to hazard them greatly. The house I have builded, upon very damageful conditions to myself, out of love for the College, taking country pay in lieu of bills of exchange on England, or the house would not have been built; and a considerable part of it was given me, at my request, out of respect to myself, albeit for the College.

"4th. The persons, all besides myself, are women and children, on whom little help, now their minds lie under the actual stroke of affliction and grief. My wife is sick, and my youngest child extremely so, and hath been for months, so that we dare not carry him out of doors, yet much worse now than before. However, if a place be found, that may be comfortable for them, and reasonably answer the obstacles above mentioned, myself will willingly bow my neck to any yoke of personal self-denial, for I know for what and by whom, by grace, I suffer," etc. etc. (pp. 153-155).

The Life of Abraham Lincoln; from his Birth to his Inauguration as President. By Ward H. Lamon. With Illustrations. 8vo. pp. 537. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company. 1872.

It is not a very creditable distinction of the American newspaper press, that it gives publicity to the trivial incidents of personal and domestic life. What a man says in his parlor will, perchance, be printed in the next morning's journal. The style of biography is becoming assimilated to that of the newspaper. It is ceasing to discriminate between incidents of private and those of public interest. By invading the sanctities of home it is in danger of destroying domestic peace, and of falsifying the adage that a man's house is his castle. It is in danger of misrepresenting the subject of the Memoir, and giving to the world a caricature instead of a portrait of the man whom it professes to describe. A caricature presents to us the features of the person, but those features are out of proportion; the short is made long, and the long short. When we exalt a private remark into a public one; when we place a Congressional speech on the same level with a stage-coach observation, we do injustice to the man whom we describe. He would not have uttered his private words if he had anticipated their publication. He would have modified his language in Congress if he had expected that his confidential whisperings were to be appended as notes to it. Men ask: Shall we not tell the whole truth? Shall we not represent the character exactly as it is? In reply we say, that we fail to represent the character as it is, when we make those traits prominent which were really subordinate, and those traits comparatively obscure which were in fact comparatively obvious and striking. Is not Boswell's Life of Johnson the best memoir ever written? If so, it is because Johnson's character was an exceptional one. His style of con-

versation was often the style of a book. He was unique in carrying the author into the daily life of the man. We think, however, that Johnson's Memoir would be more accurate as a whole, if his literary life had been portrayed as graphically as his club-life. We may measure a person's head, chest, arms and legs, and paint them in their exact size upon the canvass, but that may be no portrait of the person. There is no perspective; there is no foreshortening; we cannot recognize the original; it is an exact daub but no picture. There is a difference between facts and truth. Figures will lie. The more correct the individual statements, so much the more false may be the general impression.

The man who writes a biography should have an eye well practised in estimating the proportion of one trait to another, the bearings of one act upon another, the relations of part to part and of all the parts to the whole. We think that Mr. Lamon fails in this delicate sense of adjustments of character. We imagine that he does not appreciate the progressive tendencies of Mr. Lincoln's mind and heart. We are bound to presume that his statements of insulated facts are generally correct. Indeed, we apprehend that he has furnished more materials for a biography of President Lincoln than were ever furnished previously, and that his Memoir will be an authority on which future biographers will rely. He has written an interesting and an instructive work. But it appears to us that he has not managed the light and shade of the picture skilfully. He has thought too much of himself and too little of Mr. Lincoln. He has made certain domestic relations conspicuous, and has been unable to give all the required explanations of them. He has narrated more than any man, except Mr. Lincoln, could account for. He has failed to detect the tendencies of the President's mind, and has related conversations of the boy and the youth on the flat-boat and in the grocery-store, as if these were specimens of the intercourse which satisfied the author of the Gettysburgh speech.

We are not satisfied with the impression which he has made in regard to Mr. Lincoln's religious character. Not that we doubt the accuracy of Mr. Lamon's isolated statements; not that Mr. Lincoln at all periods of his life felt a respect for Christianity; but we say that the President's tendencies were towards a confidence in religious truth, and a reverence for it. His studies and experiences were leading him to, rather than from Christianity. When about twenty years of age, we find that he "lived and moved and almost had his being with" men, whom "the world never saw the like of before or since. They were large men, large in body and large in mind." "They were a bold, daring, reckless sort of men; they were men of their own minds, — believed what was demonstrable; were men of great common-sense." "They were sceptics all, — scoffers some." When about twenty-five years of age, Mr. Lincoln read Volney's Ruins and some of Thomas Paine's theological works. (p. 493). Three years afterward he read Hume and Gibbon. We are not informed that he paid

any attention to the treatises written in defence of the gospel. It is said that he became a sceptic, infidel, at times nearly if not quite an atheist under these influences, — that he even wrote a book against the Bible. That an uneducated man should be unduly prejudiced by such associates and such books, when he had no access to better associates and better books, is credible. But this very Memoir gives evidence that he was either inconsistent with himself, or was improving as he acquired more education. Thus on page 494 we read: "He made me once erase the name of God from a speech which I was about to make in 1854." On page 491 we are informed that "the writings of Theodore Parker and Dr. William E. Channing were generally much admired and approved by him." But certainly a man who admired the works of Dr. Channing could not at the same time desire to exclude the name of God from a political speech, — not unless that name was introduced profanely. This very Biography gives evidence that in his later years, and amid his graver responsibilities, he not only made reverent mention of God, but also of Christianity, and made solemn allusion to the Bible, and attended worship in an evangelical church. We cannot believe that he adopted this course under the influence of the motto ascribed to Louis XI. of France: "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare."

Judging on the principle of "ex pede Herculem" and "ex uno disce omnes" we are confirmed in our suspicion that the shadows of this picture are too deep. We had some knowledge of the scene described on pp. 442 and 443, and we must regard that description as, in its main impression, unjust to both the distinguished men who participated in the scene.

Commentary on the Psalms. By Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis, Leipsic. Translated from the German (from the second edition), by the Rev. Francis Bolton, B.A. Prizeman in Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the University of London. Vol. III. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong. 1871.

As a whole, the Commentary of Delitzsch on the Psalms is, in our opinion, superior to any other; more correct and modest than that of Ewald, more evangelical than that of Hupfeld, more genial than that of Hengstenberg, more complete than that of Hitzig. Delitzsch is so profoundly versed in the Hebrew and cognate languages; is so intimately acquainted with Rabbinical literature, and sympathizes so thoroughly with the devout spirit of the Psalmists, that he has peculiar facilities for explaining them. We beg that the American clergyman may not shrink from the labor requisite for understanding this translation of Delitzsch's Commentary. The labor will be amply repaid by the treasures of learning which the Commentary will give to him. He has already too many books which he reads easily, and forgets as soon as they are read. We know

that many persons throw aside such a commentary, in despair of comprehending it. They deem it better to have such a work untranslated. It will open its meaning, however, to the student who has the perseverance appropriate to a preacher of the truth. Many English and American commentaries might be simplified and thus made more perspicuous. The German scholar pays less attention to the style of writing than is paid by the English or American. Hence if a translator of a German commentary be faithful to his author, his translation will be in some passages difficult to understand. "Difficulty is a severe instructer," but a useful one, says Edmund Burke. If it were possible to find a man who instead of *translating* such a commentary as that of Delitzsch on the Psalms, would *transfuse* it into English, who would remodel the work, and reduce it to a form more congenial with the Anglo-Saxon habits of thought, he would, perhaps, render more service to the cause of biblical learning than he could do by rigidly conforming to the method of his author. But the task of rearranging a work so replete with matter would involve such grave responsibilities, would provoke so many hostile criticisms, or occasion so many unfriendly suspicions, that, perhaps, few if any scholars would venture to undertake it. We owe, then, a debt of gratitude to Mr. Bolton for so conscientiously translating the three volumes of this profound Commentary. "I confess that Dr. Lange has often sorely tried my patience and defied my efforts to interpret" him, was the complaint uttered by an American translator of Lange. A similar feeling must have arisen in the mind of Mr. Bolton, as he was taxing his ingenuity to make an English phrase correspond to the German of Dr. Delitzsch. Not only to him, but also to the Publishing House of Messrs. T. and T. Clark, are American divines deeply indebted for treasures of German scholarship. Number 38 George Street, Edinburgh, has become a familiar address among our clerical scholars. The catalogue of publications sent forth from that one building and adapted to interest and instruct educated clergymen, is perhaps, without a parallel among the publishing houses of the world.

THE TRIPARTITE NATURE OF MAN: Spirit, Soul, and Body; applied to Illustrate and Explain the Doctrines of Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body. By Rev. J. B. Heard, M.A. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo. pp. 374. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong. 1870.

This treatise proceeds on the principle that the scriptures profess to teach us, if not the details, at least, the main outlines of a true psychology. They teach us that the material cause of man's nature is the dust of the ground; the formal cause is the breath of lives (the Lord breathed into his nostrils the pneuma — spirit); the final cause is the living soul. In this soul "the animal and the spirit meet and combine in a union so intimate,

that after their union their separate existence may be said to be destroyed. Just as oxygen and hydrogen gas, when uniting in certain fixed proportions, lose all the properties of gas and become water, a substance which seems to have little or nothing in common with its two constituent elements, so the animal and the spirit, combined in certain proportions, as definite as those of oxygen and hydrogen, though not as easily described by numerical ratios, produce a third, and apparently distinct nature, which we call the soul." "Goschel sets out, in his short and most suggestive Treatise on Psychology, by setting forth this unity of two natures in one person — body and spirit merging in the personal soul, as the true idea of man. It is sin, therefore, which in this sense has created the dualism in human nature by which we speak of the flesh and the spirit as contrary the one to the other. This view is undeniably true. — See Goschel *Zur Lehre von dem Menschen.*" — p. 49.

This treatise maintains that "the old distinctions between reason and instinct are giving way before the attacks of modern physiology," that "the real distinction between man and brute lies in the will or moral character more than in the intellect," that "conscience or God-consciousness is the true differentia between man and the brute." By the term "will" is not here understood "the *mere* arbitrium, or power of selection only," but the power of *selecting with approval*, "or conscience, that the thing selected is good or evil, true or false, right or wrong" (pp. 155, 156). The conscience of fallen man is all that remains in him of the original spirit which God breathed into the race. Hence we do not read in the New Testament of a conscience belonging to our Saviour. He possessed the perfect pneuma, not that imperfect and dormant pneuma which is all that remains in fallen man, and which is called conscience. Auberlen says: "Bei Jesus ist niemals von einem Gewissen die Rede, weil er den Geist als Kraft besitzst." Accordingly the fall of man is a loss of "the power of propagating a spiritual progeny *ex traduce*. That which is born of the flesh is flesh. Cain and Abel inherited the whole nature of their parents, the animal body, the intellectual soul, but not the divine pneuma. Whether that could ever have passed down *ex traduce* may seem an inquiry on which we are reasoning without data. But not altogether so. The capacity or receptivity of spiritual influences was created with the first Adam, and the bare capacity as an integral part of man's nature could not be destroyed by the fall. As a dead organ, a rudimentary organ, without corresponding functions (as physiologists speak of the mammæ in males, or the toes in a horse's hoof, or the teeth in a whale's jaws), so the spiritual capacity has passed down from Adam through all his posterity." — p. 165. "Thus the defect of good in every man, as naturally born into the world, turns the character to evil. Original or birth sin is thus not so much our fault, *crimen*; it is rather our misfortune, *culpa*. But whether our fault or only our misfortune, the consequences are equally the same.

Man is born into the world incapable of attaining the true ideal of human nature, as in the case of the only one of woman born who was born without sin." — p. 167.

Men being born into the world with a living body and soul, but with a dead or dormant spirit, their regeneration consists in the quickening of this spirit. The pneuma, after being thus raised up from its dormancy begins "to compel the psychical and animal parts of our nature to know their place, and own their subjection to it (the pneuma) as the governor supreme under God" (p. 219). In the intermediate state the sense-consciousness ceases; but the self-consciousness (the soul), and the God-consciousness (the spirit) live. The renewed man therefore attains in the intermediate state to a higher consciousness of things unseen and eternal than he ever attained before. The intermediate state is the Sabbath of man's existence. The resurrection is the easter morning. The Sabbath is the last day of the old week, the resurrection morning brings in the new order of things.

We regard this Treatise as a suggestive one, combining the results of independent thought and poetic imagination. Its nomenclature is infelicitous. Men would not understand a philosopher who should affirm that Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Napoleon the first, were not distinguished as men of *spirit*.

A History of Philosophy from Thales to the Present Time. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Königsberg. Translated from the fourth German edition, by George S. Morris, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Michigan. With additions by Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. With a Preface by the Editors of the Philosophical and Theological Library. Vol. I., History of the Ancient and Mediaeval Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 487. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1872.

Our readers need not be informed that this first volume of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy introduces a series of text and reference books upon all the main departments of theology and philosophy. This Library of select treatises is to be edited by Professors Henry B. Smith and Philip Schaff, of the Union Theological Seminary. It will comprise works on philosophy, and on biblical, historical, systematic, and practical theology. From the high character of the editors, and from the excellence of the present volume, which we may regard as a specimen of their publications, we have a right to infer that the Library will be extensively patronized and eminently useful. It could not have been more advantageously introduced to the public than by the solid, thoughtful, and accurate work of Dr. Ueberweg, who as a historian of philosophy has an exalted reputation, not only in Germany, but also in England.

LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION; with a Paper on Buddhist Nihilism; and a Translation of the Dhammapada or "Path of Virtue. By Max Müller, M.A. Fellow of all-Saints College, Oxford, Correspondant de L'Institut de France. Author of "Lectures on the Science of Language," "Chips from a German Workshop," etc. 8vo. pp. 300. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1872.

This work, we think, ought not to have been entitled, "Lectures on the Science of Religion," but "Lectures Introductory to the Science of Religion." A remark which the author makes on p. 5 of his first lecture, is applicable to all the lectures; they are "on some preliminary points that have to be settled before we can enter on a truly scientific study of the religions of the world." Max Müller expects that from a comparative view of all religions we may learn as much with regard to the nature of true religion, as from a comparative view of all languages we may learn in regard to the nature of language. He regards the ancient pagan religions as belonging to the childhood of the race, and as therefore entitled to a charitable judgment. "Has not every father," he asks, "to learn the lesson of a charitable interpretation in watching the first stammerings of religion in his children"? (p. 116). "Who does not recollect the startling and seemingly irreverent questionings of children about God; and who does not know how perfectly guiltless the child's mind is of real irreverence"? (pp. 116, 117) From premises such as these Max Müller rushes into conclusions which are extreme and unwarranted. "I well recollect the dismay which was created by a child exclaiming 'Oh I wish there was at least *one* room in the house where I could play alone, and where God could not see me." People who heard it were shocked; but to my mind, I confess this childish exclamation sounded more wonderful than even the Psalm of David: 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence'"? (p. 117) "The world," says Max Müller, "had its childhood, and in that it spoke as a child, its language was true; in that it believed as a child, its religion was true" (p. 125). He expects that men will be shocked by the theory that the worship of Moloch was according to truth, but he regards this worship as one of "the excrescences, the inevitable excrescences of religion. We might as well judge of the health of a people from its hospitals, or of its morality from its prisons. If we want to judge of a religion we must try to study it as much as possible in the mind of its founder; and, when that is impossible, as it is but too often, we must try to find it in the lonely chamber and the sick room, rather than in the colleges of augurs and the councils of priests" (pp. 115, 116). He says of the religion of India: "It is to my mind like a half-fossilized megatherion walking about in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century" (p. 126). He is perfectly correct when he says that there is something true in all religions, but he is incorrect when he represents the religion of Buddha and Brahman as

closely approximating to the religion of the New Testament. He is very instructive when he traces the analogy between the doctrines and the defences of the old religions of India on the one hand, and the Christian teachings and apologies on the other hand. Thus he tells us that Buddha was called omniscient by his early pupils, but the later theologians explained his omniscience as consisting in "a knowledge of the principal doctrines in his system, and concerning these, but these only, they declared him to have been infallible" (p. 46). See also pp. 17, 18 for a similar instance. "While in the New Testament we read, 'If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee,' we find among the Buddhists a parable of a young priest whose bright and lovely eyes proved too attractive to a lady whom he visits, and who thereupon plucks out his right eye and shows it to her, that she may see how hideous it is" (p. 113). There is, indeed, some resemblance between the Buddhist and the Christian parable; but is there not a difference which can be felt?

Max Müller thinks that the three great religions which include all others, are the Semitic, the Aryan, and the Turanian. The greater part of this volume is devoted to the Aryan religions. The religious writings of the Brahmans are founded on the four Vedas. (See the preceding notice of Dr. Butler's work.) "The hymns of the Rig-veda, which are the real bible of the ancient faith of the Vedic Rishis, are only 1,028 in number, consisting of about 10,580 verses. The commentary, however, on these hymns, of which I have published four good-sized quarto volumes, is estimated at 100,000 lines, consisting of thirty-two syllables each, that is at 3,200,000 syllables. There are besides, the three minor Vedas: the Yagur-veda, the Sâma-veda, the Artharva-veda, which though of less importance for religious doctrines, are indispensable for a right appreciation of the ceremonial system of the worshippers of the ancient Vedic gods" (pp. 32, 33). We have no disposition to underrate, as many are disposed to overpraise, the writings of the Buddhists and the Brahmans. The following specimen of Buddhism is one of the best which we have seen. We have not the slightest fear that our scriptures will suffer by a comparison with it. A valid argument for the divine origin of our Bible is derived from a comparison of it with the best parts of the Vedas.

1. "All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts; it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him as the wheel follows the foot of him who draws the cart.

49. "As the bee collects honey and departs without injuring the flower, so let the sage dwell on earth.

62. "'These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me,' with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth!

121. "Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not

come nigh unto me. Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not benefit me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled.

173. "He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world like the moon when she rises from behind the clouds.

223. "Let a man overcome anger by love, evil by good, the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth.

264. "Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man become a saint; can a man be a saint who is still held captive by desires and greediness?

394. "What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean" (p. 112).

The last half (one hundred and fifty pages) of this volume, is devoted to a translation of Buddha's Dhammapada, or "Path of Virtue." We intended to make various extracts from it, but our limits forbid. We need not say that the whole volume, despite its faults, is worthy of careful study.

THE LAND OF THE VEDA: being Personal Reminiscences of India; its People, Castes, Thugs, and Fakirs; its Religion, Mythology, Principal Monuments, Palaces, and Mausoleums: together with the Incidents of the Great Sepoy Rebellion, and its results to Christianity and Civilization. With a Map of India, and forty-two Illustrations; also Statistical Tables of Christian Missions, and a Glossary of Indian Terms used in this Work and in Missionary Correspondence. By Rev. William Butler, D.D. 8vo. pp. 550. New York: Carlton and Lanahan; San Francisco: E. Thomas; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1872.

"In my youth," says Dr. Butler, "I read those amazing descriptions of Oriental magnificence recorded by Sir Thomas Roe — England's first Embassador to India — and others, describing the power and glory of 'The Great Mogul' in such glowing terms that they seemed more like the romance of the 'Arabian Nights' than the real facts, which they were, of the daily life witnessed in that splendid court. Europe then heard for the first time of 'The Taj,' 'The Peacock Throne,' 'The Dewanee Khass,' 'The Weighing of the Emperor,' when on each birthday his person was placed in golden scales, and twelve times his weight of gold and silver, perfumes and other valuables, were distributed to the populace; but the statements seemed so distant from probability that they were regarded by many as extravagances which might well rank with the asserted facts of 'Lalla Rookh;' so that the embassador, who was three years a resident, and the poet, who had never been there at all, with their authorities, seemed alike to have drawn upon their imagination for their facts, transcending, as their descriptions did, the ability and the taste of European courts.

"How little I then imagined that it would fall to my lot at a future day to be in that very Dewanee Khass, sitting quietly on the side of his Crystal

Throne, beholding the last of the Mogul Emperors, a captive, on trial for his life, in that magnificent Audience Hall of his forefathers, where millions have bowed down before them in such abject homage! that I should be there to see him, the last of their line, descending from that throne and $900,000 per annum to a felon's doom and the deck of a convict ship, to breathe out the remnant of his miserable life upon a foreign shore; and then after his departure to behold, as I did, that costly Khass given over to the spoiler's hand, rifled by the English soldiers of its last ornaments, and ruined forever!"—pp. 11, 12.

Having spent fifteen years in India, Dr. Butler has been able to give an interesting account of its scenery, cities and inhabitants; of Brahmanism, the general character and influence of Hindoo Literature, the Vedas, etc. "The Vedas," he writes, "are undoubtedly the oldest writings in the world, with the exception of the Pentateuch. Colebrook supposes that they were compiled in the fourteenth century before Christ. Sir William Jones assigns them to the sixteenth century. They are certainly not less than three thousand years old. Veda is from the Sanscrit root *vid*, to know, the Veda being considered the fountain of all knowledge, human and divine. A Veda, in its strict sense, is simply a *Sanhita*, or collection of hymns. There are three Vedas, the *Rig-Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, and the *Sama-Veda*. The fourth, the *Atharva Veda*, is of more modern date and doubtful authority. The Hindoos hold that the Vedas are coeval with creation. As to their several contents, the *Rig-Veda* consists of prayers and hymns to various deities; the *Yajur Veda*, of ordinances about sacrifices and other religious rites; the *Sama-Veda* is made up of various lyrical pieces, and the *Atharva Veda* chiefly of incantations against enemies."—p. 84. Dr. Butler gives various translations from the Rig-Veda Sanhita (the translations being quoted from Wilson's four volumes, published in 1850–1866) and then adds: "After a careful examination, from beginning to end, of this venerable and lauded work (the doors of which have so lately opened for the admission of mankind), with the remembrance in my mind of the long years when men have listened to the reiterations of its holiness, as the very source of all Hindoo faith—the oracle from which Vedantic philosophy has drawn its inspiration, the temple at whose mere portal so many millions have bowed in such awe and reverence, with its interior too holy for common sight, containing, as it was asserted, all that was worth knowing, the primitive original truth that could regenerate India, and make even Christianity unnecessary—well, with no feeling save those of deep interest and a measure of respect, we have entered and walked from end to end, to find ourselves shocked at every step with the revelations of this mystery of iniquity and sensuality, where saints and gods, male and female, hold high orgies amid the fumes of intoxicating liquor, with their singing and 'screaming,' and the challenging by which 'they urge one another' on to deeper debasement, until

at length decency retires and leaves them 'glorying in their shame.'"— p. 93.

Dr. Butler's description of the Yogees is highly instructive. The practices of these devotees to God are thus described by Prof. Wilson: They "consist chiefly of long-continued suppression of respiration; of inhaling and exhaling the breath in a particular manner; of sitting in eighty-four different attitudes; of fixing their eyes on the tips of their noses, and endeavoring by the force of mental abstraction to effect a union between the portion of vital spirit residing in the body and that which pervades all nature, and is identical with Shiva, considered as the supreme being, and source and essence of all creation. When this mystic union is effected, the Yogee is liberated in his living body from the clog of material encumbrance, and acquires an entire command over all worldly substance. He can make himself lighter than the lightest substances, heavier than the heaviest; can become as vast or as minute as he pleases; can traverse all space; can animate any dead body by transferring his spirit into it from his own frame; can render himself invisible; can attain all objects; become equally acquainted with the past, present, and future; and is finally united with Shiva, and consequently exempted from being born again upon earth. The superhuman faculties are acquired in various degrees, according to the greater or less perfection with which the initiatory processes have been performed."— p. 203.

The principle on which the self-torturing Fakirs submit to their agonies is well illustrated on pp. 196, 197: "One of these self-glorifying Fakirs, after graduating to saintship by long years of austerities and extensive pilgrimages, took it into his head that he could still further exalt his fame by riding about in a sort of Sedan chair with the seat stuck full of nails. Four men carried him from town to town, shaking him as little as possible. Great was the admiration of his endurance which awaited him everywhere. At length (no doubt when his condition had become such that he was for the time disposed to listen to some friendly advice) a rich native gentleman, somewhat sceptical as to the value and need of this discipline, met him and tried very earnestly to persuade him to quit his uncomfortable seat, and have mercy upon himself." The arguments of this gentleman are given in a short poem; the result of them is thus described:

"This reasoning unhinged each fanatical notion,
And staggered our saint in his chair of promotion.
At length, with reluctance, he rose from his seat,
And, resigning his nails and his fame for retreat,
Two weeks his new life he admired and enjoyed;
The third he with plenty and quiet was cloyed;
To live *undistinguished* to him was the pain,—
An existence unnoticed he could not sustain.
In retirement he sighed for the fame-giving chair,
For the crowd to admire him, to reverence and stare:

No endearments of pleasure and ease could prevail,
He the saintship resumed, and new-larded his tail." — p. 197

Some of the most thrilling parts of this volume relate to the Sepoy rebellion. Dr. Butler gives the following apology for an expedient which has brought much opprobrium on the British rule in India: "The practice of 'blowing men from guns' in India during the Rebellion also needs a few words of explanation. The act has been much misunderstood, especially in this country. I have met with strange assertions upon this matter, some of which assumed that the Sepoys were actually rammed *into* the guns, and then fired out! and too often has it been said or supposed that the act was perpetrated as a refinement of cruelty. Both of these opinions are mistaken. The mode of death in this case was, usually, to sink a stake in the ground, and tie the man to it; the gun was behind him, from six to eight feet distant, loaded with blank cartridge, and, when discharged, it dissipated the man's remains. It was a quick and painless mode of death, for the man was annihilated, as it were, ere he knew that he was struck. But what the Sepoys objected to in it was, the dishonor done to the body, its integrity being destroyed, so that the *Shraad* could not be performed for them. [The Shraad is a funeral ceremony, which all caste Hindoos invest with the highest significance, as essential to their having a happy transmigration; the dissipation of the mortal remains of a man thus executed would necessarily render its importance impossible, and so expose the disembodied ghost, in their opinion, to a wandering, indefinite condition in the other world, which they regard as dreadful; and, to avoid this liability, when condemned to die they would plead, as a mercy, to be hung, or shot with the musket — any mode, — but not to be blown away.]

"Knowing that this was the only procedure of which their wretched consciences were afraid, two of the English officers — one of them being General Corbett, at Lahore — threatened this mode of punishment upon Sepoy troops whom they could not otherwise restrain from rebelling. Corbett did, at last, execute it upon twelve of the ringleaders of a Sepoy regiment, which, during the height of his anxiety for the safety of the Punjab, rose one morning and shot their officers, and marched for Delhi. He took two Sikh regiments and pursued and scattered them, bringing back these leaders for trial and execution. The court resolved death should be inflicted in this mode, as a last resort to strike terror into the other two Sepoy regiments, so as to restrain them from rising. And it certainly had that effect. From the hour of that execution till Delhi fell, not a single Sepoy hand was raised against an officer's life or the Government. They saw that the man at their head would not shrink from violating their prejudices, even as to their Shraad, if they committed mutiny and murder, and they would not face that danger. So the Punjab was kept quiet, and we at Nynee Tal, and they at Simla and Delhi (including hundreds of ladies), were saved, more probably by *that* act of

stern discipline than by any other event during those seven months."—pp. 314, 315.

The narrative which Dr. Butler gives of the Maharajah Duleep Singh is interesting, but less copious than many will wish that it had been. This remarkable prince is the son and heir of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, who was called "the Lion of the Punjab," and who died in 1839. The son Duleep Singh was only four years old when he was placed on the throne of his father, his uncles ruling in his name. When the Punjab was annexed to the British Empire, the young Maharajah (great king) was of course dethroned; but he was liberally pensioned, and was well educated at the expense of the British Government. "Dr. (now Sir John) Logan of the Medical Service, and a member of the Presbyterian church, was appointed his guardian, and Mr. Guise, of the civil service, was selected as his tutor. To Mr. Guise's other qualifications for his duties was added a beautiful Christian character..... "The prince expressed a desire to have some one of good birth and talents for a companion, and a young Brahman, by name Bhajan Lal, who had been educated in the mission-school, and had there, though unconverted, contracted a love for the Christian scriptures, was chosen for the position. He soon enjoyed the entire confidence of the young Maharajah. Bhajan was in the habit of studying the Bible in his leisure moments, and the prince two or three times having come upon him thus engaged, was led to inquire what book it was that so interested him. He was told, and at his request Bhajan promised to read and explain the word of God to him, but on condition that it should not be known. The priests of his own religion that had accompanied him from the Punjab, and were training him in the tenets of their faith, were soon seen by him in a new light as he continued to read the scriptures. When he began to compare them, in all their mummery, immorality, and covetousness, with the purity and spirituality of the Christians around him, whose lives and examples he had carefully noted, a feeling of disgust with heathenism, and a preference and love for the religion of the Bible, sprang up in his heart, to which he soon gave expression. Thus the reading of God's holy word, taught and explained even by a heathen youth and Brahman, led the Maharajah to give up idolatry, and to express a desire to break his caste and be baptized.

"The priests were amazed and confounded, and offered what resistance they could. But the guardianship of the prince effectually shielded him from all persecution. Yet, as he was so young, and the step contemplated so important, his guardian, though rejoiced at his purpose, and ready to aid it in every proper way, suggested delay till he could more fully study the religion of Jesus and act with fuller deliberation. He accepted the advice, drew nearer to the missionaries, attended the services, and enjoyed the association of the Christians. He was led to embrace Christ as his Saviour, and on the 8th of March, 1853, was baptized and received

into the Christian church. The Rev. W. J. Jay, the chaplain of the station, administered the holy ordinance in the presence of all the missionaries, the native Christians and Europeans at the station, and the servants of the Maharajah..... Immediately after his baptism he established relief societies at Futtyghur and Lahore, placing them under the control of the American missions at both places. Besides assisting in the support of the missions, he established, and still sustains, a number of village schools for the education of the people, and has been a liberal contributor to every good object brought to his notice. When the writer was at Futtyghur he had the opportunity of witnessing the results which were being accomplished by the Christian liberality of the Maharajah in and around that station. He was then aiding the cause of Christ and the poor to the extent, probably, of fully one tenth of his whole income annually, and I presume his liberality is no less now.

"Some time after his baptism, with a desire to improve his mind by foreign travel, he visited England. He took with him a devoted Christian, who had formerly been a Hindoo Pundit, named Nil Knath, by whose instructions he was more fully established in the doctrines of the gospel, and with whom he enjoyed daily prayer and other religious privileges. On his arrival in London the Government placed a suitable residence in Wimbledon at his disposal, and the Queen and Prince Albert showed him much attention and kindness." — pp. 51–53.

The subsequent, and in some aspects romantic history of this ex-king is well known to our readers.

The tabular statements and the pictorial illustrations given in this volume enhance its value. The typography of it is excellent.

THE LIFE THAT NOW IS: Sermons by Robert Collyer, author of "Nature and Life." 16mo. pp. 350. Boston: Horace B. Fuller.

NATURE AND LIFE: Sermons by Robert Collyer, Pastor of Unity Church, Chicago. Tenth edition. 16mo. pp. 313. Boston: Horace B. Fuller; Chicago: John R. Walsh. 1871.

There is a marked difference between the Unitarian style of preaching at the present day and the style which prevailed under the influence of Channing, Thatcher, Buckminster, Greenwood. Perhaps the younger Henry Ware might be considered as standing at one extreme, and Mr. Robert Collyer at another. We do not deny that Mr. Collyer's sermons have many pleasant features; they derive a rare interest from his remarkable history; they are fresh, buoyant, and cheering; they indicate that their author has a large heart and a whole-souled philanthropy; that he is neither a mystic nor a dyspeptic, but has robust health, and is able now to work at the anvil. They are often poetical and truly eloquent. They have the merits belonging peculiarly to the writings of self-made men, and these merits are not small. His style is far from being choice.

He uses many colloquial phrases which the Wares and the Peabodys would not have used, and he adopts the tone of the newspaper rather than that of the pulpit. Indeed the clergymen of several denominations are adopting the idioms of the daily press more than of the church authorities. They add somewhat to the liveliness of the pulpit, but they lessen its dignity.

The sermons of Mr. Collyer, like many sermons of the present day, tend to increase the popular disregard of theology. The investigation of doctrine is regarded as superfluous. Any special interest in divine truth is looked upon as bigotry. We regard the decline of theology as ominous of evil to the church. If strong doctrine be not preached in the pulpit, languor and lassitude will prevail in the pews. The masculine energy of good men demands the forcible utterance of such truth as requires profound thought. Infidelity will soon usurp the place of sickly sentimentalism, if this sentimentalism prevail. The spirit of Mr. Collyer is liberal, but liberality must be guarded against license and indifference.

One of his characteristic sermons is on Gashmu. Its divisions are the following: "And now I will note, — I. Who Gashmu was. II. What he tried to do; and III. What came of it." The following quotation from this sermon will illustrate the import of the preceding criticisms. "Note now, I pray you, some Gashmus in our churches, and our social and national life. First of all, there are Gashmus in the church, and Gashmu said it, is at the bottom of nine tenths of all the differences in Christendom.

"I suppose that men will forever prefer this or that form of religion, as the Switzer prefers a mountain and the Hollander a flat. They were born to it. The first Switzer had the preference for mountains strong in his nature, and it has rooted itself deeper into every new age. So it is in the things which are, as it were, outside vital religion in all churches. The Hollander can live in Switzerland, and the Switzer in Holland, but not so well or so happily it may be; still, the fact that they can live a stout life when they change places, is conclusive on the vital life there is in both countries for both men. So it is in churches.

"Some men like their religion, as the eagle likes his nest, on a bare crag above the reach of the fowler, commanding great sweeps of country and utterly alone; and some, like the lark, will soar while they sing, but build a nest on the sward with all common and lowly things that stay on the earth; and if we could ever grow so large-hearted as to recognize this spiritual conformation, it would trouble us no more to see a good man in the church of Rome than it troubles the eagle to see the lark. It would be as natural and beautiful for us to see men in the Presbyterian church, or in the Episcopalian, as it is to see one bird build in a thorn bush, another in an apple tree, and a third in a three century pine; or to see a Switzer at Berne, and a Hollander in Rotterdam. But it is notorious that this is not so. If you push the good Baptist brother to the last result of his creed, you are pretty sure to find that he can only give you the

choice of very cold water, or something exactly at the other point of the diameter. The Unitarian can be logical, only in showing that Trinitarians are idolaters. Then we are as far apart as Mount Gerizim and Mount Zion were in the old time. The Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans; the Episcopalians have none with the Presbyterians; and if the members of both were not far better than the set Gashmuisms of their churches, they would be obliged to count the pastors of the Unitarian churches very wicked men.

"Now, who is accountable for all this? Gashmu. It is commonly reported, and Gashmu said it. These men and women have natures as tolerant as Hollander and Switzer to swamp and mountain. They love each other heartily, and will laugh or weep for the same gladness or gloom. They will stand at the same death-bed, and look upward in the same conviction that heaven lies above us, and pass round the same little child with the same original and beautiful untruthfulness about its perfect beauty and parental resemblance, and as long as they keep the good sweet nature, be interested alike in all these wonderful revelations to youth and maiden, which are just as fresh while the world grows older, as was the first snow-drop in Eden. But watch us when we come near the confines of creeds; just as we grow tolerant here, we are counted out as backsliders; let us be large-hearted here, and we become suspected. Who has sundered us? Gashmu."— pp. 147–150.

Mary, Queen of Scots, and Her Latest English Historian. A Narrative of the Principal Events in the Life of Mary Stuart; with some Remarks on Mr. Froude's History of England. By James F. Meline. 12mo. pp. 336. New York: Hurd and Houghton; Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1872.

We own ourselves prepossessed, we are not willing to say prejudiced, against Mary Stuart. We doubt whether, except under very rare circumstances, imputations so grave as those brought against her would be brought against one who possessed the true and exalted character which her partial friends ascribe to her. Macaulay, speaking of Viscount Dundee, more commonly known as Graham of Claverhouse, says, that there is "a large class of persons who think that there is no excess of wickedness for which courage and ability do not atone." We fear that many of the charitable judges of Mary's character have been blinded by her beauty and other fascinating qualities to the wickedness of which she was guilty. We have neither the time nor the materials for an adequate examination of Mr. Meline's charges against Mr. Froude. We frankly admit, however, that if only a small part of what he asserts in relation to Mr. Froude's historical errors, his ignorance, his falsification of documents, his excessive partiality, is well-founded, his reputation as a trustworthy historian must suffer no little damage. We think, what we have already confessed, as

to a prepossession against Mary Stuart, ought to give to this judgment some weight.

We do not think this book remarkably well written. More of judicial calmness and gravity, in the place of an excessive vehemence, and something occasionally very like vituperation, would be more to our taste.

Three Score Years and Beyond; or, Experiences of the Aged. A Book for old People; describing the Labors, Home Life, and Closing Experiences, of a large number of Aged Representative Men and Women. Illustrated Edition. By Rev. W. H. De Puy, D.D. 8vo. pp. 512. New York: Carlton and Lanahan; San Francisco: E. Thomas; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1872.

One of the most delightful as well as instructive treatises, which has come down to us from classic antiquity, is the De Senectute of Cicero. A Christian scholar, nowadays, availing himself of the light furnished by the gospel, might write a much better essay than Cicero on the requisites to a happy old age — that period which every one, well-nigh without exception, both hopes and expects to reach. The work before us supplies not a few valuable hints for the treatment of this subject. It is a work which we have no doubt will be greatly prized by the class for whose benefit it was written. Its typographical execution, if nothing else, specially adapts it to their wants.

Illustrated Library of Travel, Exploration and Adventure. — Japan, in our Day. Compiled and Arranged by Bayard Taylor. 12mo. pp. 280. New York: Charles Scribner and Company. 1872.

We well remember the lively interest with which we read, some twenty years ago, the narrative of Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan. From what has taken place in the interval every book relating to Japan will be likely to be welcomed with greater eagerness than the one just referred to. Bayard Taylor's reputation, both as a traveller and an author, is such as to create a strong presumption that a book, like this, prepared by him on Japan would be one of much value — a presumption which the reading of it, we are confident, will not weaken. It is just now a matter of much importance, that Christian nations should be apprised as fully as possible of the character and resources of the Japanese Empire. We bespeak for this work, on this account, if no other, an attentive perusal.

Fresh Leaves in the Book and its Story. By L. N. R., author of "The Book and its Story," "Missing Link," "Life Work," etc. With more than fifty Illustrations. 8vo. pp. 500. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1871.

We regard this book as admirably fitted for Sabbath-schools and Bible classes. It is written in a perspicuous style and is skilfully adapted to

interest the young in the reading of the sacred scriptures. Its "full-page illustrations" are faithfully executed, and its smaller illustrations are also valuable. Such books as these prepare the reader to appreciate the services of the sanctuary. Many of our religious books for the young create a distase for solid sermons. By awakening an intelligent interest in the Bible, this volume tends to foster a love of doctrinal, more especially of biblical, preaching.

OPPORTUNITIES. A Sequel to "What She Could." By the Author of "The Wide, Wide World." "Whatsoever thy Hand findeth to do, do it." pp. 382. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1871.

This little book stands midway between two sequels; one already before the public, the other, yet to appear. If stories must continue to be multiplied at the present fearful rate, we should be rejoiced to find a majority of them pervaded by as elevated a moral tone as this is, even though accompanied by its faults, among which, one of the most conspicuous is a wearisome prolixity.

HYMN AND TUNE BOOKS FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Had we the requisite space we should delight in noticing several new Collections of Hymns and Tunes. One of them is "THE SERVICE OF SONG, for Baptist Churches. By S. L. Caldwell and A. J. Gordon." This book, in many respects an admirable one, contains one thousand and sixty-nine Hymns and thirty-eight Doxologies. Another of the Collections is "THE BAPTIST HYMN BOOK," containing one thousand Hymns, set to appropriate Tunes, and published in four different editions, commanding different prices. Both of these books are designed and well fitted for Congregational Singing. Another dissimilar Collection is entitled: "CHRISTIAN HEART-SONGS: A Collection of Solos, Quartettes, and Choruses, of all Metres, together with a Selection of Chants and Set Pieces." By John Zundel, author of "Modern School for the Organ," "Treatise on Harmony and Modulation," and various works for the Choir, Organ, and Melodeon. 8vo. pp. 160. New York: J. B. Ford and Co.; Zundel and Brand, Toledo, Ohio, agents for the Music Trade. 1870.

Mr. Zundel was once the organist of the First Unitarian church in Brooklyn, then in St. George's church in New York, and, during the eighteen years past, has been the organist in Mr Beecher's church, Brooklyn. He has prepared the present work with a view to its "use by large choirs, or, perhaps, in congregational singing." He is a decided advocate of congregational singing. His remarks on this subject are of great importance; he says: "The frequent pretence of the adversaries of congregational singing, that the American people are not sufficiently musically educated for its introduction, is quite absurd. As a German-born citizen, I may take the liberty of saying that, superior as musical education in

Germany may be, or even is, church singing has little profited by it. The Germans sing their chorals mostly after hearing them; they learn them partly at school, and the parents sing them to the children from generation to generation. To introduce a new choral into a congregation is no less trouble than to make a new tune go in any American church, provided the tune be singable and enjoyable at all." Mr. Zundel in conclusion, justly says, that "unless the tunes are rightly interpreted, unless they are sung in the spirit that conceived them, the best purpose of the work — true musical worship, impressive edification — will be lost."

Jesus on the Throne of his Father David; or, the Tabernacle of David: When will it be built again? By Joseph L. Lord, A.M., of the Boston Bar. 12mo. pp. 102. Boston and New York. 1869.

The Promise of Shiloh; or, Christ's Temporal Sovereignty upon the Earth: When will it be fulfilled? By Joseph L. Lord, A.M., of the Boston Bar. 12mo. pp. 106. Boston and New York. 1869.

Prophetic Imperialism; or, the Prophetic Entail of Imperial Power. By Joseph L. Lord, A.M., of the Boston Bar. 12mo. pp. 96. New York: Hurd and Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1871.

To explain the Prophecies of the Old and New Testaments requires not only a minute acquaintance with the languages in which they are written, but also with the history of the empires to which they refer, and with the times in and near which they were written. When they are thus rigorously examined they leave the distinct impression that they were not designed to make men prophets, and that their meaning is unfolded by the events which actually occur. In these volumes of Mr. Lord we miss the philological and historical lore which is essential to the elucidation of scriptures so "hard to be understood" as are the ancient Prophecies.

He remarks in the Preface to one of these works: "We believe that the scriptures clearly teach that the present dispensation of time will be followed by the personal return to the earth of Jesus, as the Son of David and King of Israel; and that it will be signalized by his personal reign in the flesh, in his own proper and personal humanity, on the throne of his father David." Mr. Lord is very earnest in the advocacy of this theory. We must own ourselves, however, not yet convinced of the soundness of his reasoning. We think that interpretation of the prophecies referred to by Mr. Lord, which gives them a spiritual, rather than a secular and material, significance much the best.

The Author is very fond of long sentences. We have noticed two occupying together about ten quite large pages. In many respects, however, the author's style is commendable, and reminds us of the style of his honored father, the late President of Dartmouth College.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

PATRISTIC VIEWS OF THE TWO GENEALOGIES OF OUR LORD.

BY FREDERIC GARDINER, D.D., PROFESSOR IN THE BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL, MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

THE genealogies of our Lord, as given by the first and the third evangelists, are marked by such differences as have called forth a variety of explanations. By some the difficulty is simply passed over as one for the solution of which we have no sufficient data; and among others there is great difference, and even contrariety, of opinion. It seems, therefore, worth while to inquire what view was taken of the matter by Christian antiquity; and if the result of that inquiry shall be to show that for many centuries there was no settled and definite opinion at all, it will leave us the more free to determine the question simply on grounds of probable evidence.

In estimating the value of such explanations as we may find in the Fathers, it is to be noted that the differences between the genealogies are of a character to attract attention whenever the Gospels were carefully compared together. Such comparisons were made at an early date; and if the reasons for the differences had been positively known, they would have been distinctly and uniformly stated whenever the matter was discussed at all. Moreover, unless there

were some explanation generally received, as there evidently was not, we should expect to meet with the statement of these reasons somewhat frequently in the early treatment of the Gospels. This is not the case; and in the investigation of ancient opinion, it soon becomes evident that each writer merely proposes what seems to him the most probable solution of the difficulty, or, knowing nothing better, adopts that of some one who had gone before.

The earliest mention of the subject is in a fragment of Julius Africanus (†232), preserved by Eusebius. He discusses the question at length; and his hypothesis is adopted by Eusebius, who says that Julius had received it from his ancestors (Eccl. Hist. i. 7; vi. 31). Julius himself, however, intimates that his explanation was not altogether satisfactory, and disclaims any authority in its support. From his discussion it is quite plain that in his time — say at the close of the second century — there could not have existed any trustworthy tradition on the subject; but that the ancients, like ourselves, were obliged to consider the question on its merits.

Julius Africanus considers both genealogies as designed to show the ancestry of Joseph. This view was taken for granted, apparently without inquiry, by many of the ancients, because both genealogies terminate formally in Joseph; and from these Fathers it has passed on to many modern writers. Julius considers that "the families descended from Solomon and those from Nathan were so intermingled, by substitutions in the place of those who had died childless, by second marriages and the raising up of seed, that the same persons are justly considered as in one respect belonging to the one of these, and in another respect belonging to others." He explains the last three links of the genealogy in detail, thus: Nathan (Matt. i. 15) married a woman named Estha, as tradition records her name, by whom he had a son Jacob, and died; Melchi (Luke iii. 24) now married the widow Estha, and by her had a son Eli. Jacob and Eli were thus half-brothers by the same mother, and were, of course, next of kin to each other. Eli dying without issue, his half-brother

Jacob married his widow, and by her had a son Joseph, who is thus reckoned by the first evangelist naturally as his son, but by the third, legally, as the son of Eli. After some further discussion, Julius adds: "This is neither incapable of proof, nor is it idle conjecture"; but it does not appear whether he means this to refer to the general law of levirate marriages, or to the particular case of Jacob and Eli. He then relates that the public records of Jewish pedigrees were destroyed by Herod, but the relatives of our Lord — the desponsyni — had yet, by memory, "or in some other way," preserved their pedigree, and gave this account of the genealogies in the Gospels. Nevertheless, he closes the whole discussion by saying: "Whether, then, the matter be thus or otherwise, as far as I and every impartial judge would say, no one certainly could discover a more obvious interpretation. And this may suffice on the subject; for, *although it be not supported by testimony*,[1] we have nothing to advance either better or more consistent with the truth." At the close of the letter he reiterates his hypothesis, and Eusebius adds that thus Mary also is shown to be of the same tribe, "since by the Mosaic law intermarriages among different tribes were not permitted"; a very doubtful argument, yet testifying to the desire felt for some knowledge of the genealogy of the Virgin.

It will be observed that Julius finds the natural parentage of Joseph in Matthew's genealogy; his legal, in Luke's. This is not inconsistent with his general view of *both* genealogies as made up partly of natural and partly of legal descents. But later criticism seems to have established the fact that Matthew gives (as he was bound to do) the official or legal genealogy throughout, whether it concurred with the natural, or not. The shortness of his whole list, with the omission of several known names, its artificial arrangement for mnemonic purposes, his certain adoption of the legal descent in the case of Salathiel, and his adherence to

[1] καὶ ἡμῖν αὕτη μελέτω, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐμμάρτυρός ἐστι, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν.

the royal line, all concur to show his design. On the other hand, the only satisfactory explanation of Luke's tracing the genealogy through an inferior line, and his far greater fulness in the mention of the generations, is now generally felt to be his purpose to give the *actual* in contradistinction to the legal descent, at least as far as Eli. With these characteristics of the purposes of the two genealogies, it is consistent that Eli should be the legal, and Jacob the natural, father of Joseph only on the supposition that Luke was really intending to show the actual descent of Mary.

Origen, in part the contemporary of Julius, discusses the difference between the genealogies (Hom. 28 in Lucam); but he evidently knew of no solution of the difficulty, as he takes refuge in a mystical explanation, making Matthew's genealogy "through many sinful persons" the genealogy of Christ, as he was born to save sinful men; while Luke gives not an actual, but, so to speak, a baptismal genealogy. The latter, he considers, speaks of his second birth in baptism.

Perhaps next should be placed the *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos*, attributed to Justin Martyr, but certainly not his, since it refers (Resp. 86) to Origen as an authority. This author (Quaest. 131), in answer to the question how there came to be more generations in the legal genealogy of Luke than in the natural of Matthew, says: "In the genealogy of Luke Eli only is the legal father of Joseph; but from Eli even to Nathan all who are mentioned in the succession were the natural (actual) sons of those with whom they are connected." And again (Quaest. 133) he repeats the same statement, adding that Luke, as well as Matthew, gives the natural succession, both before and after David, with the exception of Eli, who was only the legal father of Joseph. He thus deviates from the theory of Julius Africanus, and so far as the genealogy of Luke is concerned, we conceive that he has substantially hit upon the true solution. It is to be noted that of these three earliest writers on the subject, Julius alone considers Luke's genealogy as giving the actual descent of Joseph, and even so, with many legal links interwoven.

Athanasius, in common with many others,[1] speaks of Mary as of the house of David. They do not give the grounds of this decision, which may have rested on the language of the angelic salutation, and on the fact of her journey to Bethlehem just before the birth of our Lord; or, more probably, on a sense of the fitness that the mother of "the Son of David" should herself have been descended from the house of David. Still, it is not impossible that they may have conceived the genealogy of Luke to be that of the Virgin; and this is the more likely, because the scriptures which speak of Christ as "the Son of David after the flesh" are often cited by them in this connection.

In the fourth century, Epiphanius (Haer. 78, post med.) mentions Joachim (instead of Eli) as the father of Mary. He doubtless gives this name on the authority of the apocryphal books of the Protevangelium of James and the History of the Nativity of Mary. The suggestion that this is but another form of the name Eli can hardly be admitted, except by a process which would transmute into one another any two names of the London directory. Still, a double name is not improbable; and the mention of the name at all by Epiphanius is entirely incidental. But, however this may be, Epiphanius is clearly quite too late to be an authority on the matter, and he makes too many and too gross mistakes in this same treatise to allow us to attach very much weight to his opinion, and the apocryphal books from which he drew the name contain too many absurd traditions to be entitled to any credit in the matter. They may be right in saying that Mary's father was of the tribe of Judah, but are certainly wrong in attributing to him great pastoral wealth. Epiphanius exercised little discrimination in regard to such traditions. Just before, i.e. near the middle of Haer. 78, he says that James, the Lord's brother, was alone allowed once a year to enter into the holy of holies, *because he was a*

[1] Athan. c. Apoll., ed. Col. 1686, Tom. i. p. 616 d. Serm. de Annunciat. p. 1041 d. Among others who express this opinion are cited Gregory Thaumat., Jerome, Leo the Great, Serm. 29. Epiph. Her. 78, etc.

Nazarite, and connected with the priesthood. His view of the genealogy appears from the earlier part of the same treatise, in which he speaks of Joseph as the son of Jacob, whose cognomen was Panther. He makes him a widower of eighty years or more at the time he was espoused to Mary. On the whole, it can hardly be considered that Epiphanius throws much light on the question of the genealogies; and if any weight be attached to his mention of Joachim, it still remains that this may have been merely a double name.

In the same century, Gregory Nazianzen devotes the eighteenth of his *Carmina* to the discussion of the difference between the two genealogies. He follows the plan of Julius Africanus, except that he makes Nathan, the son of David, a very eminent priest (cf. 1 Kings iv. 5), and the line descended from him and recounted by Luke a priestly line. Mary he expressly says (line 39) was a Levite, but also of the royal line, because Naason (*sic*) married the daughter of Aaron (cf. Ex. vi. 23, where it appears that Aaron married the sister of Naason), and there were frequent subsequent intermarriages between the tribes. He says, however (line 57), that Joseph (who was of the royal line of David) and Mary were of the same tribe. Finally, he makes the royal and priestly lines unite in Christ, the royal Priest, on the one hand by means of Joseph's natural sonship to Jacob, and legal to Eli; and on the other by Mary's priestly ancestry, and the intermarriage of those ancestors with the tribe of Judah. Gregory caps the climax of the perspicuity of his explanation by telling us (line 47–49) that the distinction of the tribes had been lost since the time of the captivity of Babylon. So far, however, as anything can be gathered from him, it is that he considered Luke's genealogy to be that of the Virgin.

Somewhat later Ambrose (in Luc. iii. 15, p. 1319 a. b. ed. Bened.) again repeats the explanation of Julius, but with this important difference, that he makes Eli the natural, and Jacob the legal, father of Joseph. His words are: "Rursus Heli, fratre sine liberis decedente, copulatus est fratris uxori,

et generavit filium Joseph, qui juxta legem Jacob filius dicitur." It is plain that in these days each writer considered himself free to vary the hypotheses as seemed to him reasonable and probable.

This investigation will, perhaps, have been followed far enough, if attention is given to the views of two leading writers and influential minds of this century, Jerome and Augustine.

Jerome (in Matt. i. 16) notices the objection of the emperor Julian on account of the discrepancy of the evangelists, and contents himself with saying of Jacob and Eli that one was the natural, and the other the legal, father of Joseph, but without committing himself as to which of them was the one, and which the other. He refers to Julius Africanus and to Eusebius's lost work, *De Dissonantia Evangelistarum*, as entering fully into the discussion of the question. Under verse 18, he remarks that Joseph and Mary were of the same tribe. It seems probable, therefore, that, while Jerome did not care himself to enter into the merits of the question, he allowed the current explanation of Julius to pass without challenge.

Augustine took more interest in the matter, and in various works frequently refers to it, putting forth in earlier life an opinion which he subsequently modified. In his work, *De Consensu Evang.* (lib. ii. c. 1, 2, 3) he considers Joseph as the natural son of Jacob, but the *adopted* son of Eli, and at some length he illustrates historically the custom of adoption, and shows that it is not at variance with the phraseology of Luke. In cap. 2 he argues that Paul's statement (Rom. i. 3) shows Mary to have been of the house of David, and Luke's (i. 36, 5) that she was also of the house of Aaron, and hence Christ was of both the royal and priestly race. In this last point he has followed Gregory Nazianzen; but his theory of *adoption* seems to have been original. In his *Quaest. Evang.* (lib. ii. 5) he proposes three possible solutions of the question, "how Joseph could have had two fathers": First, by adoption; secondly, by his birth from a levirate marriage; thirdly,

by one of the fathers mentioned having been not his actual father, but his more remote ancestor. Of these he thinks the second should be rejected, because the progeny of a levirate marriage bore the name of the deceased. He therefore considers the solution of the difficulty to lie either in the first or the third method proposed, or in yet some other way which did not then occur to him. Augustine several times discusses the question why the genealogy of Christ should have been given through Joseph, and not through Mary (cf. especially Serm. 51 c. 10; c. 20). He then certainly did not consider either of the lines to be that of Mary. The theory of adoption is put forward again, and sustained at some length in Serm. 51 (c. 17, 18), with the hypothesis of a levirate marriage (c. 19) added as an alternative. In his treatise *Contra Faust. Manich.*, again, treating the question of the genealogy being traced through Joseph, and not Mary, he stoutly maintains (c. 8, 9) that Mary herself was of the seed of David. This he holds would be true if any of her ancestors, even female ancestors, had married into the house of David, although she were herself, as Faustus alleged, the daughter of Joachim of the tribe of Levi. Some such hypothesis he says he would adopt, "if I were bound by the authority of that apocryphal book in which Joachim is called the father of Mary." In an earlier part of this same treatise (lib. iii. c. 3) he has again discussed the question of the two fathers of Joseph, which he says covers the whole difficulty of the disagreement of the two evangelists. He again solves it by the theory of adoption, and again illustrates this at length historically; but he does not here propose any alternative hypothesis. Finally, with that honest frankness which characterized him, in his "Retractions" (lib. ii. c. 7. 2), he wholly withdraws the hypothesis of voluntary adoption, which he had so often and so strongly urged, and substitutes for it the "legal adoption" by the levirate marriage, expressly on the authority of Africanus. Augustine, then, long held one view as the result of his own study and reflection, and finally abandoned it in deference to the view of an earlier writer.

From Augustine's time down for some centuries the explanation of Julius Africanus was currently accepted, and it seems unnecessary to pursue the inquiry further. But Julius himself, as we have seen, did not consider his solution of the difficulty as quite satisfactory, and speaks of it as his own explanation, expressly disclaiming any testimony in its behalf. We cannot but think Augustine's objection to it, mentioned above, to be well put. Quite a variety in the details of the explanation has appeared among the intermediate writers. They all seem to have been absorbed with the difficulty "how Joseph could have had two fathers" — a difficulty which pressed so heavily that Origen was driven to the fancy of a spiritual genealogy, and Gregory was led into an inextricable confusion of explanation. Thus absorbed, they failed, with the exception of Gregory, to ask whether Luke's genealogy might not be really that of the Virgin Mary, and thus Joseph have become legally the son of *her* Father, and the representative of his family, by marrying his only child. This is the simplest possible solution of the difficulty. Luke, in his "diligent inquiries," would probably have obtained from her her own family pedigree; and in case she were an only child, as is most likely, this, after her betrothal to Joseph, would have formally terminated with his name as the representative of her family. Had this occurred to them, they would also have been relieved of that other difficulty of which they so often treat, "how Christ was shown by the genealogy of Joseph to be of the seed of David." And they would thus, too, have reconciled the almost universal persuasion that Joseph was only the adopted or legal son of Eli with the fact that Luke otherwise, gives evidently, the natural, in contradistinction to Matthew's legal, table of descent.

The Fathers generally do not seem to have troubled themselves about the occurrence of the two names, Salathiel and Zorobabel, in both genealogies; but rightly considered the lines as distinct from David down, until, by whatever means, they unite again in Joseph.

ARTICLE II.

THE PROGRESS OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM IN ITS RELATION TO CIVILIZATION.

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We are now to consider the progress of Christ's kingdom in its relation to civilization. While it modifies civilization and makes it Christian, it is itself modified by civilization.

I. Civilization is not a Product of Christianity, but has an Independent Existence.

What is civilization? Man is endowed with a radical impulse to put forth every power in action. This appears in the child as the play-impulse; in the man, it is trained to work. Play is action for the pleasure of the action itself; work is action, not for the pleasure of action, but for an ulterior end. The child lives in the present, with scarcely a reference to the future, following its impulses with little reference to consequences, and acting for the present pleasure of the action. His action is play. In maturity the man acts with reference to the future, foregoing present pleasure for future interests, and concentrating his energies in work, not for the present pleasure of the work, but for the value of the end to be attained. A great part of education consists in training the pupil to concentrate his energies on the attainment of ulterior ends; it is subjecting impulse to reason, transforming play into work. The difference between the savage and the civilized is analogous to that between the child and the well-trained man. The savage acts from impulse, for the pleasure of the action, or, otherwise, only to satisfy some imperative instinct or craving; he lives in the present; his action is the impulsive, unpersevering,

changeful action of a child. Civilization begins in forecast. It is distinguished from barbarism by the habit of acting with reference to ulterior interests as distinguished from present impulse; by the subjection of impulse to reason; by concentration in planned and forecasting work, instead of dissipation in play, or impulsive exertion under the urgency of a present want. This is the source of the strengthening and development of man's power, the enlargement of his acquisitions, and of his control over the resources and powers of nature, the multiplication of his wants, and therein the development of the man himself, making him many-sided and capable of more varied activities, and of more varied and more refined enjoyment. The twaddle of the new education, that because a child acts joyfully from the play-impulse, therefore education must give to all study the zest of play, would emasculate education, taking out of it that which constitutes its essence as education, and out of civilization that which is its essential distinction from the savage state. Civilization is a thing of degrees; it begins whenever forecast begins to get the supremacy over imperative impulse, and play gives place to persistent work for ulterior ends.

Christianity is not necessary to create civilization. If preached to a barbarous people, it finds the capacity of civilization, and develops it; but other agencies, without Christianity, might have developed it. Usually some form of civilization has existed before Christianity is brought to a people. Christianity at the outset found itself confronted with the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman civilization. It is remarkable that the apostles instituted no missions to barbarians. The first and prominent fields of their missions were the cities, whence Christianity spread more slowly into the country. The word "pagan," or "villager," gradually came to denote an idolater. So, usually, Christianity comes to nations already civilized. It finds society already constituted, with opinions, usages, government, civilization, religion.

II. Christianity imparts to Civilization and makes effective in it the Spiritual Forces necessary to its Purity, Completeness, and Perpetuity.

Comte and Buckle teach that human progress arises wholly from material conditions and intellectual development. This is not true, even if human progress is used as meaning only the progress of civilization, which is but a part of human progress. For prudence itself, or acting with reference to ends, which is the essential characteristic of civilization, belongs to the sphere of moral action. There is, however, some truth in the position, so far as mere civilization is concerned, if civilization is regarded as consisting merely in the development of power and of intellectual keenness and strength; for this development is possible under the direction of selfishness, as really as under the direction of love.

But civilization does not of itself constitute man's highest welfare. Developed under the impulse and guidance of selfishness, it contains the leaven of its own fermentation and corruption. As the development of power, it establishes the dominion of force, and civilization carries with it wars of conquest, tyranny, caste, and slavery. If, as it was in Greece, it is more distinctively the development of intellect, culminating in literary and aesthetic culture, still it carries in it the same principle of the right of the strongest, and presently decays into luxury and effeminacy; as the refinement of Greece degenerated into Corinthian debauchery. Or, if the civilization turns to industrial enterprise, wealth accumulates with the few, and the many are in hopeless poverty. Or, if such a civilization, partially Christianized, begins to open a career for all, the greed of gain takes possession of the community; worldliness creeps like a glacier over society; meanness, venality, and rapacity characterize the people; and "wealth accumulates, and men decay."

To secure man's highest well-being in a healthy and permanent civilization, something more is needed than the increase of power and intelligence. There must be also

moral and spiritual quickening and development. "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Otherwise civilization is materialistic in its tendencies, and brings to man only what is possible to him as the highest of the brutes, nothing of what is possible to him as the child of God.

Natural religion never supplies this defect. In every condition of society will be found religions, all of them capsules containing some seeds of truth. But natural religion has not been able to supply the defect in civilization, and its force has usually been weakened by civilization. The ethnic religions have usually their greatest purity and power in the earlier periods of the national life. The earlier Romans were religious, and their religiousness was an important influence in the growth of the republic. The religiousness decayed as the national greatness advanced.

Christianity introduces into existing civilization, and in it makes effective and permanent, the moral and spiritual influences which lift man from the earthly, the sensual, and the devilish, and quicken him to act in reference to the moral and spiritual realities and possibilities of his being.

Human nature realizes its perfection only through Christianity. Though Christianity is supernatural, it is not foreign to humanity, and does not aim to superadd to humanity any accretion foreign or contrary to it. It is just that divine action which is necessary to bring man out from an abnormal condition, and to effect the complete development and perfection of humanity. Man in his normal condition, if he had never fallen, would realize his perfection only by faith in God and in communion with him. Dependence and faith are inseparable from man's condition as a created being, and their necessity is not a result merely of his abnormal condition as a sinner. The union with God by the indwelling Spirit belongs to man's normal condition. Man was made to be a worker with God, and to act under divine influences. Redemption restores him, through Christ and the Holy Spirit, to this normal union with God, so that

the divine life unfolds its character in him, as the life of the vine unfolds its character in the branches and their fruit. The real freedom of man is the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free. Christianity, therefore, is necessary to the development and perfection of humanity, and the establishment of Christ's kingdom is essential to the development and perfection of human society.

Therefore, in every unchristianized condition, humanity must show its consciousness of incompleteness, and a yearning and striving, or at least a groping and fumbling, after the divine life and redemption which Christ alone brings. This is so marked in history as to give speciousness to the doctrine that Christianity is merely the more complete development of natural religion.

Christianity, therefore, is not only a power of spiritual regeneration to the individual, but, because it is so, is also the power which restores human nature to its completeness and society to its best condition. The transformation of human society into the kingdom of God creates the highest and best civilization.

This influence of Christianity in civilization makes it possible to realize a civilization which shall be permanent. Unchristian civilizations have either perished by their own corruption, or, as the Chinese, have become stationary, capable only, like Swift's *Struldbrugs*, of mumbling from generation to generation the ideas of a remote past. It is often said, as if it were an indisputable maxim, that states must have their youth, manhood, old age, and dissolution. Says a brilliant writer: "Each civilization rests on an idea or group of ideas. But these ideas are forms of thought, and thought by its own nature is constant change. Universal principles develop themselves to fresh and special results, and facts familiar or strange give rise to new general principles. Thus ideas change no less than outward relations; and a civilization which has grouped itself about an idea is but the shell of a germinant seed. The seed will germinate, and the shell must be broken and destroyed. The task of the his-

torian, often a sad one, is to show how in each civilization lies the sentence of its own death." [1]

If, indeed, there are no unchanging principles, laws, and ideals, — if principles themselves are but forms, changing with the changing exigencies of thought, — then principles are as transitory as their outward manifestations; and a civilization which shall be permanent is in the nature of things impossible. But there are principles of truth, laws of character and action, and ideals of perfection which are unchanging and eternal. If these can be realized in civilization, there is no reason in the nature of things why the civilization should not be lasting.

Civilization in itself does not contain the elements necessary to perpetuity. If no supernatural influence comes down on humanity, we may expect that what has been will be, and that the principles of truth, justice, and love will never find complete expression in any civilization. But just this supernatural and redemptive agency comes into humanity through Christ. Christianity, therefore, has the word of promise inherent in it; it is no longer to be admitted that what always has been will be, but always the promise: "I will show you greater things." Christ makes effective in civilization the principles of truth, the law of love, the ideals of perfection which are unchanging and eternal. He consecrates all growth of physical and intellectual power, all discoveries and inventions, all philosophy and statesmanship, all poetry, painting, sculpture, and music, all thinking and acting, to God in the service of man for the realization of truth, love, and beauty in human life. Such a civilization has in it the elements of perpetuity. Such a state is not destined to decrepitude and death. There will still be new discoveries and inventions; the modes and fashions of life, customs, laws, and institutions may change; yet they are all but the exuberant outgrowth of the same life; the essential character and power of the civilization will abide unchanged.

It is sometimes objected that if Jesus were at once so

[1] Prof. C. C. Everett, Science of Thought, p. 44.

good and so great as Christianity represents, he would have revealed modern discoveries and inventions, and thus have spared mankind the dreariness of the dark ages, and given at once to the world the blessings of modern civilization. But by the very act of doing so he would have taught that these are the essentials to the redemption of the world and the highest well-being of man — that the Son of God came into the world to give to man "all the modern conveniences." Thus he would have intensified worldliness, and sanctioned a materialistic civilization. On the contrary, Christ asserted the pre-eminence of the spiritual, and brought into humanity that divine grace which in every civilization rouses man to the spiritual realities, relations, and possibilities of his being, and makes effectual those spiritual principles, laws, and ideals without which the most advanced civilization is selfish and self-destroying.

III. Christianity, by the Spiritual Forces which it introduces and makes effective, gradually creates a Christian Civilization.

It has been said that genius does not establish a school, but kindles an influence. The method of Christianity in Christianizing civilization is the same. It kindles an influence which creates the new beneath the old, and so pushes the old off. Its method is not the mechanical change of organization, but the inward process of life. Christ and the apostles made no direct assault on the existing forms of government, nor on slavery. But they taught principles, and required of individuals a life of faith and love, which, as they prevailed in society, would necessarily overthrow those institutions. By this leavening action, by this development of life, Christianity gradually removed the ancient Roman slavery; afterwards removed the mediæval or feudal serfdom; and now is causing negro slavery to pass away.

IV. The Progress of Christ's Kingdom in Successive Ages will be modified by the Existing Civilization.

The truths of Christianity and the redeeming grace of

God are always the same. But they must work in and through humanity, and the results by which they declare themselves must be realized in and through humanity. Therefore the manifestations of the effects of God's grace acting in any age or nation, the forms in which Christian truth and life appear, the opinions, customs, laws, and institutions in which they embody themselves, must be determined by the existing condition of society and state of civilization. The type is the same, but its forms of manifestation vary; as the vertebrate type is the same through successive geological eras, but its forms diversified. We need not be surprised, therefore, if in the progress of Christianity, as of animal life, the type should appear in defective or even seemingly monstrous forms, or should be found in temporary alliance with weakness, error, or wrong.

1. Christianity, being the religion for all time, and the power that is to act through all ages in renovating and perfecting society through redemption, necessarily has meanings and applications which can be disclosed only by the progress of Christ's kingdom through the ages.

An objection is urged against the Bible that the advance of science and civilization necessitates new interpretations and evokes new meanings. But this must be so, if it is the revelation of God. Christ compares his words to seeds; they are germinating words. We must see more in them when grown than we saw in them as seeds. The acorn contains the oak; but we cannot understand what the acorn contains until we see the oak. The oak is the only adequate exposition of the acorn; and it takes as long to make the exposition as it takes the oak to grow. The kingdom of God, as it grows silently through the ages, is the only adequate exposition of Christ's germinating words. Its growth necessitates new interpretations, and reveals new meanings. From the nature of things, so long as humanity is imperfect, and civilization imperfectly Christian, there must be an inadequate apprehension of the meaning and application of Christian truth; and so long as Christ's kingdom is ad

vancing, new meanings and applications of the truth must be disclosed.

Therefore the significance of Christian grace and truth in its application to society cannot be immediately understood. No uninspired thinker of the apostolical churches could have delineated the peculiarities of civilization which Christianity has already produced. Such a civilization, even if described to him, would have been comparatively unintelligible. It was only by the actual experience of Christian life and the actual conflict with the kingdom of darkness that the full significance of the principles hidden in the gospel, the varied applications which they require, and the consequent changes in the social condition, could be learned. Living in a civilization saturated with the vices of heathenism, the Christian must soon have become aware of a sharp antagonism to the world, and to its opinions, laws, and institutions. Thus, at the very outset, we find the apostles before the council exclaiming: "We ought to obey God rather than men" — a declaration containing the principles of individual rights, and liberty of conscience, and the supremacy of God's law above man's, which are the seed-thoughts of modern political progress. At every step the Christian was thus applying Christian truth and gaining the knowledge of its far-reaching and profound significance. And only by the progress of the church through the ages, the actual experience of the Christian life in removing the old and creating the new, could its meaning and application be discovered.

2. Man is prepared to appreciate and receive new meanings and applications of Christianity only when, in the progress of Christ's kingdom, the exigency to which they are pertinent has arisen, and man has been brought, in the providence of God, to a position in which he can see their necessity and value, and has been educated to a capacity to appreciate them. No age can appreciate new meanings and applications of truth, however clearly declared, much in advance of that stage of culture which, under God's education of the race, it has already attained. The first prophets of a coming

epoch are always rejected. A child must understand the fundamental rules of arithmetic before the more advanced rules are intelligible; and there must be an analogous progressiveness in the education of the race.

Even discoveries in science and inventions in art are rejected when communicated to a generation not sufficiently advanced to need, nor sufficiently educated to understand them. They perish like seeds which rot because sown too early in the spring. History is full of instances. It is common, after a great discovery or invention has been made, for some curious explorer of history to find the same announced in some forgotten writing of a former generation.

Here we strike that remarkable fact known as "the spirit of the age." Before a great epoch all minds seem moved simultaneously with the same thought, as the leaves of the forest rustle together at the first breath of the coming wind. The man who speaks the effective word seems rather to express than to create the thought of the time. This "spirit of the age" seems to outreach and control individual influence, as an ocean current bears onward a ship, however the crew may trim her sails or hold her helm. It is not a blind process of nature in which the personality of individuals is lost. But in the progress of Christ's kingdom a people are in contact with the same truths and subject to the same influences; they receive in God's providence the same education, and reach the consciousness of a common want, and, as a class under the same teaching, are all simultaneously prepared for the next lesson. The agency of individuals is not excluded. Even the teachings of rejected prophets, the persecution and martyrdom of "reformers before the reformation" have been important influences in educating men to receive those once rejected truths.

So long as humanity is imperfect, and God in redemption is advancing his kingdom, there must be an inadequate apprehension and application of Christian truth, and a progressive discovery of new meanings and applications.

In addition, then, to the reason already given why Jesus

should not have taught the modern discoveries, we now see another — that if he had revealed them, they would not have been appreciated or received. For the wonders wrought by his science and inventions he would have been likely to be pronounced a magician, while his discoveries and inventions would have been forgotten. Or, if he had at once set himself to abolish slavery and tyranny, and to reorganize the state, he would have been put to death as a disturber of the peace, and his doctrines forgotten as the dreams of a fanatic. It is one of the remarkable characteristics of Jesus, by which he is raised above all other men, that he was immeasurably in advance of his age, and yet infused his thought and life into it; that he was in advance of all ages, yet his thought enters as a power of life into every age, and every age finds in him its ideal and its inspiration. His teaching is never without significance and power because it will be pertinent to the future, nor antiquated because it was pertinent to the past.

3. In every age and people the Christian life will be modified in its manifestations by the existing civilization.

God's grace in Christ and by the Holy Spirit will not immediately impart a knowledge of chemistry and astronomy, nor of the power-loom, steam-engine, and telegraph. No more will it immediately change existing laws and institutions, nor even all opinions and customs into conformity with itself. The redeeming grace will be accepted in faith and penitence, and faith will work by love, and purify the heart, and overcome the world; but the manifestations of the new life will be modified by the civilization of the time. The Jew will still be a Jew, and the Greek a Greek, after they have become one in Christ; and their respective culture and type of character and usages, and even many of their prejudices, will long survive. The Hawaiian becomes a Christian, but not an Anglo-Saxon; the Greenlander becomes a Christian, but he cannot escape the influences of his Arctic climate. Not yet are the narrowness, jealousy, and antagonism of race extinguished, though in the begin-

ning Paul proclaimed the unchanging principle: "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all." The modern industrial movement is an outgrowth of Christianity in civilization; but it gives scope to the selfishness and greed of gain of an imperfectly christianized people. Christianity is the same; but Christians, though one in Christ, are as various as the varying nations and conditions of men.

This law holds through the times of God's supernatural revelation, not less than now. Supernatural revelation and the power of miracles did not lift a man out of his own age and country. It is distinctive of Jesus, that, though he was an ancient, an Asiatic, and a Jew, his life and words never suggest an outlandish man — a man of another age or time, — but only a *man*, in sympathy in all things with ourselves; and that this has been the same to persons of every generation, country, and condition. In every other scriptural character the peculiarities of race, country, and time are prominent. Samson would not pass for a very good Christian now; but in his day he was signalized as a man who acted from faith in God. The type was in him, appearing in what is to us a strange and monstrous form, like a megatherium of a geological period, a paleontological manifestation of the very type which now appears in man. David was an oriental despot; and some of what we call the crimes, but what were then regarded as the rights, of a monarch appear in his history. Yet in the essence of his character he was a man of faith in God and obedience to him; maintaining the knowledge and worship of the true God against idolatry, and profoundly penitent for his sin, when by the teaching of a prophet he was made to see as a crime what, according to the current sentiment of the day, he at first had not thought of as other than the exercise of a monarch's right. The same principle is exemplified in Christ's disciples, expecting that Jesus would be a temporal king, planning almost to the hour of his death ambitious schemes of pre-

eminence under his reign, and receiving Christ's own rebuke; "O fools, and slow of heart to believe." In God's education of the race each lesson must be learned by protracted discipline; and each must be learned before the next can be understood and mastered.

4. Hence Christianity sometimes comes temporarily into alliance with imperfection and error, and gives to them a life and perpetuity which otherwise they could not have had. There is an important truth in the common remark, that error and wrong perpetuate themselves by the truth, or partial truth, which they contain. Aspects and sides of truth find their affirmation temporarily in connection with error and wrong; and false theories and wrong practices are made current by the truth or half-truth which they emphasize, rather than by the error which accompanies.

The Christian church gradually absorbed the idea of government belonging to imperial Rome, and became a hierarchy. In the dark ages attending and following the dissolution of the empire and the barbarian invasions, when lawless and unlettered barons plundered at will, when in the secular government club law was supreme, and violence filled the earth, the people turned gladly to ecclesiastical tribunals and priestly protection, where the appeal was always to law and justice, rather than to the sword; they welcomed the growing power of the church appealing to the unseen and eternal, as a refuge from the violence and lawlessness of the secular powers. The ancient Catholic church was the advocate and helper of the people against the tyranny of secular rulers; the vindicator of the reign of law and justice deriving authority from God, against the reign of force; the refuge and helper of the oppressed against the oppressor. In the greatest power of the hierarchy, it asserted and vindicated the truth that the church is not dependent on the state, and asserted the reign of justice and law against the reign of arbitrary will and superior force. Its claim to depose kings and to absolve subjects from their allegiance was the assertion that kings are subject to a law above their

own wills; that their authority rests not on might, but on right; and that, if they abuse their power by injustice and oppression, they forfeit their right to the obedience of their subjects. These truths were carried in the bosom of the Catholic church, though manifested in perverted forms, as they must have been to accord with the idea of the church as a hierarchy. Thus they temporarily aided in building up that spiritual despotism which became the wonder of the world.

Asceticism, as it appears in crowds of filthy and begging friars, is disgusting; yet at first it was probably a very natural reaction of the Christian mind against the corruption tainting all heathen society. The vestiges of Roman life preserved in the museums of Italy and remaining in Pompeii reveal how powerfully a pure-minded Christian must have been impelled to separate himself from society so corrupted from the core to the rind. Asceticism would be a natural result of that antagonism to the world and to all that was in the world which was necessary in such a state of society. As civilization becomes penetrated with Christian ideas, and the customs and institutions of the world come into accordance with Christian purity, truthfulness, justice, and mercy, antagonism to the outward manners and customs of the world becomes less sharp and defined. In our civilization, therefore, it is difficult to appreciate the state of society which, in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, made asceticism a natural, though a perverted, expression of genuine Christian feeling.

So, also, the Crusades were an abnormal manifestation of the missionary spirit, accordant with the spirit and institutions of the times.

Even intolerance and persecution were a one-sided and perverse manifestation of zeal for truth. And the gloom which overhung the Middle Ages, the fear of devils and witches, the terror awakened even by Christ as the Judge of sinners, were results of truth contemplated only on its terrible side.

5. Christian truth is often suffocated in the perverted form

in which it is temporarily manifested, and utterly overwhelmed by the error with which it is associated, so that the whole manifestation becomes a corruption, needing to be put away.

V. Christianity, even while subject to Modification by the Civilization and Spirit of the Age, Creates a Higher Civilization and a Purer and more Christian Spirit.

By the very action of Christian truth and life through the forms of an existing civilization, the old becomes inadequate, and new customs, sentiments, laws, and institutions are demanded. Christianity, by acting in the old medium, makes it useless. It has worn the garment out, and, patching it no longer, throws it away for a new one. By working in the old form, it has created the necessity for a new; then, the fulness of time having come, it comes out of the old, turns against it, and thrusts it away.

But men, mistaking the form for the life that had worked in it, insist on the form after it is no longer needed; and continue to patch the garment after it has become too rotten to be worn. This is the source of corruption. It is not that Christianity is corrupted; but the old forms, through which in an earlier period Christianity had naturally manifested itself, are perpetuated as essential after Christianity can no longer act through them. Christianity, in whatever form of civilization circumscribed, is a power of life, like the germ within the seed, bursting the seed-envelop and leaving it to decay. Hence Christianity in one age may be found protesting against the very forms and institutions through which, when civilization was less advanced, it had exerted its life-giving energy. Christianity is not subject to the civilization and spirit of an age; but, while temporarily acting through them, it creates a new civilization and spirit of the age, before which the old must pass away.

It is the error of Rome that it adheres to the form, instead of to the life; that it adheres to the form after the life is gone; that it opposes the life itself in the new and higher

forms in which it appears. The true Christianity, on the contrary, protests against the form after the life is gone, and adheres to the life in its new manifestations. This is the true and Christian Protestantism. Rome is as really protestant; but the protest is against the old truth and life when the form is new. The protestantism of Rome is the loudest protestantism now extant; but it is protestant against Christ's truth. Romanism sits patching the old garment; and the last patch put on was the dogma of infallibility, which declares that the garment never was patched, and never needed it. Hence Rome sits in impotent and scolding protest against all Christian progress.

I may remark, in passing, that it is not necessary to determine precisely how far new thoughts, methods, and agencies are the direct result of Christian influences, and how far the result of civilization only. The revival of letters may have been, and probably was, the result of Christian influences quickening the human mind; or it may have been the natural outgrowth of the progress of human thought. But the essential point is that Christianity was in the civilization of that day, laid hold of the new powers and influences developed in the revival of letters, and made the revival of letters issue in the Protestant Reformation. The hierarchy protested against the study of Greek as endangering the church; but Christianity gladly laid hold of it, and consecrated it to Christ.

Christianity is not only in general a power of progress; it is also a power of revival and reformation. If it is ever hidden, it is fire beneath the ashes, with all its power of burning when it is raked out. No other religion carries in it this power. Other religions manifest themselves in connection with the civilization of their times; but they have no power to quicken and advance the civilization; the civilization remains stationary, and the religion moulders in its old forms. Let any higher civilization from without come in contact with it, it crumbles and passes away. Once decayed, it is impossible to revive it. No power could revive

the worship of Jupiter and Venus. The divine origin and power of Christianity, the presence in it evermore of God's grace are declared by the contrast, — always quickening progress in civilization; always outgrowing the forms of the civilization into which it enters; always a power of renovation and revival when its forms have become effete and are ready to pass away.

VI. In the Progress of Christ's Kingdom the Present is always the Outgrowth of the Past.

The new is not a new creation, but is a development of the old. The progress has the continuity of a vital growth. We have seen that Christianity is perfect, and cannot be transcended; not so the measnre of its apprehension on the part of mankind, nor of its appropriation in the consciousness of the church. This has the character of a growth. Hence the new has a unity with the old; the truth, spirit, and life pass out from one temporary form of manifestation into another. And the change, when it comes, is the natural result of the growth: first, the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.

It is often objected against Protestantism that it is unhistorical. But the objection is of no force, since Protestantism drops only the old forms, which, having lived their time, were already waxing old and ready to pass away, or even were already corrupted, and accepts the new manifestations of the truth and life. In fact, Protestantism is the true historical development of the church. It is in it that the spirit and life have found their genuine outgrowth. All the wealth of piety and thought of the ancient Catholic church belongs also to Protestantism, which is the genuine outgrowth of that piety and thought, and the legitimate offspring of that Catholic church.

On the other hand, the Romish church is, in reality, unhistorical, since it has retained the effete forms, and allowed the unfolding and growing life to pass away from it.

The right of private judgment does not imply that every

man is to cut adrift from the past, and by his own meager intellect think out a system of truth for himself. That would be as absurd as if in secular life each man should strip himself of the knowledge and civilization acquired in the past, and begin, *in puris naturalibus*, as a barbarian, to study nature and acquire the arts of civilization. The right of private judgment is the right of judging in the light of the past. Some truths we may assume as settled by the thought and life of the past. Man is not always learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. We rightly reject the Romish doctrine of tradition. The tradition of that church is not merely the clearer and fuller unfolding of the meaning of the Bible by the Christian experience and thought of the church, resting ultimately for its authority on God's word; but it includes the dicta of the church, resting on the infallibility of the church, and superadded to the Bible as of co-ordinate authority with it. Protestantism has its tradition; but it is simply the fuller exposition of the Bible, gained by the experience and thought of successive generations, and the application of the Bible to the new and changing conditions of man. Protestant tradition is the truth which flows from the fountain of God's word, and rolls down through the centuries, widening and deepening as it rolls — the stream which Ezekiel saw issuing as a little rill from the threshold of the sanctuary, and swelling as it flows into a great river. Protestant tradition is the Bible itself as it has flowed into human thought and life.

Because the kingdom of Christ is perpetually unfolding out of the past, the unchanging grace of God ever manifested under new conditions, the old truth and life appearing in new manifestations, the history of redemption is necessarily typical, that is, an epoch is the type of a succeeding epoch. A prominent actor in one epoch will be the type of a prominent actor in another epoch. In every epoch there is seen

> "The baby figure of the giant mass
> Of things to come at large."

Thus we have a philosophical basis for the theological doc-

trine that events and persons in the Old Testament are typical of events and persons in the New Testament.

VII. The Progress of Christ's Kingdom tends to produce a Homogeneous Civilization throughout the World.

The broad differences of civilizations must gradually disappear; the insignia of an outlandish man become less marked; thought and products be more fully and rapidly interchanged; interests will become more identified, and wars impossible; and the world will become a family of fraternal states.

It remains to apply these principles to determine what is the duty of the modern missionary in respect to teaching civilization.

If Christianity is taught to a people by preachers having the same civilization with themselves, then the full significance and scope of its principles will be gradually discovered, and Christianity will manifest itself in varying forms, and sometimes in alliance with error. But it is different when the missionary goes from a people having a superior and Christian civilization to a people of inferior and unchristian civilization, or still barbarous. In the civilization with which the missionary is familiar, the principles of Christianity have been carried out to many of their remote applications, and the results of ages of thinking and acting under the light of Christianity are embodied. Thus a new element is introduced into the problem. Shall he preach only the grand facts and broad principles of the gospel, leaving the people slowly to discover for themselves their remoter applications? Or, shall he also teach the detailed applications of Christian truth to the customs and institutions of society as already known to him, and teach therewith the industrial arts of the higher civilization?

1. He must not preach civilization antecedent to the gospel, and as a preparation for it. The preceding course of thought has demonstrated that a people is incapable of

having new institutions and a new civilization fitted upon it as a tailor fits a coat. It is the people who must be fitted to the civilization. Give to a savage a sewing-machine, or a power-loom, and the gift is useless. The man must be educated up to the machine, or he cannot use it, nor, indeed, have any occasion to use it. The same is true of political institutions. They do not create or mould the life, but are the outgrowth of the life. It is as useless to force free institutions on a people not educated for them as to tie artificial flowers on a rose-bush in the winter. The right of self-government in the hands of Paris communists is a curse to them and the world. Christianity is itself the most effective agency in awakening the savage to progress towards civilization, by stimulating the habit of acting for ulterior ends, and subjecting impulse to the control of reason; and in purifying and renovating heathen civilization by introducing and mak ing effective spiritual truth and a regard to spiritual reality.

Besides, all that is distinctively Christian in civilization is the result of Christianity. To insist that the apostles ought to have taught the civilization of modern Christendom in Jerusalem, Greece, and Rome, before teaching Christianity, or that modern missionaries ought to teach American civilization in China before teaching Christianity, is to put the effect before the cause. Christian civilization can be produced only by Christianity. Christianity must first be preached, in order that Christian civilization may be possible. The only real progress of society is the progress of the men and women who compose society. Society advances only as the men and women composing it advance in knowledge and culture, in wisdom, in self-control, in purity, truthfulness, and justice, in Christian faith and love.

This position is confirmed by the fact, constantly recurring in history, that the contact of civilization with barbarism or an inferior civilization, unaccompanied by Christianizing influences, is injurious to the inferior.

2. In reference to the personal character and duty of converts, the missionary is not to withhold Christian truth

and its application out of deference to the errors inherent in the civilization of those to whom he preaches. It is one thing to admit that Christian truth taught to a people, by teachers participating in their civilization, will be slowly and gradually apprehended and applied; and quite another thing to say that Christian teachers, having the clear knowledge of Christianity belonging to the highest civilization, are to accommodate their teachings to the prejudices and customs of heathenism; for example, to admit members to the church while practising polygamy and observing the rules of caste. This is of the type of pious frauds, and of the adoption by Christians of heathen usages and festivals under Christian names, which early corrupted Christianity in the attempt to propagate it. The justification of it involves a false interpretation of the parables of the new patch and the new wine; as if they meant that a patch must be found for the old garment as rotten as it, and for the worn-out bottles wine as weak as they. They mean the life must be invigorated, or a new life created capable of receiving the new institution. It is the statesman's business to adapt laws and institutions to the existing condition of society, just as the physician adapts medicine and food to the weakness of the patient. But the missionary is in the position of a prophet; it is his business to proclaim the truth which will create a new life. He is not to attempt the immediate subversion of existing institutions; but he is to declare Christian truth as the law of personal Christian action. Otherwise, the people cannot be educated in Christian truth, and prepared for Christian civilization. The missionary and his disciples may suffer persecution, and even martyrdom, for their fidelity; but these, if they must come, are themselves powerful agencies in educating the world in Christian ideas.

3. The missionary will introduce the arts of civilization incidentally, as he has opportunity and the people are prepared for them. These are educating influences which will help him in his Christian work. And in this respect he will be aided by the intercommunication of thought and of commercial products among the nations.

ARTICLE III.

ON "THE MAN OF SIN," 2 THESS. II. 3–9.

BY PROF. HENRY COWLES, OBERLIN, OHIO.

This is a passage of acknowledged difficulty. The fact of difficulty should not deter from its investigation, cannot excuse crude speculation or reckless disregard of the legitimate laws of language; but may invite to the exercise of candor, not to say charity, toward any well-meant endeavor to fathom its mysteries. Such an endeavor promises well and deserves candid attention only as it shall apply faithfully to the passage all the means at command for bringing its salient points to the surface, and drawing the line between the known and the unknown.

As to the value of the results to be sought for in this passage — if it be a chapter of the future history of our race; if it tells us of the "last times," immediately preceding the final coming of the Lord; if it opens new and most extraordinary developments in the great sin-problem of this fallen world — then, surely, the truths it has in it, if we may but reach them in very deed, must have momentous interest to every Christian mind.

The passage proposed for special consideration from Paul's second Epistle stands related to these words: "But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are

alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore, comfort one another with these words" (1 Thess. iv. 13–18).

Paul is here exhorting the brethren against excessive grief for those who "sleep in Jesus." To this end he testifies that these sleeping ones are at no disadvantage compared with the saints living at the time of Christ's final coming, because all the pious dead will be raised *before* any even of the living will ascend to meet the Lord, and so all will ascend together. This point is put in its strongest light by tacitly supposing that the glorious coming were to break upon themselves — the "we" of that generation. Even in such an event, the saints then living must needs wait for the raising of the dead before they can ascend. Hence they had not the least occasion to bewail the comparative loss of those who "slept in Jesus." There *is* no such comparative loss or disadvantage.

Apparently some of the Thessalonian brethren missed the real thought of Paul; took his supposed case as direct teaching; and therefore understood him to say by authority that the final coming of Christ was then near at hand. This view begat an unwholesome agitation of mind; they were undesirably "troubled," and were in danger of being seriously misled. Hence Paul hastens to write his second letter, in which we read thus:

"Now, we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us as *that the day of Christ is at hand.* Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first [ἡ ἀποστασία, *the* great apostasy], and that man of sin [ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας] be revealed, the son of perdition [ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας], who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing

himself [ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτόν, pretending to prove] that he is God. Remember ye not that when I was yet with you I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth [holdeth back] will let until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked [ὁ ἄνομος] be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, even him whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders."

The major points made here are: (1) That the final coming of Christ was *not* then near at hand; (2) That "the great apostasy" must precede that coming, in which apostasy a somewhat, designated as "the man of sin," "the son of perdition," "the wicked one" (vs. 8), bears a principal and leading part; (3) That this "man of sin" will immediately precede Christ's final coming, inasmuch as the blaze of that coming will be his destruction.

I would class the following as minor and less important points in the passage: (a) What is meant by "the mystery of iniquity"? (b) In what sense was this mystery then already working? (c) What was the withholding agency? (d) How and when was this to be "taken out of the way"?

Of the major points, the first needs not a word of argument. It was Paul's main proposition — the very thing he wrote this letter to say and to prove. And to us the revelations of history sufficiently confirm his doctrine. The second point is Paul's great argument in proof of his main proposition. Christ cannot come yet, or soon, *because* there must first be "the great apostasy," and "the man of sin must be revealed." The third point locates this "man of sin," *in time*, immediately before Christ's second coming. This point should have special attention. The important words are: "Whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (vs. 8). That this "coming" [παρουσία] must be the final one, his coming for the general resurrection

and last judgment, I maintain on two grounds: (*a*) The uniform meaning of this word [*παρουσία*], of which see examples, Matt. xxiv. 3; 1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. ii. 19; iii. 13; iv. 15; v. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 1, etc., etc. The constant usage of this word in these two Epistles to the Thessalonians in the sense of the final coming should suffice to settle this point conclusively. (*b*) The special coming of Christ which was before the mind of both Paul and his readers was this last one, and no other. No anterior, subordinate coming was thought of. The very point of discussion was the time of Christ's final coming and its immediate antecedents. Of this, therefore, the Thessalonians must have understood Paul to speak; of this, therefore, he did speak. Hence there can be no question that this "man of sin" is located in time immediately before Christ's second coming, to continue down to that great event, and to meet his destruction in the overwhelming terrors which shall befall the wicked, and especially himself, on that day. One somewhat important point respecting "the man of sin" is therefore settled. We know his date — his place in time relatively to Christ's final coming.

Let us now proceed to other points. And, next, this "man of sin" is *an individual man*, not a corporation, not a society of men, not an indefinite succession of men spanning centuries of time; for, if so, then his being "revealed" (vs. 3) could have no point of time to it; it never could be known when his "coming" (vs. 9) took place, or his "destruction" (vs. 8); and, consequently, these events of history could not help at all to show when the Son of Man shall come; could not fix the point *before* which he could not come — the very purpose for which "the man of sin" is spoken of at all.

Again, this "man of sin" must be some one man; for every descriptive name given him implies it. For example, "the man of sin," i.e. the one man of whom sin is the distinctive characteristic — the man of surpassing wickedness, overshadowing and eclipsing all other men in sin. Also, "the son of perdition," one whose destruction should be as signal as his sin had been — a man of the stamp of Judas Iscariot,

to whom our Lord applies this very phrase (John xvii. 12). And, again, that "wicked one" [ὁ ἄνομος], the impious one, the very incarnation of bold and blasphemous impiety. By all legitimate laws of language, these terms in the singular number describe some one man, not many. They are made yet more specific by the article — "*the* man of sin," "*the* son of perdition," "*the* law-breaker, or the lawless one." Further, the singular number is used of him throughout the passage invariably.[1] The argument is still heightened by the things

[1] On some of these points the citation of authorities may not be amiss. Olshausen (p. 314) says of the article: "*the* man of Sin"; "*the* Son of perdition," that "it admits only of reference to a definite, known individual, to whom sin and destruction belong in a special sense, so that he not merely *has* sin and *falls into* destruction, but that sin and destruction *proceed* from him as their source, and that he drags every one else into sin and destruction after him." Also, "the name 'Anthropos' characterizes him as a real man with body and soul, whom Satan thus makes his dwelling." Ellicott speaks of the final Antichrist as to be "made manifest in a definite and distinct bodily personality" (p. 118). He expands the idea of "the man of sin," thus: "The fearful child of man of whom sin is the special characteristic and attribute, and in whom it is as it were impersonated and incarnate." On the words, "He that opposeth himself," etc., thus: "The adversary, though assimilating one of the distinctive features of Satan, is clearly not to be confounded with him whose agent and emissary he is, but in accordance with the almost universal tradition of the ancient church, is *Antichrist;* — no mere set of principles, or succession of opponents, but one single individual, as truly man as he whom he impiously opposes." Under "Antichrist" in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible," the writer (Rev. F. Myrick) says (p. 104): "The words used by Paul to the Thessalonians could not well have been more emphatic, had he studiously made use of them in order to exclude the idea of a polity. 'The man of sin,' 'the son of perdition,' 'the one who opposeth himself to God,' 'the one who exalteth himself above God,' 'the one who represents himself as God,' 'the wicked one who was to come with Satanic power and lying wonders'; if words have a meaning, these words designate an individual." Also, "that Paul describes the adversary as being distinctly a man" (p. 107). He testifies moreover that "the individualist view was held unanimously in the church for upward of a thousand years," as distinct from and opposed to the notion of "a polity like that of Romanism, or a succession of rulers working it, e.g. the Popes." "The only point on which any question arose was, whether he should be a man armed with Satanic powers or Satan himself." "They all agree in representing him as a person about to come shortly before the glorious and final appearance of Christ, and to be destroyed by his presence." "Justin Martyr describes him as the man of the apostasy"; "Irenæus, as summing up the apostasy in himself"; "Origen, as the child of the devil and the counterpart of Christ"; Jerome, "as the son

which he is said to do, viz. thrust himself into the temple of God, and claim to be himself God. As God is one, not many; so this incarnation of blasphemy and sin must be some one man, claiming to be the very God and demanding the homage due to God only. And yet further, even these arguments are strengthened (if greater strength is possible) by the tacit comparison of his revelation ["shall be revealed," vs. 3] to that of Christ, of whose personal coming the same word is used (2 Thess. i. 7; also Luke xvii. 30); also by the comparison of his *coming* [παρουσία] (vs. 9) to that of Jesus Christ, to whose *coming* the same word is applied in this same connection. And yet further, by the assumed analogy between his working and that of Satan, of whom he is represented as a sort of incarnation or embodiment — a second Satan, the special vicegerent of the first. It may at least be said that if the case of this "man of sin," as presented here, does not describe an individual man, then no language, no description, can do it. Therefore it cannot be safe to force any other or modified sense upon these words. To do so upon the demand simply of some foregone hypothesis is for every reason inadmissible; and the more so, because the entire strain of the passage is historic, not poetic; dealing with matters of fact, and not of fancy or imagination, i.e. proposing and aiming to give the last immediate precursor of Christ's second coming — the last and chief embodiment of Satan in human flesh, whose awful destruction will be with the same fearful blast that will arouse to life the sleeping dead — the same blaze of glory that will usher in the final judgment.

The current view, adverse to this, should receive attention, viz. that this "man of sin" is the *papacy*, or, as some would say, the *popes of Rome*. I am not aware that, loosely as this general theory is held, there are any who would restrict

of the devil, sitting in the Church as though he were the Son of God"; also, "that we may not suppose him to be a devil or demon (as some have thought), but a man in whom Satan will dwell utterly and bodily." "Theophylact, as a man who will carry Satan about with him."

the description to *some one pope* in particular, e.g. to the first, or the mightiest, or the last in the series. Yet the words of Paul most manifestly demand a restriction to some one. If Paul means pope at all, he should certainly mean some one pope — most naturally the worst one in the long series, and certainly the last, for who but the last can meet his death as here described? Surely, after this "man of sin" is *so* destroyed, there can be no other. [This, it will be seen, shuts off Paul's words from being applied to any pope thus far, unless it be to Pius IX.] Now, the series of popes has already run some twelve hundred years, more or less. If this "man of sin" means the popes of Rome in general and in mass from the beginning hitherto, how could it supply any data to relieve the agitation of the Thessalonian brethren, or any other Christian brethren during the next two or ten thousand years, in regard to the near coming of Christ? How could they know whether Paul referred to the first pope of history, or to pope Pius IX. at the distance of some twelve hundred years after him, or to some pope several hundred years further on? Obviously, the main purpose for which Paul wrote this passage is defeated by this utterly indefinite construction.[1] Furthermore, no pope has ever yet claimed to be himself the one true God. Every pope has claimed to *derive his power from the one God*, which certainly amounts to recognizing the Supreme Being, and is utterly unlike what is here described, viz. setting up one's self to be the one supreme God, and claiming divine homage as such. Some Protestant interpreters may, perhaps, need to be reminded of the ninth commandment. Nothing is gained for truth by "bearing false witness against our neighbor." Still further, "the mystery of iniquity"

[1] Thus Olshausen: "To establish the view that Popery is Antichrist would oblige us previously to give up the doctrine, expressly demonstrated as scriptural, of the personality of Antichrist; he could in that case be conceived as a spiritual principle only. As however, the principle of Popery has prevailed during a whole series of centuries, it is not to be perceived how its appearing can constitute a fixed time for the beginning of the kingdom of God, in which sense Paul here (vs. 3) treats of the revealing of Antichrist" (pp. 326–27).

(of the same sort, we must suppose, which ultimately culminated in the "man of sin") was even then working, when Paul was writing; but is there any evidence that the distinctive, characteristic sin of the popes of Rome had then come to the surface, so as to be visible to the Thessalonian brethren; and could they also see what was "withholding" it, — i.e. holding it in check?

Shall we arrest, for the moment, the course of this discussion upon our major points, to refer to the minor and less important points touched in the passage? "The mystery of iniquity" (vs. 7), then already working, should naturally mean some development of bold, heaven-defying, blasphemous sin, which foreshadowed the spirit and work of the arch-sinner of whom Paul specially speaks. More definitely than this, I see not how any one at our distance of time can outline it. The very man or clique may have been at once suggested to the Thessalonian brethren by this reference of Paul; he may have spoken of it while with them. The "withholding" power [τὸ κατέχον], twice referred to by the same Greek word, translated, vs. 6, "withholdeth," and vs. 7, "letteth," must be, of course, the power that restrained, kept down, and held back those horrible developments of wickedness. If we ask, *Whose* powerful hand counteracts the devil and all his wickedness, wicked men and all theirs? but one general answer can be given — Christ's. His, ultimately, is the great antagonist, restraining power. If, pushing the question, we still ask, What agent, if any, did he use in the case before us? I am compelled to answer, that, having no revelation on the subject, I do not know. To what secondary agency, if any, Paul had special reference, he has not told us, and I have no knowledge. The field is ample for any amount of speculation; but of what avail? A similar darkness is left by Paul upon the question, How and when is this withholding agency to be "taken out of the way," i.e. withdrawn? So far as this prophecy of Paul is concerned, we are left in absolute ignorance. It should be remembered that on such a question guessing is not

knowledge. On subjects of this character upon which so little is said by the inspired prophet and so much left unsaid, of which the statements are so very general and the particulars and details are withheld, it is our wisdom to draw the line sharply and firmly between the known and the unknown, following none but valid principles of interpretation, and claiming to know only what such principles bring out and sustain.

Resuming the main discussion, it will be in place at this stage to speak of one possible objection to the view here advocated; viz. How can it be supposed that any one man can wield a power so prodigious as is here ascribed to "the man of sin?" Let us lay alongside of this objection certain very prominent facts in the history and progress of the present century; taking in, also, some arts of an older date. Let the reader consider what immense facilities the art of printing has furnished for an extraordinary development of "one-man" power. Also, consider how ubiquitous one master mind may become by the aid of steam and the telegraph. Yet further, such advances having been made within the present generation, how much more may be made during the long onward march of invention, progress, and affiliation of remotest and most alien populations throughout a thousand years' millennium? Aside from this, mark the tendencies, not altogether undiscernible in our times, to laud and almost deify the great men who combine genius, talent, and magnetic power — the men of daring, dashing spirit, of brilliant parts and unblushing assumptions. It should be assumed that this "man of sin" will be great after the type of Milton's Satan — great in every commanding mental quality; great in his power and tact of deception; great in the uprising of a soul that disdains all restraint, that dares (in one word) to strike for the throne of the Almighty! Of course, it is also to be assumed that the times are those of a great apostasy, and that there are other wicked men only too ready to worship this incarnation of iniquity. But further, Who has yet been able to set limits to the power which Satan may

exert in this fallen world? Who can tell how perfectly he may project himself into the human soul, laid open and freely surrendered to his presence and power? Who knows how terribly he may command for his own use, and energize with his own spirit, the soul thus yielded up to his sway? Who can say but God may have wise reasons for permitting, just at the close of this probationary state, a case that shall exhibit Satan's utmost, maximum power of "entering into" one individual man; his reasons therefor bearing vitally upon the moral danger of leaving Satan "loosed" anywhere in the universe? The record sets forth that Satan is at this point upon his last and most desperate endeavor. Who shall measure the amount of aid he may or can give to this "man of sin," this human embodiment of his spirit and power? The coming of this man of sin being "after" [according to] "the working of Satan," who can say what magazines of lies he will uncap, what miracles he may appear to work, what marvels of "spiritism" may be brought into the field in this last battle with truth and righteousness on this great day of Armageddon?

Having thus replied to this objection, rather by starting questions and by suggesting hints than otherwise, I pass to consider briefly certain other passages in the Epistles, supposed by some to be parallel to this. We may group into one class 1 Tim. iv. 1–3; 2 Tim. iii. 1–5; Jude 17, 18; 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4. In another class we put 1 John ii. 18, 19, 22, and iv. 3; 2 John 7. The latter are properly treated separately, because in these and these only do we find the definite term, "the Antichrist." In the first group, the important words are these: "Now, the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils." "This know, also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, ... lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." "Remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of

our Lord Jesus Christ, how that they told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts." "There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming?"

As bearing upon any question respecting "the man of sin," we have no occasion to spend time upon these words. For (1) they are entirely too indefinite as to time to admit of being compared with our passage. (2) They are very indefinite and general in regard to the type of sin of which they speak. (3) They differ entirely from the passage we have in hand, inasmuch as they make no allusion whatever to any one individual man. On the positive side, they indicate a current opinion, we may say, a traditionary prophecy, respecting some apostasy in future, though not apparently remote, times—a fact manifestly brought forward as a moral warning against its incipient approaches. But that this is "*the* apostasy" of which Paul speaks in connection with "the man of sin" is by no means apparent. Any assumption to this effect is obviously without proof.

The second group, viz. from John's Epistles gives us these words: "It is the last time; and, as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us." "Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son." "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even already is it in the world." "Many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is a deceiver and an Antichrist."

At first view, it may seem that we have here something quite definite as to personal individuality; we certainly have the words, ὁ ἀντίχριστος. But here are many Antichrists; and the definition of the term is made so broad as to include

any one, yea, every one, who denies that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, or that Jesus is the Christ. Consequently, these passages from the Epistles of John really make no advance beyond the first group. All alike fail to exhibit those definite points of *time* and *character* which would be requisite to justify us in applying them to the specific case of "the man of sin." Any attempt to make out a parallelism fails in vital points, and must be abandoned.

Yet let the question still return: Have we any other prophecy really parallel with this of Paul respecting "the man of sin," treating of persons and events which are to precede closely in time the final coming of Christ? If we have, it will be entirely legitimate to make free use of whatever it actually reveals. When we have drawn from Paul all he has taught, i.e. have extracted from his inspired words all the meaning they legitimately bear, we must shut down upon fanciful speculation on his words. But it still remains for us to inquire if any other prophet has spoken of those times. There is one other prophecy of those very times, viz. in the Revelation of John (xx. 7–12), thus: "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night forever and ever. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works."

Let us note the salient features of this passage. (a) These events follow the millennium. (b) They immediately precede the final resurrection and judgment. Of course, they synchronize with the passage from Paul to the Thessalonians, under our special consideration. (c) In respect to costume, drapery, this passage differs widely from that of Paul, as we ought to expect. This is in the boldly poetic style of the whole book, and is specially suggested (as to costume) by Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog and Magog (chap. xxxviii. and xxxix.). But highly figurative though it be, the actual significance of the symbols may be reached with a fair degree of precision and certainty; that is to say, it predicts a vast, mighty, terrible onslaught of the powers of Satan and sin upon Christ's earthly kingdom and people. In this conflict Satan is the prime moving spirit, commander-in-chief; but some one man, appearing under the name "Magog," is his subordinate — the human incarnation of Satan, and the arch-leader under him of the hosts of sin. By a somewhat common mistake, the two names, "Gog" and "Magog" are taken to indicate two distinct men. A reference to Ezekiel will show that Magog only is the prince; Gog, the name of his country. (d) Of the destruction of this human captain and of his countless cohorts, the brief record is: "Fire came down from God out of heaven, and destroyed them"; essentially what Paul also said: "Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." Satan's doom follows, and simultaneously come the final, closing scenes of earth's great drama — the dead rising, and the myriads, once of earth, before "the great white throne" for judgment. Remarkably all the great outlines of these two prophetic passages harmonize. Beyond all reasonable question, Paul's "man of sin" comes *after* the millennium, in proof of which I need adduce here only these two considerations; viz. (1) That there *is* a millennium in Paul's programme of prophecy; as witness what he wrote to the church at Rome (xi. 16–26), to the effect that the Jews were to be re-engrafted into

Christ, that this should be "life from the dead to the Gentiles," and that "the fulness of the Gentiles" should so come into the great gospel kingdom. (2) That there is no place for this conversion of the nations *after* the final coming of Christ in the terrible blaze of his glory to destroy "the man of sin" and his apostate hordes. Therefore, in Paul's programme, as in that of John, the millennium *precedes* this great apostasy and the development and destruction of "the man of sin." Therefore, in both these prophetic passages the points made belong to the "last things" of our world's history. In both we have the final conflict on earth between the great antagonist forces of Christ and of Satan. In both, Satan's hosts are specially mustered and headed by some one man, his embodiment and representative. In both, this human incarnation of Satan perishes, and with him his followers. And finally, in both, this destruction is by a fearful deluge of fire — the blast of the breath of the mighty Conqueror — the blaze of his fiery brightness in his last appearing. And this outburst of judgment on the marshalled hosts of sin heralds in the final consummation.

Concluding Suggestions.

1. The case of "the man of sin" and his destruction in nowise interferes (as some have supposed) with the millennium. The great gospel work of the ages finds all the time it needs *before* his development, and *before* his final doom.

2. The ultimate purpose of God in permitting sin to enter our world being to allow to Satan and sin a very large range for development in order to reveal to the moral universe their essential malignity and terrible mischiefs, we may see the wisdom of this remarkable variation in the general programme, introduced in the last two phases of the conflict between Christ and Satan, viz. in the millennial period, and in the period next ensuing and prior to the final judgment. In the former period, long and glorious, "*Satan is bound*"; his personal agencies are withdrawn from the field of battle; and then the truth of God pervades the nations; "The

knowledge of the Lord fills the earth as the waters cover the seas." This phase of the great conflict having transpired, another and contrasted arrangement ensues: "Satan is "*loosed* for a little season"; the "withholding" power, as Paul terms it, "is taken out of the way," [becomes ἐκ μέσου, out of the midst; out of the fight; out of Satan's way]; the restraining force previously exerted upon Satan is taken off; and then "that great apostasy" comes on; "the man of sin" appears, and runs his short — but, alas, too successful — career; and then cometh the end. This contrast between a world with Satan "bound," and, again, a world with Satan "loosed," — Christ and his truth having unimpeded range in the former; Satan unrestrained and putting forth his utmost energies in the latter — this wonderful variation in the conditions of the great sin-problem of our world in its relation to outside agencies is startling, most impressive, and in its moral bearings immensely instructive. As said in my "Notes on the Revelation of John" (p. 227), "It is obvious that one part of God's design in permitting this last development of Satan in our world may have been to exhibit his agency before our race, and before the moral universe, with far more distinctness and prominence than ever before. After the long ages of Christ's peaceful and triumphant reign, the very name of Satan, and much more his pernicious agencies, may have been almost forgotten from the human mind, not to say from angelic minds as well. One more exhibition of satanic hate and revenge and power will not be amiss for the moral instruction of the universe. Coming at this stage, in the strongest possible contrast with the beneficent reign of the great Messiah, it will stand out most signally before the universe as the moral ground of his eternal doom. Who can then fail to see that he is indeed a *devil* and a *Satan*, infinitely deserving his destiny of torment in the lake of fire and brimstone forever and ever!"

3. We see why Paul should speak of this as "*the apostasy*" — the great, the signal, the ever memorable apostasy. Nothing else on such a scale stands on the pages of human

history. Nothing so great *could occur before the millennium.* It is only after the nations have been brought to Christ, and long ages have rolled away in the peace and fruition of Christ's reign, and when it might begin to seem that Satan must be dead, and that sin has mostly lost its power, then, all suddenly, Satan is loosed; and lo, the change astonishes the moral universe! Such an *apostasy!* Who could have believed it?

4. I cannot forbear to notice the incidental, and therefore the more remarkable, coincidence between John and Paul on the point of the *duration* of this apostasy. John says: "Satan is loosed a little season" [*μικρὸν χρονόν*, xx. 3]. In symbol, it is the time of one great military expedition, a single campaign; his hosts sweeping up from the ends of the earth, and besieging the saints in their camp, the beloved city; and then — the end. Entirely in harmony with this is Paul's view of the time — brought within the life-work and life-period of *one man.* One man heads it; it ends with his death. Let us praise God that this great apostasy is so short!

5. This wonderful variation in the divine scheme will serve to bring out the mutual relations between Satan and our sinning race in a way to show not only how great his power, unrestrained, may become, but how fearful are the exposures and liabilities of man left defenceless before his temptations. What a chapter of revelation on these points stands in the history of this one "man of sin." Oh, how should it warn the sinners of our world against his satanic "devices!" And how fearful the light it throws upon the malignity, the moral hardihood, the dire infatuation, the perfectly satanic nature of all sin! Sin in man and sin in Satan are in essence and nature only the same thing — mad rebellion against God. Let us not omit to notice, at this point, the thoughts which these same facts suggested and impressed upon the mind and heart of Paul, as we may read in the immediate context of our passage — words of appalling significance: "Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and

with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness" (2 Thess. ii. 9–12). Here we see compacted into one sentence the terrible energies of Satan in the line of lying, deception, delusion; these energies taking effect upon the souls of "them that perish"; taking effect upon them, because they *will not* admit to their heart so much as "the love of the truth, that they might be saved," but cherish the love of Satan's lies the rather, and so come under "strong delusion," and reap its natural and necessary fruit — damnation.

6. If there were any need to vindicate the justice and wisdom of the great Judge in consigning Satan at the last day to the prison-house "prepared for the devil and his angels," to go no more out forever, here it is. Close upon this last and direst development of his malign spirit and of his mighty hand, God hurls him down to his fiery doom; and all the holy will say, "Amen!" A sense of relief will come over them; they breathe freely, and pour out their grateful hearts in trustful adoration: "Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints!"

7. It is quite in this line of thought to say that Satan's being "loosed" from the pit is a case in point, bearing upon the safety, and therefore the wisdom, of a future *restoration* of the wicked. It is the fondly indulged hope of some, — perhaps, rather, of many, — that somewhere in the long future of the lost ones of our race [and, by parity of reasoning, of the lost angelic race as well], the prison doors will be thrown open and the prisoners be "loosed." As to this fond hope, let it suffice to say that the Lord will have made one experiment of the sort already — enough to satisfy all the truth-loving throughout the moral universe.

8. Finally, perhaps one object sought in this last scene may be to develop the Messiah's infinite control over the

material universe, to show that he can wield at will all the fearful enginery of fire and flame for the destruction of the wicked, in combinations unknown before. The conflict long waged with the spiritual weapons of truth and love takes on a new type; material forces of all-consuming power flash out before all worlds, and testify that Jesus is indeed King of the universe, with all power given him in heaven, earth, and hell. Before such forms of power, the great, gigantic, representative sinner of our race, "the man of sin," becomes most emphatically "the son of perdition." Before such power, the prince of darkness and his fellows, who "kept not their first estate," having had large range for developing the malignity of their souls, and having had their public trial in the judgment of the great day, are swept away to their final, everlasting doom.

ARTICLE IV.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION.

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No. XI.

INSPIRATION CONSIDERED IN ITS SPHERE.

THE *sphere of inspiration* is that which the wisdom of the Infinite Spirit has prescribed to himself, taking counsel of no created intelligence. It was never his plan to give indiscriminately, in all the departments of human activity, that special illumination and guidance, called inspiration, which, as we have seen, raised its possessors above error, and invested their words with divine authority. This heavenly gift was ever rigidly restricted to the supernatural revelations connected with the plan of redemption through Jesus Christ. We acknowledge, indeed, with devout reverence, the providential guidance of God in all the affairs of human history. It was not without his appointment, for example, that our

own land was colonized at such a peculiar crisis in English history, and by men of such a peculiar character. His hand was in the discoveries of Newton and Laplace; in the invention of the telescope, microscope, steam-engine, power-loom, railroad, and electric telegraph; and in all the wonderful results of modern science. But inspiration has ever gone hand in hand with revelation; and both have been concerned only with the way of salvation contained in scripture.

But there are limitations which the Divine Spirit has prescribed to himself in the sphere of revelation itself, and it is concerning these that we are now to inquire. We may say, at the outset, that, inasmuch as they have the Spirit of truth for their Author, they cannot be of such a nature as to frustrate, in any degree, the end of inspiration, which is to furnish men with a divinely authoritative and sufficient rule of faith and practice. Rather must their effect be to disentangle the truth from all needless complications, and thus make it available to all men, in all ages and in all grades of society.

1. The first limitation which we notice has respect to the *phenomena of nature*. The facts of the physical world are always described according to popular apprehension, not according to any scientific formula. For this there was an antecedent necessity, lying in the divine plan for the culture and training of the human family. God has committed to men the task of developing, under his providential guidance, all the truths of natural science by a slow process, involving many temporary mistakes and misapprehensions, but eminently adapted to elicit the best powers of the human intellect. Meanwhile, he has revealed to men, from time to time, as the way was prepared, truths pertaining to their salvation, in which the laws and operations of nature are described according to appearance; so that the descriptions hold good for all ages, and are available for men of all degrees of culture. Thus the wisdom of God has, from the beginning, left to scientific investigation the largest liberty to press its

inquiries in every direction, under the one comprehensive principle that "the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."

In the domain of astronomy this principle is now fully recognized. No one would think, at the present day, of quoting the divine declaration, "The world, also, is stablished, that it cannot be moved," as an argument against the Copernican system, as was done once, not only by a congregation of cardinals, but also by Protestant theologians of the highest rank. Nor would any modern interpreter, admitting the truth of the Copernican system, feel himself constrained to bring the Psalmist's words, by a forced exegesis, into an agreement with the scientific teachings of astronomy, thus: "*Is established*, that is, made steady in its two motions; *cannot be moved* — cannot be disturbed in its two revolutions." All expositors are agreed that the words mean that the earth is immovable to man's apprehension and uses. Thus science is brought into harmony with revelation, without the sacrifice of either. So far as the truth of scripture is concerned, it becomes altogether a superfluous question, whether the Psalmist did or did not understand the true physical system of the universe. The Holy Spirit understood it from the beginning; but there is no valid ground for the assumption that he revealed it to the sacred writer. Doubtless, he spoke in accordance not only with popular apprehension, but with his own belief also. Nor did this abate one jot or tittle from his infallibility as an inspired teacher. That God is the Creator of the world, and that all its arrangements, having him for their Author, have a stability high above the sphere of human power — this is the *divine* truth which the words above quoted inculcate; and it remains as valid for us as for the men of the Psalmist's day.

The same broad principle applies to all the descriptions which the inspired writers give of nature and her operations. Whatever diversity of opinion there may be as to the inter-

pretation of the narrative of the creation, it is generally agreed that the author speaks not scientifically, but phenomenally — that he describes the successive processes of the six days as they would have appeared to a human spectator had he been able to be present. It has, indeed, been suggested, not without probability, that the revelation was originally made in a panoramic way, that is, by a representation to the inward vision of the writer of the scenes of the six days' work of creation in regular order. But, not to insist on this, which lies beyond the sphere of human knowledge, let us look briefly at the record of the second day. The sacred narrative reads: "And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters; and let it divide between waters and waters. And God made the firmament, and divided between the waters which were below the firmament, and the waters which were above the firmament; and it was so." The *waters* under the firmament are those upon the earth's surface. But what are the waters *above* the firmament? A common answer has been that they are the clouds. The clouds did, indeed, belong, according to the idea of the ancients, to the waters above the firmament; but the passage before us does not represent them as constituting, in and of themselves, these waters. The clouds are not a body of waters above the firmament, and coming down through the firmament to the earth. Rather are they fed, from age to age, by the waters above the firmament; so that they are never exhausted. That this was the popular conception of the Hebrews appears from the hundred and forty-eighth Psalm. Here the sacred writer begins with the heavenly intelligences — "all his angels" and "all his hosts." From these he passes down to the ordinances of God which are above the firmament — "sun and moon," "stars of light," "heaven of heavens," and "waters that are above the heavens." Then, after pausing to celebrate the power of God manifested in their creation and the stability which he has conferred upon them (vs. 5, 6), he passes (vs. 7 seq.) to the works of the Creator which are below the firmament:

"Praise the Lord *from the earth*, dragons and all deeps; fire and hail, snow and vapor, stormy wind fulfilling his word," etc. The idea of water rising *from the earth in the shape of mist*,[1] and perhaps of clouds also,[2] was familiar to the Hebrews. But these belonged, with "fire and hail, snow and vapor, and stormy wind," to the category of things under the firmament. That the men of high antiquity referred the perpetual replenishing of the clouds to the vaporization of water from the earth's surface, as we now know to be the fact, cannot be proved, and is a supposition in itself very improbable. Though we need not take the word "windows," in the account of the deluge,[3] in a gross literal sense, any more than in two other passages, which speak of flour and barley as given through windows made in heaven,[4] and God's blessing as poured down through the open windows of heaven,[5] yet the essential idea holds good alike in all three cases, that what comes down to the earth through the windows of heaven comes from above the firmament. We, therefore, understand the sacred writer's conception of the firmament to be that of an outspread vault, above which are the waters whence the clouds are continually replenished. We have no desire to press this view unduly; but we ask what there is in it at which modern science can justly take offence? The inspired penman speaks simply according to appearance and popular apprehension. That God has such an inexhaustible reservoir of waters is certain; for he has been from the beginning pouring down rain from it, and yet it is not spent. What is the nature of this reservoir, how it is maintained, and how the clouds are replenished from it — these are scientific questions with which the author does not concern himself; nor is it necessary to suppose that he had

[1] Gen. ii. 6.

[2] 1 Kings xviii. 44, where, however, the original words (עֹלָה מַיִם, *ascending from the sea*) do not necessarily mean anything more than coming up from over the sea.

[3] Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2.

[4] 2 Kings vii. 2–19.

[5] Mal. iii. 10.

information concerning them beyond the men of his age. If any one ask why the inspired writer did not represent this celestial storehouse of waters as diffused *through* the firmament, instead of placing it *above* it, the answer is: This would have been to convert the *firmament* of sense into the *atmosphere* of science, and *phenomena* into *natural philosophy*. The essential *facts* represented by the narrative are, that these celestial waters are invisible to our senses; that the firmament sustains them in their place above the earth, so that they are kept separate from the waters on its surface; and that from them an exhaustless supply of rain is furnished — facts that remain valid for all ages and all stages of science.

In the same way is the narrative of the fourth day's work to be understood. It does not bind us to the necessity of believing that the sun, moon, and stars were created in their substance on that day, but only that then they appeared for the first time in the firmament. "The narrative only tells what sun, moon, and stars are in relation to the earth. When the clouds and mists are dispelled from its surface, the seas confined within their boundaries, and the first vegetation springs up; then the sky is cleared up; the sun, moon, and stars appear, and assume their natural functions, making days and nights, seasons and years; and God makes or appoints them, the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night." [1]

The *six days* of creation are, in our view, *symbolic* of higher periods of time — in the mind and purpose of God symbolic from the beginning, but not necessarily understood by men to be symbolic. As in the case of the seventy weeks of Daniel,[2] and the thousand years during which Satan is to be bound,[3] the terms employed might be taken literally, until their symbolic character should be made manifest.[4]

2. A second limitation has respect to the *natural endowments of the sacred writers*. By the gift of inspiration these

[1] Bible [Speaker's] Commentary in loco.
[2] Dan. ix. 24–27.
[3] Rev. chap. xx.
[4] See Appendix. Note A.

were purified and elevated, not changed. Paul the apostle, the meek and humble disciple of Christ, brought over into his regenerate state all the individuality that belonged to Saul of Tarsus, the proud and haughty persecutor — his native temperament and peculiar turn of mind, as well as his education at the feet of Gamaliel and his rabbinic lore; in a word, all that belonged to him not as a sinner, but as a man. And he used all this individuality, not in show, but in reality. As remarked in a previous number, his epistles are thoroughly Pauline, as well in style and diction as in the mode of argumentation and presentation of truth; just as an oak-tree is oak throughout, not in its leaves and acorns alone, but also in its inmost texture. The Holy Spirit did not *imitate* his style and mode of reasoning; but he filled his mind with light and knowledge, thus enabling him to use in a free and natural way his peculiar endowments and acquisitions for the glory of God and the edification of his church. The same remarks hold good of the apostles Peter and John. Each one thinks and writes like himself, so that we have the same diversity in the writings of inspired, as of uninspired, men. If a further illustration of this truth were needed, it might be found in the writings of the three prophets — Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. What can be more unlike in style and manner than the books which bear the names of these three men! They are pervaded throughout with the individuality of their authors; because it was the plan of the Divine Spirit to use this individuality, not to supersede it. The same diversity is conspicuous in other books of the Old Testament; for example, in the writings of Hosea, Joel, and Amos.

Let us now consider briefly some inferences which naturally follow from the truth under consideration.

And, first, with respect to the *matter* of the sacred writers. The law of harmony and adaptation pervades the realm of redemption, not less than that of nature. When a man was wanted to lead the Israelites out of Egypt, and to be the mediator through whom they should receive the divine law,

Moses was chosen, who had added to a mind thoroughly practical and juridical in its structure a twofold training: first, on the active side, by an education at Pharaoh's court in all the wisdom of Egypt; secondly, on the passive side, by a sojourn of forty years in the land of Midian, in the humble capacity of a shepherd. David, the man after God's own heart, whom he raised up to be the ruler of his people, had the natural endowments which fitted him to be a military commander, and to these was superadded a long and severe discipline during the reign of Saul. The man whom *God* placed on the throne of Israel had been thoroughly trained for the situation. It was not so with Absalom. *He* made a dash for the throne without any such preparation, and with a result familiar to all. The same great law of adaptation appears in the case of the inspired writers. There can be no doubt that Isaiah was prepared, as well by native endowments as by education, to be the recipient of those bright visions of the future glory of Zion which have been the stay and solace of her children through centuries of darkness and trial. Not less manifest is the adaptation of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, each to the work assigned him by the Divine Spirit. The Gospel of John is pre-eminently the gospel of of our Lord's person. The glorious revelations which it contains were received from God through the Saviour's personal teachings and the superadded illumination of the Holy Spirit, in accordance with his promise: "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you;"[1] "When he the Spirit of truth is come, he shall guide you into all the truth; for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he shall show you things to come. He shall glorify me; for he shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you."[2] But the other apostles enjoyed the same personal teachings of Christ, and had the same Holy Spirit. How is it that the Gospel of John moves in such a peculiar sphere of revelation? It cannot be explained simply from

[1] John xiv. 26. [2] John xvi. 13, 14.

the circumstances and wants of the churches at the time when John wrote. Doubtless, the apostle had respect to these; but how was he able to meet them in a way at once so original and so effective for all time? If one refer it to the sovereignty of the Divine Spirit, let him remember that his sovereignty is not arbitrariness. He works in harmony with the character of the men through whom he makes his revelations. The bosom disciple had from the beginning, as we may reasonably believe, listened with peculiar interest to those discourses of our Lord in which he unfolded the truth respecting his person and office as the Redeemer of the world. This was the part of the Saviour's teachings for which he had a special receptivity. They sank down into his memory; he pondered them long and earnestly; and now, in his old age, he was led by the Holy Ghost to record them, at a time when they were specially needed to counteract the errors of the false teachers. In a similar way might it be shown that the apostle Paul was wonderfully fitted by his native endowments, his education, and his early associations for the sphere of labor assigned to him by his divine Master. He had been a Pharisee, and he understood Jewish legalism as it lay in the minds of the Pharisees. When grace had delivered him from his error, and revealed to him the way of salvation through faith in Christ, his strong and acute logical mind and his education at the feet of Gamaliel found ample scope in unfolding the doctrine of justification by faith, and in defending the liberty of the Gentiles against those who sought to impose upon them the yoke of the Mosaic law. He did the work to which he was called thoroughly; and he did it, so far as the great principles of the gospel are concerned, for all coming generations. The plan of the Holy Ghost from the beginning was to employ each of the inspired writers in the sphere for which he was fitted. Revelation was not only progressive, but given in many parts (πολυμερῶς). Jesus Christ alone had the whole truth, withholding during his personal ministry only that part of it which his disciples were not yet prepared to re-

ceive.[1] To each of the apostles, as to each of the prophets before them, was assigned his measure of revelation. All that any one of them spoke or wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost was truth; but it was not the whole of the truth. The revelations given by each supplemented those received by all the rest; so that it is in *the sum of scripture* that we find its divine fulness and sufficiency.

Secondly, with respect to *style and diction*. The form and costume of a writer's thoughts is an outgrowth from the texture of his mind. So far as what he says is genuine and natural, it is the image of his inward personality. A page of Cicero is distinguished immediately from one of Tacitus, because each is instinct throughout with the writer's inward life — with his peculiar mode of thinking, reasoning, and describing. As long as Cicero remains Cicero, he must speak and write like Cicero, not like Tacitus. All this individuality inspiration leaves intact. It does not *imitate* it, nor *overbear* it, but *uses* it. Paul, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, speaks and writes like Paul, because he remains Paul in the inmost texture of his mind. And so it is with John and all the other sacred penmen. Hence appears the irrelevancy of the question, once discussed with so much warmth, whether the writers of the New Testament used pure Greek; as if the Holy Ghost were responsible for the classic character of their style, as well as for the great and mighty truths which he communicated through them to mankind. To go back, for a moment, to the Old Testament. The Aramaisms of Ezekiel and the other anomalies which appear in his writings came not from the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, but from the age and circumstances in which the prophet lived. It would be ridiculous, except in a purely philological respect, to raise any questions concerning the purity of Ezekiel's Hebrew as compared with that of the earlier writers — a thing about which the Divine Spirit does not concern himself. God took Ezekiel, with his Aramaisms and all his other peculiarities, and used him as the organ of

[1] John xvi. 12.

communication with his people. In the same way he took the writers of the New Testament, each with his individual culture in language, as in other respects. How far the style of the New Testament conforms to the classic standard of purity, or how far it departs from it, is a matter of philological, not of theological interest.

The *obscurity of style* which belongs to some of the sacred penmen is to be explained by the same comprehensive principle. We refer not now to difficulties of interpretation extrinsic to the writer's mode of presentation, — such, namely, as arise from the nature of the themes discussed, or such as have their ground in ignorance of the meaning of the terms employed by him, or in allusion to unknown usages or events of history. Over and above such extrinsic difficulties, there are those which may properly be called intrinsic to the style itself. No one, probably, will deny that obscurities of this kind belong to Hosea, for example, under the Old Testament, and Paul, under the New. Keil, having ascribed to Hosea a style "highly poetical, rich in bold and strong images, full of power in thoughts and beauty in presentation," adds that he is, nevertheless, "often abrupt, leaping from one image to another, and not free from difficulties and obscurities"[1]; a quality of style which Jerome sums up in the words: "Osee commaticus est et quasi per sententias loquens"[2] — "Hosea's discourse is broken up into short clauses, and he speaks, as it were, by maxims." That the main difficulties connected with Paul's writings grow out of the nature of the themes discussed by him is freely conceded. But, beyond these, there are obscurities belonging properly to his style; as when, for example, he pauses in the midst of a sentence to introduce and amplify a parenthetic thought, sometimes never returning to complete it in regular grammatical form. We need not ascribe such peculiarities of style to the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit, as if he had dictated to Hosea in Hosea's abrupt and sententious style, and to Paul in his peculiar discursive style, parentheses and all. No.

[1] Introduction to the Old Testament, § 82. [2] Praef. in xii. Proph.

The prophet and the apostle, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, wrote each in the style that belonged to him as an individual. Undoubtedly each had a peculiar fitness for the work to which he was called; but this fitness lay in the sum of his qualifications, rather than in his separate individualities taken one by one. It would be a superfluous inquiry whether the involved style in which the great apostle of the Gentiles sometimes wrote was *per se* an excellence, and as such constituted one of his special qualifications. It belonged, rather, to the very texture of his mind. A man of such rapidity and compass of thought, of such compactness and depth of argument, cannot be followed without much earnest and vigorous thinking. Had the ordering of the matter been left to some modern preachers, doubtless we should have had epistles in a very different style, and of a very different character. Instead of a giant striding along the Andes, stepping only on the highest peaks, and summoning the world to follow as fast and as well as it could, we should have had a very gentle pedagogue, carefully leading his pupils along, step by step, and pausing to cut up every little bush that grew in the path, lest it should hurt their feet or tear their clothes. The grand object would have been not to elicit hard thinking, but to supersede its necessity. But the foolishness of God is wiser than man. It was his pleasure that the apostle Paul should be a man whom none but earnest thinkers could follow in all his reasonings. He took him, if not *for* the above-named peculiarity of his style, yet certainly *with* it, as inseparably belonging to his mental constitution; foreseeing that, on the broad scale, it would be no detriment to the cause of divine truth.[1]

[1] A friend has suggested as a pertinent illustration of the powerlessness of exact definitions to exclude scepticism, the scriptural utterances respecting the eternal punishment of the wicked. These are as explicit and unambiguous as we can well conceive them to have been made. Yet we find men continually calling into question the truth of the doctrine on *a priori* grounds. They first assume that it cannot be consistent with the divine goodness, and then set themselves resolutely at work to explain away the declarations of God's word upon

3. A third limitation which the Divine Spirit has prescribed to himself relates to *unessential circumstances*; such, for example, as the exact chronological order of events, and various details connected with the truths revealed. We do not mean that such matters are left to chance. They come within the purview of the Omniscient Spirit, and, so far as needful, are defined with accuracy. But it has pleased him to leave them oftentimes undetermined; because, as we may reverently suppose, he saw that this was best for the general interests of truth. If, for example, we compare the three synoptic Gospels with each other and with the fourth Gospel, we find that no one author professes to give a complete history of our Lord's life, or to arrange all the incidents which he relates in the exact order of time. Under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, each one pursues his own course, independently of the others, here inserting what one or more of the rest have omitted, or omitting what one or more of them have inserted. Sometimes the order of time is exactly indicated; at other times it is left indefinite, with only some general prefatory remark — "At that time," "and he began again," "and it came to pass," etc. Hence, in the attempt to exhibit in chronological order the entire text of the four Gospels arranged in parallel columns, the harmonist often finds himself baffled. It is certain that the evangelists do not always follow the exact order of time, and it is sometimes impossible to decide between the different arrangements of events in their records. A notable example of this we have in the Sermon on the Mount. The identity of the discourse as recorded by Matthew and Luke must be admitted as a fact raised above reasonable doubt.[1] Yet Matthew inserts it almost at the beginning of his account of

which it rests. Simplicity and perspicuity are good in their place; but men need something deeper than these as a basis for true faith; namely, the "honest and good heart," which the Saviour makes the indispensable condition of spiritual fruitfulness.

[1] See on this point Robinson's Harmony of the Gospels, notes to § 41. Tholuck, Bergpredigt, Einleitung, § 1. Andrew's Life of our Lord, pp. 247–253; Alford, Wordsworth, and the commentators generally in loco.

our Lord's ministry; with prefatory words, however, from which we gather that Jesus, before its delivery, "went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people."[1] Luke, on the contrary, informs us that it was delivered immediately after the choice of the twelve apostles, thus assigning to it its proper place in the order of events.[2] This one instance may stand as a representative of the indefiniteness which often appears in the evangelic narratives in respect to the chronological sequence of events. With regard to the four narratives of the resurrection, Alford remarks, with much justice: "*Supposing us to be acquainted with everything said and done, in its order and exactness, we should doubtless be able to reconcile, or account for, the present forms of the narratives;* but not having this key to the harmonizing of them, all attempts to do so in minute particulars must be full of arbitrary assumptions, and carry no certainty with them."[3]

What is true of the chronological order of events holds good, also, in respect to various *historic incidents.* The Sermon on the Mount (its identity in the two evangelic narratives being assumed) affords here, also, a pertinent example. Matthew, after mentioning the multitudes that followed the Saviour "from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judaea, and from beyond Jordan," simply adds that, "seeing the multitudes, he went up into the mountain; and when he was set, his disciples came to him."[4] Luke informs us that "he went out into the mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God"; that in the morning he chose the twelve apostles, of whom the names are given; that then he came down with them, and stood on a level place,[5] where,

[1] Matt. iv. 23 seq. [2] Luke vi. 12 seq.

[3] Commentary on Matt. xxviii. 1–10. [4] Matt. iv. 23 seq.

[5] Ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, the exact rendering of which words is: *upon a level place,* not: *upon the plain,* for which sense the article would have been required, as in the Sept. version of Deut. iv. 43, ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ πεδινῇ, that is, *in the plateau,* that namely, east of the Jordan; and Josh. ix. 1, ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ, *in the plain* of the Mediterranean. The words do not necessarily imply that the Saviour descended

surrounded by great multitudes, he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said: "Blessed be ye poor," etc.[1] We see here how one evangelist omits incidents carefully detailed by the other. Another striking illustration is furnished by the three notices of the robbers who were crucified with Jesus. Matthew, after describing the mocking to which our Saviour was subjected by the bystanders, adds that "the robbers who were crucified with him reviled him after the same manner";[2] Mark, that "they who were crucified with him reviled him."[3] But Luke informs us that while one mocked, the other prayed.[4] Now, whichever of the proffered explanations we adopt here, the difference in the details of the narrative remains. We may say that Matthew and Mark use the so-called *plural of category*, referring not to the number, but to the class.[5] But, had we not Luke's account, the impression would be left on our minds that both of the malefactors reviled the Saviour. Or, we may say (without any warrant, however, from the evangelic narratives) "that at first *both* the malefactors railed on him; but afterwards one of them (Luke xxiii. 40), moved by the prodigies which he saw (the darkness and the earthquake, etc.), was penitent, and rebuked the other."[6] Or, we may assume, with Alford, that neither Matthew nor Mark is in possession of the more particular account given by Luke."[7] Upon either mode of explanation it must be admitted that

to the plain country lying at the foot of the mountain. We do not, however, stake the truthfulness of the two narratives on this, or any other particular solution of the apparent discrepancy between Matthew and Luke.

[1] Luke vi. 12 seq.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 44.

[3] Mark xv. 32.

[4] Luke xxiii. 39–43.

[5] So Augustine, De Consensu Evang. iii. 16: "Matthaeum et Marcum, breviter perstimgentes hunc locum, pluralem numerum pro singulari posuisse"; Ambrose, Expositio Evang. Luc. Lib. x. 122: "Potuit etiam de uno pluraliter dicere"; Jerome on Matt. xxvii. 44: "Hic per tropum qui appellatur σύλληψις, pro uno latrone uterque inducitur blasphemasse." Though each of these writers gives also as an alternative the explanation next referred to.

[6] Wordsworth on Matt. xxvii. 44, following the language of Jerome.

[7] Alford on Matt. xxvii. 44.

the Holy Spirit was not careful to secure agreement in the letter of the narrative. We add one more illustration drawn from the account given in the three synoptic Gospels of the miracle performed by our Lord in the vicinity of Jericho. According to Matthew, as Jesus with his disciples and the accompanying multitude was departing from Jericho, two blind men, sitting by the wayside, heard that he was passing by, applied to him for help, and were healed.[1] Mark, like Matthew, states that the miracle was performed as Jesus was departing from Jericho, but names only one blind man, Bartimeus, the son of Timaeus.[2] Luke agrees with Mark in the mention of a single blind man, but says that the event occurred as Jesus was coming nigh to Jericho.[3] We assume the identity of the miracle in all three of the narratives, although it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark that concerning the identity of the transaction as recorded by Mark and Luke there can be no reasonable doubt. That the miracle took place in the vicinity of Jericho all three writers are agreed. But the two former record it as having been performed when Jesus was departing from Jericho; the latter, when he was entering that city. For reconciling the letter of the narratives various hypotheses have been proposed. Augustine assumes *two* miracles, — one upon our Saviour's entrance into Jericho; the other, upon his departure from the place.[4] Calvin promptly rejects this hypothesis, and proposes the following solution of the difficulty: "My conjecture is, that, when Christ was approaching the city, a blind man called to him; but that, when he could not be heard on account of the tumult, he sat down by the wayside at the egress of the city, and then, at length, was

[1] Matt. xx. 29–34.

[2] Mark x. 46–52.

[3] Luke xviii. 35–43. His words are: Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ; and, in accordance with this statement, after recording the miracle, he adds (xix. 1), that Jesus "entered and passed through Jericho." Here are all the marks of circumstantial accuracy.

[4] "Duo similia similiterque miracula fecisse Jesum." — De consensu Evang., Lib. iii. 126 [LXV.]

called by Christ. Thus Luke, starting from the true beginning, does not follow out the narrative, but passes over Christ's sojourn in the city. But the other two [evangelists] mention only the time which was nearest to the miracle. It is a probable conjecture that Christ, inasmuch as he often delayed answering men's prayers for a season that he might try their faith, employed the same test with this blind man."[1] We leave it to the reader's judgment to decide whether such artificial attempts at reconciliation do not involve greater difficulties than those which they are intended to remove; and whether it is not more probable that in such unessential matters the Holy Spirit saw good to leave the evangelic narratives to the ordinary law of authentic history where different independent writers describe the same events. This law, as all know, is substantial agreement, with variety in details.

In considering the question of plenary inspiration, we should have primary reference to the *end* which it has in view, rather than to the *particular way* in which it accomplishes that end. The end of inspiration is, as we have seen, to give men a divinely authorized and infallible rule of faith and practice. The scriptures are plenarily inspired, because they come to us with the full authority of God, and contain a revelation made under the full illumination and guidance of the Holy Ghost, and therefore free from all mixture of error. While the revelation itself was immediately from God, everything connected with it, and with the record of it, came under God's superintendence. If the sacred writers, under the inspiration of the Spirit, were left free to use each one his own peculiar diction and mode of reasoning, that freedom was itself a part of the divine plan. If, in recording the same transaction, two or more of the evangelists, writing independently of each other, have used variety of details, sometimes amounting to discrepancies, which we find it

[1] In Harmoniam Evang., in loco. We are unable to say whether this explanation (which Wordsworth follows for substance, so far as the place of the miracle is concerned) is, or is not, original with Calvin.

difficult to harmonize with each other in any satisfactory manner, this too was wisely permitted by the omniscient Spirit; nor does it derogate in the least from the full authority of scripture. The variety in incidental matters and the uniformity of substance and spirit are both comprehended in the divine plan for giving to men a revelation of God's will. In this we have a guarantee that no discrepancy can exist which shall be detrimental to the truth; all the limitations connected with the inspiration of the record being such as the Holy Spirit has, for wise reasons, prescribed to himself. In truth, we may say of these discrepancies, real or alleged, as has been said of the "various readings" of the sacred text, that, taken altogether, they neither mar the heavenly system of doctrines and duties contained in the Bible, nor even dim its brightness.

It might seem to us very desirable that we should have an immaculate text, in which we might know with absolute certainty that every word and letter was just as the sacred penman wrote it. In like manner, it might be the judgment of human wisdom that all the parts of a revelation from God should be nicely adjusted to each other, not only in their substance and scope, but also in the minute details of time, place, and historic circumstances; so that there should be no perplexing questions left for our solution. But in neither of these two respects has the wisdom of God conformed itself to what we might think expedient. We have no absolutely pure text, but are compelled to make the nearest possible approximation to it by the laborious collation of manuscripts and versions; always, however, with the cheering assurance that the "various readings" of the sacred text neither change nor obscure a single doctrine or duty of Christianity. So, also, in comparing the different evangelic narratives, we find a glorious harmony in their spirit and doctrine in "all things that pertain unto life and godliness," but a noble negligence in details that lie without their proper scope and office. In this way, the wisdom of God has guarded us against the error of exalting the letter of the

gospel above its spirit — a species of *formalism* into which some good men fall who are very earnest in their protestations against formalism in other spheres. There are, for example, theologians who contend earnestly (and, as we think, justly) against the claim of any particular form of church polity to be of divine right, and against the claim of a particular form of administering baptism as essential to its validity, who yet denounce in severe terms all who do not adopt their theory of verbal inspiration, as if they rejected the substance itself of the doctrine that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God." Thus, in their denunciation of formalism in some spheres and their unconscious maintenance of it in other, they illustrate the inconsistency of error.

4. The last limitation which we notice has respect to the *amount of light* which it has pleased the Divine Spirit to give us in the holy scriptures. The light of supernatural revelation, from its first dawn in Eden to the close of the sacred canon, was "as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." But the "perfect" day of revelation is relative, not absolute. Doubtless there are oceans of divine truth which remain hidden from our view, partly because flesh and blood could not bear the disclosure, and partly because the premature communication of it would hinder, not help us in the divine life. In the scriptures God has given us "all things that pertain unto life and godliness," not all things which might minister nutriment to a vain and prurient curiosity. The reserve, for example, which God has maintained in his revelations concerning the *world of spirits*, is worthy of special notice. We learn from the Bible that there is such a world, embracing innumerable spirits, good and bad, of different orders, and that they stand in an intimate relation to us; the bad tempting us, and the good ministering to us. But on the particular question whether the spirits of our departed friends are present with us, and can minister to our wants, they maintain a solemn silence — a silence which the folly of man has in all ages

been endeavoring to break, and always with the same disastrous results. Here God's manner of treating the subject is in harmony with human nature, and modern spiritualism (which is only another form of ancient necromancy) is at war with it. We have, inclosed in our body of flesh and blood, a higher form of being, which is destined one day to unfold itself in a normal way, and which, when clothed with its perfect spiritual body, will be "equal to the angels" — able to see and hold converse with Gabriel face to face; able, if necessary, to encounter and withstand evil angels personally, as Michael did Satan. But here in the flesh we cannot bear the excitement of a conscious personal communion with spirits; nor is such a communion needful for us. God has given us in his word all the light we need respecting the spiritual world, respecting our duty here, and respecting our destiny here and hereafter. God's word, God's Spirit, and God's providence — these three constitute a perfect directory of faith and practice. Unbelief alone can incline us to seek another guide. To turn away from God's word to the spirits of the dead is rebellion and folly. It is to pursue a wrong end in a wrong way. Unhealthy excitement, the rejection of God's word, and the unsettling of all fundamental principles of faith and practice — these are the natural results of the doctrine; and of its followers we may say; "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind."[1] We may take, for another illustration, the *sphere of prophecy.* "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God." This is the key-note of prophecy. The veil is lifted enough to show us a mighty conflict between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, reaching from century to century; the consummation of which is to be the triumph of Christ and his cause. In the system of prophecy the grand salient points of the future stand out in bold relief. But they are not given after the manner of a map, with its scale of miles, so that we can accurately measure the distance from one event to another. The repre-

[1] See in Appendix, note B.

sentation is rather that of mountains rising magnificently on the distant horizon, with no clear indication of the intervening valleys. There are, it is true, some prophecies (like those of Daniel and the Apocalypse) in which the representation gives an orderly succession of events, with their signature of months and weeks and years. But even here the wisdom of God has hitherto baffled all attempts to construct out of them an *almanac of the future*. Uncertainty rests, by divine appointment, either upon the nature of the symbolism with its signatures of time and number, or upon the *terminus a quo* of an event, or upon the *terminus ad quem*, or upon all these elements of interpretation. The prophecies minister consolation to faith, but not satisfaction to curiosity. We believe that at "the time of the end" all will be made plain. But every attempt to anticipate the interpretation of God's providence must necessarily prove abortive.

The diligent student of scripture must be profoundly impressed with the fact that God with whom a thousand years are as one day makes but little account of the bare element of time, and is very sparing in his revelations to men concerning times and seasons. When the disciples asked our Lord, just before his ascension: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" he answered: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power"; and directed their thoughts to the work appointed them to perform.[1] A like reserve is maintained in the New Testament respecting the time of his second coming. There are some passages in the epistles which make upon the reader's mind the impression that the apostles themselves expected the Lord's advent before their generation should have passed away.[2] Nor is there anything in this that ought to offend the devout be-

[1] Acts i. 6–8.

[2] See particularly 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52; 1 Thess. iv. 15–17. The expectation probably had its ground in the interpretation of our Lord's words, Matt. xxiv. 34, as having exclusive reference to the end of the world.

liever. They had received no revelation on the subject, and it is not probable that they conceived of that grand event as removed tens of centuries from their day. It was a part of the divine plan that they should be left to the common expectations of their day — expectations to be corrected by the course of history. Only when the occasion required, Paul was illuminated to reveal the fact that a great apostasy must first take place.[1] Nineteen centuries have nearly run their course since the time when our Lord was received up into heaven; yet the church still awaits his return in glory, "with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God." The grand event is certain. The time is hidden alike from men and angels, and all curious computations for the purpose of determining it are worse than useless. They turn away men's thoughts from the substance of divine revelation to non-essential matters "which minister questions, rather than the edification of God which is in faith."[2]

We propose, in a closing Article, to consider the *quotations of the New Testament* in their relation to the question of inspiration.

APPENDIX.

Note A.

We add a few remarks respecting some points on which the Bible has been supposed to be at variance with the results of modern science.

I. The Mosaic Six Days of Creation. The author's views respecting these are given at large in his two Articles, entitled, *The Mosaic Narrative of the Creation*,[3] and, *The Mosaic Six Days and Geology*.[4] He simply calls the reader's attention here to the contrast in the *ends* proposed by the scriptural narrator and the geologist, and the corresponding contrast

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 3 seq.

[2] 1 Tim. i. 4, according to the common text. The more approved reading: *the dispensation* (οἰκονομίαν) *of God which is in faith;* that is, the gospel dispensation which has faith for its sphere, gives the same truth, so far as our present use of the text is concerned. For whatever ministers to the advancement of the economy of grace ministers also to the edification of the believers included under it.

[3] Bibliotheca Sacra for 1856, pp. 743–789. [4] Ibid. for 1857, pp. 61–98.

in the *manner* of procedure. The end of the scriptural narrator is to exhibit in bold outline the six grand processes of creation ending in the present order of things as a foundation for the divine institution of the Sabbath — six days of labor and one of rest. The geologist's end is to give a history of the successive changes by which the earth has been brought to its present condition, with an account of the vegetable and animal life belonging to each period. In the manner of procedure each conforms himself strictly to his proposed end. The sacred writer gives each of the grand processes, *in its idea and once for all, as the effect of divine power*. Whether he assigns it to the day on which it was *begun*, or to that on which it had its *culminating development*, is a question open to scientific inquiry. The geologist, on the other hand, describes each process *in its second causes and details*, as far as data are furnished him in the silent record of past geological ages. This contrast will appear more clearly if we look at a few particulars. The divine fiat: "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear," gives once for all, in its entireness, the grand principle of a division between the waters and the dry land. It is as if God had said: Let this order of things come into being. It was one of the two grand features of the third day's work, and to that day it is assigned. We are not, however, to infer that no changes in the relative position of land and water took place afterwards. We know that such changes were very numerous; but, being only the continuation of the idea contained in the original fiat, it did not come within the plan of the sacred penman to notice them in detail. The geologist, on the other hand, aims to give, as far as possible, a history of these changes in their regular succession.

Take another example. The introduction of the vegetable world in its three grand divisions belongs to the same third day. It is all given at once, as an organic whole. So far as the truth of the sacred record is concerned, it would be a vain question whether *grass*, *herbs*, and *fruit-trees* came into being simultaneously. All three belong to one idea, that of vegetable life; and all three are given together as the constituent elements of that idea. Just so the sacred writer proceeds in his account of the introduction of the animal kingdom; only that here the marine animals and birds belong to the fifth day, the land animals and man to the sixth. But the geologist, in accordance with his plan, endeavors to give in detail the history of the different orders of plants and animals, as they appeared, one after another, in the successive geologic ages.

We have here a satisfactory answer to the objection sometimes urged against the Mosaic narrative that the writer manifestly refers to the *existing orders* of plants and animals, and to these alone. That he refers to the existing orders of organic life is evident. And he does so rightfully; for they are, as we have seen, included, as parts of a grand whole, in the Mosaic account of creation. If, as seems probable, he refers to the

existing orders alone, the simple inference is, that he does not know all that was included in the divine idea when God called into being the vegetable and animal kingdoms. This may be freely conceded; for it has its perfect counterpart in prophecy. How little could our first parents know of the deep meaning contained in the original promise: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"! And how little can we know of the process of the final judgment, when "every one of us shall give account of himself to God!"

II. Scriptural Chronology. The chronology of the Bible involves some very difficult questions. In the genealogical tables contained in the fifth and eleventh chapters of the Book of Genesis the texts of the Masoretic Hebrew (which is, of course, followed in our version), of the Hebrew-Samaritan, and of the Septuagint, differ in a remarkable manner. For the details, the reader must consult the treatises devoted to this subject; we give only the final result. The Septuagint makes the period from the creation of Adam to the deluge, 2262 years (according to the Vatican manuscript, 2242 years); the Masoretic text, 1656 years; the Samaritan-Hebrew, 1307 years. From Noah to Abraham, again, the Septuagint and Samaritan-Hebrew give a much longer period than the Masoretic text — the Samaritan-Hebrew 650 years in excess; the Septuagint, 880 years. We dismiss the subject with the general remark that any uncertainty which may rest on the details of numbers in the Pentateuch (and occasionally elsewhere) ought not to affect our confidence in the record as a whole; for here, as is well-known, there is a peculiar liability to variations.

III. The Longevity of the Antediluvian Patriarchs. This was well nigh tenfold the present term of life for robust and healthful men. The laws of physiology require us to assume that, before the flood, the period of childhood and youth was protracted in a corresponding manner; and that, after this catastrophe, the whole process of human life began to be gradually quickened, — to run its course from infancy to old age in a shorter time, — till the age of man was at last reduced to its present measure. This result God accomplished, as he does so many of his other operations within the sphere of nature, in a secret and invisible way; whether by immediately touching man's physical nature in its inmost recesses, or by the influence of natural causes, we cannot say.

IV. The Antiquity of Man. Some modern writers have assigned to the human race a very high antiquity. From what has already been said concerning the uncertainty of the early chronological tables contained in the Book of Genesis, it is plain that we may, if the evidence be furnished, assume that man has been in existence more than six thousand years; perhaps, in accordance with the chronology of the Septuagint, more than seven thousand years. But the arguments adduced to carry his existence

back a hundred thousand years or more rest only on uncertain data. The most that can be made out with probability is that man was coeval with some of the extinct mammals. On this species of evidence, Prestwich, as quoted by Dana,[1] remarks that, "as it at present stands, it does not seem to me to necessitate the carrying of man back in past time, so much as the bringing forward of the extinct animals towards our own time." As to the argument from the present rate of deposition of geological strata, it is at best uncertain; and it is still further invalidated by the fact, now well established, that various parts of the earth's surface are at present in process of slow elevation or depression. We hold ourselves ready to accept the certain results of scientific investigation, but not the crude inferences of scientific men, whether advanced in the interest of unbelief or of high orthodoxy. It is certain that the scriptural narrative is occupied with an account of the Adamic race, and of God's dealings with it. It will be time enough to assume the existence of a pre-Adamic race, when cogent grounds for so doing shall appear.

V. The Unity of the Human Race is assumed in scripture. Some modern scientific men have denied this; but their arguments are theoretic, rather than demonstrative, and do not amount to proof. We must remember, moreover, that man lives under a supernatural dispensation. The narrative in the eleventh chapter of Genesis seems to imply that God interposed in a supernatural way to confound human speech. In like manner he may have interposed in a secret way to produce or intensify the diversity of types in the human race. It does not appear, however, on physiological grounds, necessary to assume any such immediate interposition. The question of the origin of varieties in the same species is involved in obscurity. We leave it among the inscrutable things concerning which dogmatism is very inappropriate, certainly at the present stage of scientific investigation.

Note B.

Respecting the commerce with the spirits of the dead to which modern spiritualists lay claim, a few additional remarks may be in place. It is especially important that the preacher of the gospel plant himself on no lower or narrower platform than that which the scriptures themselves furnish. They do not deny the reality of witchcraft (of which necromancy is a prominent part); but they forbid witchcraft, as they do every form of divination, because its immediate influence is to transfer men's supreme love and trust from the living God to created spirits, whether demons or the souls of the dead: "When they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter; should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?"[2] This is

[1] Manual of Geology (edition of 1867), p. 582. [2] Isa. viii. 19.

the language of inspiration. The modern "medium" answers to the ancient wizard or witch that had a "familiar spirit." That there are various modifications in the machinery of the system of spiritualism, as compared with ancient necromancy, is freely conceded. But for substance, both are the same; and both are to be rejected with abhorrence, on the same ground, by all who acknowledge God's word as an infallible and sufficient rule of faith and practice. The preacher may believe that spiritualism is all jugglery and legerdemain. But when he condemns it on this ground alone, he relinquishes the high vantage ground on which it is both his privilege and his duty to stand. Let him, as far as he is able, expose the cheats of spiritualist manipulators. But let him also demonstrate to his people that whatsoever reality any one may claim for the system is only claiming reality for witchcraft. If it be impossible to reclaim those who have gone through the gateway of spiritualism into practical infidelity — the rejection of God's word, if not wholly, yet as an *infallible* and *sufficient* rule of faith and practice, — he may at least hope to save some from entering that gateway.

ARTICLE V.

INFANT BAPTISM AND A REGENERATED CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP IRRECONCILABLE.

BY REV. W. H. H. MARSH, WILMINGTON, DEL.

Two remarkable Articles on the subject of Infant Church-membership appeared during the past year — the first, in the "Methodist Quarterly Review" for January, from the pen of the late Rev. B. H. Nadal, D.D., Professor in the Drew Theological Seminary, New Jersey, entitled, "The Logic of Infant Church-membership"; and the second in the Bibliotheca Sacra" for April, written by the Rev. Lewis Grout, formerly missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., entitled, "The Church-membership of Baptized Children." The appearance of these two Articles on the same topic, in two prominent and widely circulated quarterlies, written by men (members of large, influential, and growing denominations) who, in all probability, knew nothing of each other's views on the subject, and who reached their conclusions by indepen-

dent investigation, is, we say, remarkable. The coincidence in time, in argument, and in the main conclusion, is striking.

We are aware that Dr. Nadal and Mr. Grout do not speak for the denomination they respectively represent. We do not believe the majority, nor even a large minority, of the Methodists would accept Dr. Nadal's conclusion. In fact, the editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, in a foot-note at the close of his Article, says: "We insert the above Article in cordial respect for the eminent character of the lamented writer, and not from any coincidence with his views." As for our Congregational brethren, neither do we think a large proportion of them are prepared to accept the position stated and defended by Mr. Grout. Yet we cannot but regard the nearly simultaneous appearance of these two Articles, — one in January, and the other in April of the same year, — as a most significant fact. They appear as the views of individuals, it is true, and their authors alone are responsible for the presentation and advocacy of those views before the religious public; still, we regard their authors as representative of a class, more or less numerous, among our Paedobaptist brethren, who are *thinking* deeply on the question relative to the *status* of baptized children, and who are not satisfied with the present indefiniteness. The significance, therefore, we attribute to the Articles we have referred to is, that they indicate most decidedly a state of uncertainty, and hence of unrest and dissatisfaction, in the minds of many Paedobaptists on the relation of baptized children to the church. That there exists this feeling of indefiniteness on the subject, Mr. Grout concedes at the outset, and evidently he designs his Article to be a contribution toward the solution of this pressing and perplexing problem.[1] He finds the opinions of many of the "clergy and laity vague and diversified" respecting it. He says:

[1] Mr. Douglass, an English Paedobaptist Non-conformist, in his racy, and eminently suggestive volume, entitled, "The Pastor and his People," in the chapter on "Uses of Infant Baptism," corroborates what Mr. Grout asserts. Mr. Douglass, it should be noticed, speaks for England, and Mr. Grout for America. They state the same fact: "Not one in a hundred can tell you any-

"Some will admit that they belong to the church, yet seem to doubt or deny that the church belongs at all to them; that is, the church has a claim upon the children and an interest in them, but the children have as yet no interest or place in the church. Some hold that they are in the church, yet not of it; as though to be in it in any sense worthy of the name is not to be of it. Not a few seem to regard them as neither in it nor out of it, but as occupying some sort of middle ground; as though this were either scriptural or tenable." He continues: "On this point [the relation of baptized children to the church] our Congregational churches, many of them, — at least many members in most of them, — have departed from the teachings of the divine word, from the faith and practice of the primitive church, from the faith and practice of the Puritan fathers, and from the faith, at least, of other branches of the catholic church of the present age; the Baptists alone excepted."

To what extent this vagueness of conception of which Mr. Grout complains exists among Congregationalists, and others as well, we have no means of determining; but evidently among Congregationalists it must be considerable; for he says: "Inquiring of one and another as to their thoughts on this subject, what they believe to be the proper ecclesiastical standing of baptized children, — whether they belong to the church, are in it and of it, or out of it, or where they are, — the writer has been somewhat surprised at the variety of views that prevail, even among those who are supposed to be of the same general faith in respect to the duty and import of infant baptism." Evidently, he regards it as somewhat wide-spread, and that his opinion might not be conjectural, he made inquiry, in order that he might form an intelligent judgment. We most naturally infer that Mr. Grout did not make inquiry of the masses, but rather

thing about the matter. They comply with the custom; may consider it decorous, respectable and religious, but that is all" (p. 164). Again, in the same chapter, he says: "Generally speaking, the members of our churches cannot see that infant baptism is of any use whatever. They comply with it from custom, but not one in a thousand can tell you the *cui bono* of the matter."

of pastors of churches, of the more prominent and intelligent laymen, and of professors in colleges and theological seminaries, with whom, as a "returned missionary," he would be most frequently brought in contact. If, then, as we suppose, in such circles be found a variety of views prevailing, — signs of hesitancy and want of definiteness, — it is highly probable those of the masses are not more definite. As for ourselves, we have long been satisfied that what Mr. Grout affirms of Congregationalists is more or less true of our evangelical Paedobaptist brethren generally. We have encountered the same thing when conversing with ministers and laymen among them on this subject. The question of the relationship of baptized children to the church, and the suggestion of difficulties that must arise in any attempt to reconcile the retention of infant baptism with the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership, has always been perplexing. This, as is well known, is persistently pressed by Baptists, and we believe our Paedobaptist brethren must feel its force more and more. It has been repeatedly said, infant baptism is declining. Mr. Grout makes a reference to this opinion, in the early portion of his Article, and attributes it to the "doubts, errors, and haziness of sentiment" prevailing as to the relation which infants sustain to the church. How far infant baptism may have declined, we do not know; but statistics,[1] and the passage occasionally of a resolution by an ecclesiastical body, censuring its neglect, and urging its observance, indicate its decline. As a Baptist, however, I have never regarded this decline as arising so much from the spread of the conviction among our Paedobaptist brethren that infant baptism is unscriptural (though there is something of this, and it is increasing), as from a want of clearness of definition of its significancy, and the relation the baptized child sustains to the church. *The neglect, so far as it exists, arises, we believe, more from difficulties felt within, than from the pressure of Baptists from without.* The reasons urged in defence of the retention of infant baptism are not

[1] See foot-note in Madison Avenue Lectures, p. 181.

uniform; one author denying what another affirms; and the two Articles we now have before us afford sufficient proof of the existence of conflicting views respecting the relation of baptized children to the visible church. Such being the fact, it is not strange that Mr. Grout found, as the the result of his inquiries, a "variety of views" that surprised him, or that Baptists should discover in statistics evidence of the decline of infant baptism. If such "haziness of sentiment" as Mr. Grout asserts exist, the neglect of infant baptism must follow as a necessity.

Believing, therefore, that among evangelical Paedobaptists the baptism of infants is being neglected in consequence of "haziness of vision" as to its reasons and significancy, we have thought the time nearing when they must re-examine the whole question, and make either more or less of it — state its utility, and define the relation of the baptized child to the church, or else reject the baptism of children altogether, and accept the Baptists' position as to the proper subject of the ordinance as the exponent of the theory and fact of the New Testament. Mr. Grout has reached the same conclusion, and is glad that the crisis is approaching. He says: "Nor, again, do we think it among the least hopeful signs of the times pertaining to this point that so many are coming to be dissatisfied with the present state of the question. If we mistake not, the opinion is beginning to prevail that we as Congregationalists must take up this subject anew; that both the clergy and the laity must think it through from end to end, and come to some conclusion less crude, more positive, definite, and consistent; that we must go either backward or forward, if we would ever hope to set our feet on solid ground." This conclusion is as correct as it is emphatic. Infant baptism means something or nothing. If something, let it be decided by its advocates *what;* if nothing, they should abandon it. The baptized child sustains such a relation to the church as the unbaptized child does not, and is in virtue of its baptism entitled to such privileges as an unbaptized child is not. If so, let that relation be decided, let

those privileges be defined. If the baptized child enters not into a relation to the church, and is not entitled to certain privileges denied the unbaptized child, does not its baptism degenerate into a *religious farce?* Mr. Grout is right in his conclusion, when he says: "We must go either backward or forward, if we would ever hope to set our feet on solid ground." The definition of this relation, and of its consequent privileges, is the object at which both Mr. Grout and Dr. Nadal aim.

As already stated, both lay down the same proposition. They both affirm that baptized children are members of the church. Dr. Nadal says: "We claim that infant church-membership is a principle common to all three of the Bible dispensations of religion"—the patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian. Mr. Grout says: "Baptized children are truly members of the church." This, however, was not always his opinion; for he continues: "Indeed, few are likely to be further from it than he was when first led, not long since, to take up the subject and give it more than ordinary attention. But every step in the investigation served only to lead him to the conviction here avowed, that the children of whom we speak are really and truly in the church and members of it." The current phrase, "children of the church," is not strong enough to express his conception of the relation. He objects to it as both defective and dangerous. This he sees in the fact that it gives but a partial representation of their relation. It does not give prominence to the idea of "*membership in the church.*" He says: "We may call them infant members, minor members, or members in minority, if we will; only say not that a membership of this kind is imaginary, absurd, or worthless; but rather *bona fide*, most real, and of blessed import." What he means by the church-membership of baptized children he thus fully states: "The membership we claim for those of whom we speak is more than hereditary, nominal, or honorary. The baptized child is brought *into* the church, and sealed and made a member of it, in a higher sense, for other

purposes, and in an other mode than can find a parallel or perfect illustration in any natural birth, civil code, or ceremonial law — brought in, made and sealed a member through divine direction, by divine authority, by virtue of having the initiatory ordinance, the rite of baptism, administered to him, on the ground of the parents' faith and covenant, and to the end that he may be guarded from evil, nurtured in holiness, be trained for service, and be prepared for the kingdom of heaven. The children of God's believing people may be so matriculated, so enrolled and incorporated into his church as to be 'no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,' even before they are able and qualified in all respects to have part in those higher duties and privileges of which adult believers are prepared to partake." These statements have the merit of clearness and distinctness.

The arguments on which both writers rely are substantially the same. Mr. Grout, however, presents them more fully than Dr. Nadal, pressing into service inferential arguments based on passages in the Epistles, to which Dr. Nadal does not refer, but which he no doubt would have accepted as furnishing additional support for their common position. It is no part of our object to state the arguments on which they rely for the purpose of refuting them; for a Baptist cares nothing for the merit of the argument in favor of the church-membership of baptized children, inasmuch as he objects to the baptism of children as itself unscriptural. Suffice, therefore, for us to say that the chief reliance of both is on the assumed identity of the patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations; and hence, being identical, as children were by circumcision made members of what they term the patriarchal and Mosaic churches, so, baptism having taken the place of circumcision, infants receiving baptism become thereby members of the Christian church. Dr. Nadal thus sums up the argument drawn from this source: "If the covenant of God with his church is one in all ages, and if infants were admitted into the church under the patriarchal

and Mosaic dispensations of that covenant, then, unless it is clearly forbidden under the Christian dispensation of the same covenant, the inference is irresistible that they must be admitted under the Christian dispensation. Why not? The covenant is the same, and the dispensation freer and more extended. Shall we establish a narrower policy under a broader dispensation, and in the very act of conferring privileges upon all nations take them away from a class that always enjoyed them?" Dr. Nadal urges other reasons. He at once illustrates and argues that, as the allegiance of the parents to the state binds their children and all their temporal interests to the state, so does the professed allegiance of the parents bind their children to the church in a like relation for the same reason. "And, as in the one case the child is brought in a real and vital political union with the state, through the civil and political life of the parents, and thus becomes an incipient citizen, so, in the other case, he is brought into a genuine union with the spiritual commonwealth through their life in the church." Mr. Grout, in summing up the argument drawn from the assumed identity of the three dispensations, says: "If, then, baptism is of the same use and import in the church under the new dispensation as circumcision was under the old, — the one being instituted in the church directly upon the removal of the other, — how can we avoid the conclusion that one is a substitute for the other. And if the child of a believing parent, being circumcised, was thus and thereby admitted into the visible church of God and made a member, under the old dispensation, as we believe none will deny, then who can deny that the child of a believing parent, being baptized under the new dispensation, is thus and thereby admitted into the same, and made a member thereof." As already said, Mr. Grout's argument is much more extended than Dr. Nadal's. He adduces Matt. xxviii. 19, Mark x. 14, and 1 Cor. vii. 14. He gives the opinion of Justin Martyr, and of St. Austin, of John Calvin, and of the Westminster divines; and, after quoting from these and other authorities,

concludes: "So that, so far as their standards go, it is plain that Presbyterians look upon those who have been baptized in infancy as made thus and thereby members of the church of Christ." Such is the defence. We leave to our Paedobaptist brethren who deny that baptized children are members of the church the task of refuting Mr. Grout and Dr. Nadal and others who may endorse their position. If we believed in infant baptism, we see not how we could avoid the conclusion to which they come, with only this difference — we should supplement their theory with that of "baptismal regeneration," which they both repudiate, but which to us has always seemed essential to anything like a consistent defence of infant baptism.

At this point we desire our reader to note carefully an important fact respecting the arguments brought forward by the advocates of the church-membership of baptized children. The fact is this: *They are precisely the same by which the advocates of infant baptism refute Baptists.* This is true of the arguments adduced by Dr. Nadal and Mr. Grout. A change in a few words and phrases, and their line of argument is precisely that to be found in any treatise in defence of infant baptism. But we must remember they are not engaged in a controversy with Baptists. The question does not relate to the *authority* for baptizing infants. This they assume. The question is, What relation do infants sustain to the church? The answer they give is, that they are members of the church. The defence is, that whatever justifies the administration of baptism to them entitles them to recognition as members of the visible church. They are urging their Paedobaptist brethren to adopt a consistent theory and practice on the subject of infant baptism. The present *status*, they insist, is unsatisfactory. They propose to remove all difficulty by deciding them to be within the pale of the church. This is their demand, and is that of those for whom they may be regarded as speaking. And, if infant baptism be retained by our evangelical Paedobaptist brethren, we venture the prophecy that the demand will be heeded, or

else the practice of infant baptism will decline more and more. There is a strong pressure forcing this issue. The position, growth, and influence of Baptists, strengthened as they are in their views and practices on the mode, as well as subjects, of baptism by the concessions of many of the ablest theologians and ripe scholars of their opponents, is one source of this pressure. The fundamental position of Baptists is that the membership of the visible church must be composed of regenerated persons, and that the ordinances are only for such as have been "born again." Hence they have no perplexity with the question, "What relation do baptized children bear to the church?" for they are freed from all such embarrassment by denying that infants are scriptural subjects of baptism. Baptists, therefore, can defend the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership with perfect consistency. But, as our evangelical Paedobaptist brethren believe also in regeneration as essential to certain privileges in the church, they, just so far as they insist on regeneration, nullify and shroud in the mystery of indefiniteness their practice of infant baptism. And this difficulty they feel. Its presence is pressing the question as to the *status* of baptized children on them, and is one of the strong reasons why they must "think it through from end to end," and "go either forward or backward," before they can "ever hope to set their feet on solid ground." Another cause of this pressure is the ritualistic development, so marked a feature in the religious movements of the day. At first, this was scouted, sneered at, and ridiculed. It was regarded — and is still by many — as simply a question of clerical millinery, of form and of ceremony, of pulpit genuflexions, and of vain display in external worship. It is, indeed, all this; but it is very much more. If it were nothing more, it would be a very innocent thing, and we could laugh it out of the world. It is far deeper, however. It rests on a principle, and that principle is deep and strong in the hold it takes on all the votaries of ritualism, and sure to captivate all who suffer themselves to be drawn within

the circle of its seductive influence. The essential principle of ritualism is found in its conception of the visible church. This is regarded as "a mediating church," dispensing salvation by means of the ordinances. Hence, the ritualistic theory of "sacramental grace." This being the conception of the visible church, and of the province and efficacy of the ordinances, the significance the Ritualist attaches to the baptism of infants is obvious. His theory of "baptismal regeneration" rests on a firm foundation, if his theory of the visible church and the ordinances be correct. For this reason ritualists "treat baptized children as in grace, and believing, look for their full preparation for heaven by the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, through the Christian nurture of the church."[1] We do not know that the Ritualist attempts the defence of infant baptism, apart from his theory of "baptismal regeneration"; nor do we know of a defence of infant baptism by any Paedobaptist, however strongly he may repudiate the Ritualist's theory of its efficacy, who does not find difficulty in so defending it as not to give sanction to that dogma concerning its efficacy against which he protests. Dr. Nadal, in defending the church-membership of baptized children, is careful to state that he does not base it on any saving efficacy imparted by baptism. Of baptismal regeneration, he says: "This theory we of course reject, both as unscriptural and as ascribing a magical effect to priestly functions, which must promote superstition in the ignorant, and breed contempt among the enlightened." This protest against baptismal regeneration from evangelical Paedobaptists is now called for. The facts in the case, as they present themselves to a Baptist, are two: (a) The Ritualist, granting the soundness of his premises, is correct in his conclusion as to the efficacy of baptism; (b) The evangelical Paedobaptist retains infant baptism, but repudiates the ritualistic conception both of the visible church and the efficacy of the ordinances. The problem, therefore, the evangelical Paedobaptist has to find a solution for, is: "I do not believe in baptismal regenera-

[1] See the Tercentennial of the Heidelberg Catechism, pp. 272, 290.

tion; yet I defend the administration of baptism to infants. What relation do the infants I baptize have to the church? to what privileges are they entitled? If not regenerated, which I deny, what benefits have been conferred on them and secured to them by means of their baptism?" The Ritualist has no difficulty of this sort; for, according to his theory, they are "members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." His advantage is immense. He will force his evangelical Paedobaptist neighbor either to abandon infant baptism, or defend it on ritualistic grounds. The Baptist doctrine of a regenerated church-membership, on the one hand, and the ritualistic doctrine of baptismal regeneration, on the other, are forcing the issue, and compelling — slowly, it may be, but surely — our evangelical Paedobaptist brethren to "come to some conclusion less crude, more positive, definite, and consistent."

These Articles, therefore, we regard as the heralds of a coming controversy, not between Baptists and Paedobaptists on the *authority* for baptizing infants, but among Paedobaptists themselves on the relation to the visible church into which baptism introduces the child. This question is making an imperative demand for adjustment, and we see not how it can be much longer delayed. And further, we see not how they can avoid one of two conclusions — either renouncing the baptism of infants as "unscriptural and untenable," or else accepting the conclusion of Mr. Grout and Dr. Nadal, that, in virtue of their baptism, they are members of the visible church — a conclusion which, in our judgment, cannot be long entertained without compelling the acceptance of baptismal regeneration. Not only Congregationalists, but all others, "must take up this subject anew"; for it, more than anything else, is the cause of that separation and antagonism existing between Baptists and Paedobaptists; and, if we may infer from "the signs of the times," promises soon to be the occasion of conflicting theories among its advocates as to its design and efficacy. The fact is, there is a growing demand, — and the indications are that the time

for heeding it is near, — for a general readjustment of those things by which evangelical Christians are separated. Dr. Pressense[1] has thoughtfully said: "There is not a single religious party which does not feel the need either of confirmation or of transformation. All churches born of the time of the Reformation are passing through a crisis. They are all asking themselves, though from various standpoints, whether the Reformation does not need to be continued and developed. Aspiration toward the church of the future is becoming more general, more ardent. But for all who admit the divine origin of Christianity, the church has its type and ideal in that of the great past, which goes back, not three, but eighteen, centuries. To cultivate a growing knowledge of this, in order to attain a growing conformity to it, is the task of the church of to-day. In the same direction," he adds, "it must move, in order to make that advance in its theology which prudence and necessity alike dictate, and which will consist in an ever deepening appropriation of apostolic doctrine." This general conclusion we indorse; and its force in relation to the point before us is increased when we recollect that Dr. Pressense holds infant baptism to be without scriptural authority, and its practice antagonistic to the fundamental idea of the new dispensation.[2]

[1] History of Apostolic Era, p. 7.

[2] On baptism Dr. Pressense thus clearly states the conclusions to which his study of the constitution of the church in the "Apostolic Era" led him. "Regarded from the apostolic point of view, baptism cannot be connected either with circumcision or with the baptism administered to proselytes to Judaism. Between it and circumcision there is all the difference which exists between the Theocracy, to which admission was by birth, and the church, *which is entered only by conversion*. It is in direct connection with faith, that is, with the most free and most individual action of the human soul. As to the baptism administered to the Jewish proselytes, it accompanied circumcision, and was of like import. It purified the neophyte and his family from the defilements of Paganism, and sealed his incorporation and that of his children to the Jewish theocracy; its character was essentially national and theocratic. Christian baptism is not to be received any more than faith by right of inheritance. This is the great reason why we cannot believe that it was administered in the Apostolic age to little children. No positive fact sanctioning the practice can be adduced from the New Testament."—*Apostolic Era*, pp. 375–376. He indeed refers to the instances of household baptism as furnishing to some a presumptive evidence in favor of

Whatever other questions, therefore, may come up for readjustment, infant baptism, both as to authority and significance, will be, we are persuaded, one of the first — perhaps the first. It is, among evangelical Christians, the vital question of the day. Baptists protest against it, and demand of those who retain it a scriptural reason. Ritualists press their theory of baptismal regeneration; while among evangelical Paedobaptists their belief in a regenerated church-membership, on the one hand, and their denial of baptismal regeneration, on the other, leave them in the singular position of defenders of a practice the significancy of which they are unable to define, either as regards its immediate effects on the subject, or the privileges to which he is entitled in the visible church.

The final adjustment of this question will involve the settlement of most of the other questions on which evangelical Christians are now divided; for they are intimately connected with, and essentially dependent upon it. Its retention must materially modify the conception those who practise it form of the ordinances; and, as the relation between ordinances and doctrine is most intimate, — as they mutually modify our conception of each, — so it must affect doctrinal views and the whole theory of the nature and functions of the visible church.

It is obvious that, in any theory of the church-membership of baptized children, the vital subject of personal regeneration by the Holy Spirit must be considered in its relation to it. This cannot be ignored. It is a most prominent, most essential doctrine of the word of God: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircum-

the Apostolic origin of infant baptism; but in the foot-note in his work at this point the reader will find that he gives reasons for regarding such "presumptive evidence" as insufficient and unsatisfactory. Other quotations which we make farther on show conclusively that Dr. Pressense's conception of the visible church is that of the Baptists.

cision, but a new creature." [1] The Roman Catholic teaches that regeneration is imparted to the child by baptism; affirming "that the law of baptism, as established by our Lord, extends to all, insomuch that, unless they are regenerated by the grace of baptism, be their parents Christians or infidels, they are born to eternal misery and everlasting destruction." [2] The theory of the Ritualist is the same, except that we do not understand him to assert the horrible doctrine of "the eternal misery and everlasting destruction" of those infants dying without the saving grace supposed to accompany the administration of baptism. But the evangelical Paedobaptist does *not* believe, with the Roman Catholic, that all unbaptized infants are lost, nor with the Roman Catholic *and* Ritualist, that the application of a few drops of water to the forehead of the unconscious infant, has the magical power to make it a "new creature in Christ Jesus." On the contrary, he believes in the salvation of all dying in infancy, whether baptized or unbaptized, whether born of infidel, heathen, or Christian parents; and, whatever notion he may have concerning the efficacy of infant baptism, or of the relation to the church and consequent privileges to which it entitles the baptized child, he does not accept the dogma of baptismal regeneration. This he discards, holding that baptism "is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh," and, therefore, that we are "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." On the subject of regeneration, the evangelical Paedobaptist holds the same views held by Baptists, though he can never be their consistent advocate as the Baptist can; for, while he continues to regard unconscious infants as proper subjects for the ordinances, and while he believes they can be baptized on the faith of proxies, be they parents or sponsors, he must encounter insurmountable difficulties in reconciling his practice of infant baptism with his doctrine of a regenerated church-membership. And if he insist, that in virtue

[1] John iii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15.

[2] Catechism of the Council of Trent (Balt. ed.), 123.

of their baptism children are members of the visible church, the difficulties increase in number, and grow yet more insurmountable in character.

Mr. Grout and Dr. Nadal, having stated their views, and given their "strong reasons" for believing baptized children to be members of the church, come at length to this vital question of a regenerated church-membership, and proceed to dispose of it in such a way as to harmonize with their theory. Though it is not our object, in this Article, to criticise these writers, but only to use their position and arguments for the purpose of showing that infant baptism and the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership are utterly irreconcilable, yet we must at this point refer to the manner in which they treat their topic when they come to discuss it in relation to regeneration. Mr. Grout will not surrender one iota of his faith in the indispensableness of regeneration to the full privileges of church-membership. He claims that baptized children are members, ("*bona fide*, most real, of blessed import"); but he insists that they shall be denied certain privileges, which, if they are members, *bona fide*, most real," and not "imaginary, absurd, or worthless,") they ought to be allowed to enjoy. He denies them the privilege of coming to the Lord's table until "they give evidence of a suitable preparation." He concedes that in the past there were "men so lost to the proprieties of the Christian religion, and to the common sense of the gospel of Christ, as to bring even infants to the Lord's supper." This, however, he thinks is "hardly likely to obtain in the Protestant church of the present day." But if baptized children are members of the visible church, why not allow them to partake of the loaf and the cup? Why allow them the benefits of one ordinance, and not of the other? He denies them "the same voice which members of adult years in full communion may have in managing the spiritual affairs of the church. Affairs of this kind are too precious and sacred to be intrusted to juvenile years, or to the direction of those who are not ready for an avowal of personal devotion to all

the higher ends for which the church is established." But if by baptism they are constituted *bona fide* members of the visible church, why, when they emerge from infancy to childhood and youth, must they be debarred from all participation in the spiritual affairs of the church? Not only must they be denied participation in the spiritual affairs of the church; "but until they take upon themselves the obligations of the covenant which their parents made with God for them, by a regular profession of personal faith in Christ, is the privilege of bringing their own offspring to the baptismal font" denied. If they were by their own baptism made *bona fide* members in infancy, why deny this same blessing to their offspring; and if they then became members in any intelligible and appreciable sense, why demand of them a "regular profession of personal faith in Christ?" Was the first irregular? With the question, Are they amenable to church discipline? Mr. Grout, evidently, has serious trouble; and it has, he states, occasioned "some difficulty and diversity of opinion." If they are members, they are subject to church discipline. If they do wrong, they should be rebuked by the church; if they repent, forgiven; and if incorrigible, expelled. Mr. Grout is evidently much confused with this branch of his subject, and deals largely in the opinions of others. The only important, definite statement of his own is, that "suspension or excommunication" is not possible, because "they have not yet come to such an advanced standing, by voluntarily assuming the obligations of the covenant made with God by their parents for them, as to make this method of procedure possible, even if it were proper." The only discipline he conceives possible, or proper, is "careful and prayerful instruction, advice, remonstrance, a kind parental teaching and training 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.'" But is that worthy of being called church-membership in which *all that is implied in the relation is denied?* As it seems to us, Mr. Grout in what he denies the baptized child nullifies all he claims it entitled to in virtue of its baptism. But the cause of his evident

self-contradiction and embarrassment is obvious. The phrases "give evidence of suitable preparation," "an avowal of personal devotion," "a regular profession of personal faith in Christ," reveal the secret. They point unmistakably to the doctrine of regeneration. They imply, beyond a doubt, that Mr. Grout believes most ardently in a regenerated church-membership; and as he denies baptismal regeneration, he is forced to deny to those children whom he thinks to be members of the church every privilege to which church-membership entitles us.

Dr. Nadal disposes of this subject of a regenerated church-membership after an entirely different manner. With the merciless blade of his "Logic of Infant Church-membership," at a single blow, he cuts the Gordian knot. He denies baptismal regeneration," on one hand, and, on the other, asserts "that regeneration is not a condition of admission into the church of Christ." He holds, therefore, the Ritualist and the Baptist to be guilty of the same error, and hence, by implication, also, those Paedobaptists — like Mr. Grout, for instance — who deny the baptized child those privileges, the peculiar heritage of the spiritually minded. "The back-lying error is the same in both, namely, the assumption that only regenerate persons can be admitted into the church. The Baptist holds the same error. He too believes that only regenerate persons can unite with the church; and, as he knows of no method of regenerating infants, he makes short work of it, and excludes them from church-membership. ..... The Baptist has no right to exclude the infant on the ground that it cannot in its unconscious state be regenerated; and the high churchman and those who hold congenital regeneration have no need to resort to ecclesiastical magic, or to doubtful theories, in order to have the infant regenerated. Both the infant and its parents may come in without regeneration. One chief reason for all the difficulty on this question (the relation of baptized children to the church) is the fact that most of the churches, coming to hold that adults must be regenerated before entering the church, and wishing

to have consistency, required the same thing of infants. All must come in on the same terms, or substantially in the same moral and spiritual state. The prime error was in making regeneration essential to adult church-membership. That once required, then came the puzzle of the regeneration of children." Dr. Nadal has, in this passage, fairly stated the difficulty, and explained its cause. If regeneration be made essential to adult baptism and church-membership, the relation of baptized children to the church, and the effect and privileges of their baptism, become indeed most puzzling questions. He does not attempt to reconcile infant baptism with a regenerated church-membership; and by denying that regeneration is a term of admission into the visible church — holding this view to be erroneous — he endeavors to avoid Scylla on the one side, and Charybdis on the other, by denying the ritualistic doctrine of baptismal regeneration, in the one case, and the Baptist doctrine of a regenerated church-membership in the other. Thus his logic cleaves the way for a clear passage. He demolishes, at one blow, that before which Mr. Grout bows in reverence. Mr. Grout requires "a regular profession of personal faith in Christ" as a condition of admission into full participation of the privileges of church-membership. Dr. Nadal, on the contrary, insists that all that can be required of an adult, in order to his admission into the church, is, that he be an honest *seeker* — in the language of the (M. E.) church, that 'he desire to flee the wrath to come, and be saved from his sins.' The ground on which Dr. Nadal argues that both infants and adults who are *seeking* are to be admitted into the church "is their common *receptivity*. Both are in the best possible condition to receive the lessons and the life of Christianity. The 'seeker' of religion, laboring to renounce sin, and waiting for the inward, liberating word, has reduced sinful resistance to the minimum. He is eagerly, consciously, prayerfully receptive. And the infant, though all unconscious, is thoroughly and only receptive. The two differ in the *mode* of their receptivity, but not as to its substance. Both are as thoroughly receptive

as is possible in their respective states." How very differently these two writers dispose of the subject of a regenerated church-membership, when, in the progress of their discussion, they reach it. We leave our Paedobaptist brethren to sit in judgment on their disposition of it — to pronounce in favor of one or the other, or against both. Their conclusion respecting it is no business of ours. It is a domestic affair, threatening, as we think, the harmony of the family; but we do not feel ourselves called upon to intermeddle with it, further than we have done in the progress of this Article, to show their position and arguments as illustrative of the difficulties that present themselves in attempting to harmonize infant baptism with the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership.

Others have thought deeply on this question, and have grappled with the difficulties presented in attempting to reconcile it. We will here refer to but one — the late Rev. William Cunningham, D.D., Principal and Professor of Church History, New College, Edinburgh — a man whose high standing in his own church, profound learning in historical theology, deep piety, reverential spirit toward the word of God, and exemplary candor in all his statements and arguments, give importance to all his utterances, and entitle them to the respectful attention of all thoughtful men. We refer to him to show that he felt, and conceded, the difficulty, though he continued to defend the baptism of children. Of adult baptism, he says: "In the case of the baptism of adults, we can speak clearly and decidedly as to the general objects and ordinary effects of the administration of the ordinance."[1] Further on, he adds: "It is admitted, also, that the ordinary tenor of scriptural language concerning baptism has respect, primarily and principally, to persons in this condition, — that is, to adults, — and that thus a profession of faith is *ordinarily* associated with the scripture notices of the administration of baptism, so that, as has been explained, we are to regard baptism upon a full profession of faith as exhibiting the proper type and full development of the ordi-

[1] Historical Theology, p. 158.

nance."[1] He then finds the true signification of baptism, not in its administration to the unconscious infant, but to the conscious, regenerated adult, who submits to it intelligently, and to whom it symbolizes a new "life of faith in the Son of God." Hence it is no cause of surprise, having made these concessions, that he says, speaking of the objections of Baptists to infant baptism: "It cannot be reasonably denied that they have much that is plausible to allege in opposition to infant baptism."[2] The difficulty Dr. Cunningham encounters, concedes, and attempts to remove, is that of reconciling what the New Testament teaches respecting the baptism of professed believers, and the administration of the ordinance to unconscious infants. The subjects are very different. The former submits to it intelligently and freely; the other is brought to it, and is unconscious of its significance. It is obvious, therefore, that we cannot associate *precisely the same* idea with the ordinance when we see it administered to infants as we can when we see adults submitting to it. It is at this point he grapples, and labors to remove the difficulty, and explain the difference in the significance of the ordinance as administered to these two essentially distinct classes of subjects. Of the method by which he proposes to reconcile the conceded contradiction we are not called on here to speak; but the remarks he makes concerning infant baptism are pertinent to our topic, and therefore we quote them. He says: "As there are, undoubtedly, some difficulties in the way of applying fully to the baptism of infants the definition usually given of the sacrament, and the general accounts commonly set forth of the objects and ends of baptism, we are very apt to be led to form, insensibly, very erroneous and defective views of the nature and effects of baptism as an ordinance instituted by Christ in his church, or, rather, to rest contented with scarcely any distinct or definite conception on the subject."[3] The consequences of this state of things he thus describes: "The discomfort of this state of uncertainty, the difficulty of laying down any

[1] Historical Theology, p. 151. [2] Ibid. p. 146. [3] Ibid. p. 145.

definite doctrine upon this subject, has often led men to adopt one or other of two opposite extremes, which have the appearance of greater simplicity and definiteness, that is, either to deny the lawfulness of infant baptism altogether, or to embrace the doctrine of baptismal justification and regeneration, and to represent all baptized infants, or at least all the baptized infants of believing parents, as receiving these great blessings in and with the external ordinances, or as certainly and infallibly to receive them at some future time."[1] That is, some have been led by the inconsistent position of those who baptize infants, but deny them the privileges of church-membership — for Dr. Cunningham and his Presbyterian brethren, as well as others, deny this — to find a consistent support for infant baptism by accepting the theory of baptismal regeneration, i.e. becoming Ritualists; or else have accepted the only other consistent alternative — becoming Baptists, and thus holding the doctrine of a converted church-membership. And these are the only two possible solutions of the question. As long, therefore, as the "haziness of vision" of which Mr. Grout complains continues, and as long as men "form insensibly very erroneous and defective views of the objects and ends of baptism" as administered to infants, we must expect this. If they cling to infant baptism, and yet hold to the doctrine of regeneration, they must become Ritualists; if they give up infant baptism, they must, in theory at least, become Baptists. Dr. Anderson, of Glasgow, has recently said of this tendency toward baptismal regeneration in Scotland: "There is yet detectable among our Presbyterian population an impure leaven of the superstition of water-baptism sanctification,"[2] which, just before, he humorously defines as "spiritual *hydro-dynamics*, or, still more specifically, spiritual *hydraulics* — a first principle of the popish science of salvation." Thus, it matters not what efficacy is attributed to the baptism of infants, what privileges are regarded as insured to them by means of it,

[1] Historical Theology, p. 151.

[2] Dr. Anderson on Regeneration, p. 25. Compare p. 116.

or what relation they are regarded as holding to the visible church in virtue of it, the question of a regenerated church-membership comes up, and must be disposed of; and the various efforts made to harmonize the two give evidence of their essential antagonism, and hence demonstrate the solution of the problem impossible. Dr. Nadal's is the only possible one; but that is not a solution, for it denies that regeneration is a condition of membership in the visible church.

Now, the fact is, that the reconciliation of the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership and the retention of infant baptism — to say nothing of the church-membership of baptized children — is impossible, because the two things are essentially antagonistic; and therefore these and all other efforts to harmonize them, and that "haziness of vision" and "indistinctness of conception" of which we have just noticed complaint, are simply the indisputable evidences of their diametrical opposition to each other. If what the New Testament plainly teaches concerning the significance of baptism is always to be learned from those instances of, and references to, adult baptism it contains — from which source Dr. Cunningham, as we have just seen, says it must, — then infant baptism must be explained in some way harmonizing with that fact. But we can conceive of no possible way of so explaining it, except the theory of baptismal regeneration. Mr. Grout writes his Article to prove that infants are members of the church, but denies the theory of the Ritualist, that they are made new creatures in Christ Jesus. Hence, when he comes to deal with the subject of a regenerated church-membership, he denies to them every privilege to which as members one would suppose them entitled. All he claims for them in the former portion of his essay, he denies to them in the latter. Evidently, the cause of his self-contradiction is that in heart he is loyal to the evangelical doctrine of personal moral renovation by the Holy Spirit as an indispensable prerequisite to participation in spiritual privileges, but yet clings to infant baptism. He cannot, and

he does not, make the two things harmonize. The same is true of Dr. Nadal. He, too, repudiates everything savoring of baptismal regeneration. Unlike Mr. Grout, he makes no attempt to reconcile infant baptism and a regenerate membership. He meets the case, and undoubtedly presents a theory logically consistent, by denying that regeneration is a condition of admission into the church of Christ, and thus relieves the question of all difficulty; for he holds that all the difficulty, haziness, and obscurity that has enveloped this question, or may now shroud it, arises from the fundamental misconception "that adults must be regenerated before entering the visible church." If this conflict of conclusions, among those who concede the existence of difficulties and attempt to remove them and present a consistent theory, be not strong presumptive evidence of essential antagonism between the two things themselves, we confess our judgment at fault. And if the advocates of infant baptism find themselves thus embarrassed respecting its meaning and design, and are forced to dispose, by methods so essentially different, of personal regeneration as necessary to participation in some of the privileges of church association, as we have just seen Mr. Grout and Dr. Nadal do, we need not be surprised that so eminent a man as Dr. Cunningham should have made such strong concessions to the plausibility — if we may not use a stronger term — of the position of Baptists; for they, to say the least, have the appearance of consistency in their view of the proper subjects of baptism, and certainly are troubled by no such doubts and self-conscious contradictions between their theory and practice as their Paedobaptist brethren. We say "self-conscious contradictions"; for, as these two Articles and the remarks of Dr. Cunningham and of others we might quote show, they feel that between the practice of infant baptism and the advocacy of a regenerated church-membership there is a strong appearance, at least, of inconsistency, which is ever calling for explanation. The truth, as it seems to a Baptist in contemplating this dilemma in which his Paedobaptist brethren concede themselves to be, is

this: They hold and preach and demand regeneration as indispensable to participation in spiritual privileges; and hence, whenever they defend the doctrine of regeneration, or attempt the explanation of infant baptism, as Dr. Cunningham does, so as to make it harmonize with that conception of baptism we form on seeing it administered to adults, or read in the New Testament of its being administered to that class, they take Baptist ground, and make infant baptism a practical nullity; their statement of its utility and design being shrouded in a mystical indefiniteness. And when they attempt the defence of infant baptism, they (though protesting against it, and endeavoring to steer clear of it) are constantly verging toward the theory of baptismal regeneration — excepting, of course, any who may accept of Dr. Nadal's conclusion, that the whole difficulty arises from making regeneration essential to adult participation in the ordinances and in the spiritual privileges of church-membership. Thus are they forced to oscillate perpetually between the Baptist and the ritualistic theories, because they hold both substantially. Infant baptism can have no consistent defence not ritualistic, if it is to be harmonized with the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership; and no development or defence of what they hold respecting a converted church-membership is possible that does not favor, and by the concessions it necessitates prove, the correctness of the position of Baptists. And, as these two principles exist among evangelical Paedobaptists, so, we believe, the more earnestly men among them, — like Mr. Grout, for instance, — pressed by the unsatisfactory and indefinite status of baptized children, attempt the solution of the question, that they may set their "feet on solid ground," the clearer will the baptistic and the ritualistic principles be brought out; and then they who have been "born of the Spirit" will (theoretically, at least) subscribe to the Baptist position, and they who have the "form of godliness without the power" will revert to the ritualistic. The two principles are oppo-

sites. "The son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman."

As we have intimated, it is our *evangelical* Paedobaptist brethren who encounter those difficulties in attempting to frame a consistent defence of infant baptism. The Roman Catholic and the Ritualist have no difficulty; for they find in the regenerating power of the ordinance of baptism a solution which, granting their theory of the visible church, is satisfactory. The evangelical Paedobaptist, however, has no such theory to come to his assistance, and his evangelical principles lay their interdict upon his adopting it. His trouble comes up afresh every time he defends his doctrine of a regenerated church-membership. And the more zealous he becomes in the advocacy of this, the greater become the contradictions between his belief in it and his practice of baptizing unconscious infants. To us, therefore, the following points seem clear respecting any method by which the evangelical Paedobaptist may attempt the reconciliation of these two things.

(*a*) *He must reject the theory of baptismal regeneration.* This, it is evident, he cannot accept. It belongs to the Ritualist. The evangelical Paedobaptist is an enemy of ritualism. We have an instance of this, at the present time, in the controversy between the high-church and the low-church Episcopalians. That controversy turns on this very point: "Does the administration of baptism effect the regeneration of the infant, or not?" We know there are other points of dissent in the interpretation of the Prayer-book; but this is the pivotal one. The low churchman is evangelical. Though baptizing infants, he nevertheless denies that they are thereby and therein "born again," and consequently insists that men must be renewed by the Holy Spirit, or they cannot enter into "the kingdom of heaven." Like the low churchman, all evangelical Paedobaptists must deny baptismal regeneration. In defining the *status* of baptized children, therefore, it is evident the evangelical Paedobaptist must leave this theory altogether out of the question.

(*b*) *He must reject the theory that infants are to be baptized because under the atonement they are born regenerate.* Dr. Nadal refers to this theory, and repudiates it, as being "certainly in the very teeth of the teachings of the Orthodox church in all ages." We have heard this view advocated in conversation, and have noticed language employed in defending and explaining infant baptism which, while not asserting this theory, and perhaps not intended to imply it even, yet to us seemed to have been called forth by some such conception of the reason for regarding unconscious infants as subjects of the ordinance. Dr. Nadal, however, refers to two productions in which it is formally propounded. He says: "This is the view taken in a little book written by the Rev. Mr. Mercein, and printed after his death, and recently more elaborately defended by the Rev. Dr. Hibbard." We were not aware that any one had proposed formally, or defended elaborately, this theory of infant baptism; but, according to Dr. Nadal, it has been so defended. The fact supplies additional evidence of the perplexing dilemma in which evangelical Paedobaptists are placed in attempting to reconcile infant baptism and the doctrine of a regenerated church-membership. But this theory must be rejected. It is advanced, "certainly, in the very teeth" of the sentiments held by evangelical Christians — be they Arminians or Calvinists. We have noticed it only because it has its advocates. We say it cannot be, and will not be, accepted by any considerable number; and we confess our surprise on learning that Rev. Dr. Hibbard is one of its champions.

(*c*) *He must reject the theory of Dr. Nadal that "regeneration is not a condition of admission into the church of Christ."* To the mind of the believer in a regenerated church-membership, this theory refutes itself; for it more than puts in jeopardy, it annuls, the fundamental law of the visible church, that we "must be born again." And, whatever may at first be required of a man in order that he may be admitted as a "seeker," or be judged to have "reduced his sinful resistance to the minimum," so as to possess the

proper "receptivity," it must, if adopted, eventually open wide the door, and admit "the uncircumcised and the unclean"; because there is no man who, if he be allowed and invited to enter the fold of the visible church, will not confess himself a seeker, though he may not part with his sins. Hence, whatever care may be taken at first, every barrier between the church and the world will be broken down, and we shall have the church filled with what Dr. Alexander has termed "baptized infidelity";[1] we shall see its members drawing near with their lips, while their hearts are far from God — saying, indeed, "Lord, Lord," but not doing his will. In defending his theory, however, Dr. Nadal says: "I am not conscious of having been drawn to these conclusions by my relations to the Methodist Episcopal church; and yet, the conclusions being reached, I see that they are only a theory upon which Methodism has practised from the beginning..... The theory we have propounded is, therefore, the theory of Methodism." Doubtless Dr. Nadal is correct in this assertion; for, as he adds, "Methodism for the last hundred years has been announcing to the world: 'The only condition required of those who join us is a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins.'" He charges the "General Conference before the last" with having "attempted an innovation upon this original practice of the church," because "it puts the question to the candidate for admission into full membership, 'Have you *saving faith* in our Lord Jesus Christ?' as though it meant to make an affirmative answer a condition of reception." We are glad the General Conference did this, and we hope it will in the future go still further. The Methodist Episcopal church is a powerful and aggressive body; and when a professor in one of her theological schools takes the position Dr. Nadal does, and when he finds a place for his Article — though accompanied by editorial protest — in their Quarterly Review, we feel some alarm lest they should become less zealous for the regeneration of men and the

[1] Sacramental Discourses, p. 150.

cultivation of personal spirituality of character, and more formal, churchly, and ritualistic. But we are sincerely glad that the evangelical sentiment of the body in favor of a regenerated church-membership expressed itself in that action of the General Conference which Dr. Nadal terms an "innovation" on long established usage and law among them. It is proof of what we have asserted, that Dr. Nadal's theory must be rejected in explaining and defending infant baptism. And if the Methodist Episcopal church, whose former theory and practice, as Dr. Nadal claims, accorded with his view, be, according to his concession, drifting away from it, much more is it improbable, nay, impossible, that other evangelical Paedobaptist bodies should ever accept of his theory. They must repudiate it. They do so.

(*d*) *Whatever relation he may regard infants as holding to the visible church because baptized, he must protest against their reception into membership until they become subjects of saving grace.* Even Mr. Grout substantially concedes this. He says: "We may speak of the church-membership of baptized children as incipient, inchoate, prospective, or potential, if we will — having reference *to that perfected connection or completeness of standing and fulness of communion which come from a public profession of their own personal faith in Christ*, and a consequent voluntary assumption of all the obligations of the covenant under which they were placed by their parents." The sentence we have italicised bears strongly on the point now before us. Mr. Grout, though writing his Article to prove them members of the church, thus enters his protest against their being admitted to the spiritual privileges of membership until "subjects of saving grace." They must be "advanced from this real, though primary and incipient, membership to that which is full and complete." So President Edwards says, that, though baptized infants are "in some sort members of the Christian church, yet none suppose them to be members in such standing as to be the proper immediate subjects of all ecclesiastical ordinances and privileges. But some further quali-

fications are requisite in order to this, to be obtained either in a course of nature, or by education, or by divine grace."[1] Hence he held it as "both evident by the word of God, and also granted on all hands, that none ought to be admitted as members of the visible church but visible saints and professing saints, or visible and professing Christians."[2] Again, he says: "When those persons who were baptized in infancy do properly own their baptismal covenant, the meaning of it is, that they now, being become *capable of acting for themselves*, do professedly and explicitly make their parents' act in giving them up to God their own, by *giving themselves* up to God. ..... A child of Christian parents never does that for himself which his parents did for him in infancy, *until he gives himself wholly to God.* But surely he does not do it who not only keeps back a part, but the chief part — his heart and soul."[3] In fact, it was in defence of what we have asserted that President Edwards wrote his celebrated treatise, from which we have quoted, on "Qualifications for Full Communion." And it was the prevalence of a practice similar to the theory of infant church-membership advocated by Dr. Nadal, in some of its aspects at least, that called it forth. He, indeed, admitted the validity of infant baptism, and regarded infants as in "some sort members of the Christian church"; but in this treatise he takes Baptist ground; and since he wrote it a slow, but gradual and now greatly prevailing, change of opinion and practice has taken place; so that few are found among evangelical Paedobaptists to defend the views and practice against which Edwards so nobly and triumphantly contended. Here, then, we say, the evangelical Paedobaptist must remain. He must defend this position. If he yields here, he proves traitor to the essential thing in his creed and practice as an evangelical Christian. He may retain the practice of baptizing infants, and regard them, with Edwards, as in "some sort members," or, with Grout, as holding an "incipient membership," but consent

[1] Terms of Communion, Works (Leavitt and Allen's ed., N.Y.), Vol. i. p. 89.
[2] Ibid. p. 94.
[3] Ibid. p. 111.

to their admission to the full privileges of membership until made new creatures in Christ, — never!

(e) *He cannot affirm that those children dying without the supposed benefits of baptism are therefore lost.* This none will defend. All shudder at the thought of such a thing. Infant damnation now has certainly no advocates among evangelical Protestants; and we doubt whether it ever had, who held it as anything more than a speculation. No evangelical Paedobaptist minister, as he looks on the face of an infant corpse that in life did not receive baptism, raises a doubt respecting the certainty of its salvation. He doubts not but that it is in the arms of him who said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." He cannot say that he believes the child baptized is more certain of entering heaven than the child unbaptized; for it was of all children Jesus said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." The theory of baptismal regeneration makes infant damnation a consequent; or, if its advocates say this is an unwarrantable inference (which we do not concede), yet, granting it, they do say that the unbaptized child is left to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." But the evangelical Paedobaptist will admit no such thing. We think we state his feeling in this matter correctly, when we affirm his belief in the salvation of all dying in infancy. And yet, while in fairness we make this statement, the question still recurs, when we remember the anxiety of many parents to have their children baptized, the solicitude of many ministers lest their parishioners should neglect it, and the regrets expressed in case the infant dies before receiving the ordinances, — Is there not an underlying persuasion (it may be nothing more than the result of education) that somehow the salvation of the infant is rendered more certain, or there is a greater probability of its becoming a true child of God when it reaches the years of self-conscious personal responsibility? The latter reason is, doubtless, the principal one. But its futility is shown by asking two questions: Do all, do a majority, of these baptized children

become Christians? And do not Baptists dedicate their children just as truly to God as Paedobaptists, do they not train them just as carefully "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and are not as large a proportion of them truly converted to Christ, and at as early an age? The answer to the first question must be, No; to the second, Yes. The doctrine of the evangelical Paedobaptist, as well as of the Baptist, is, that his child must be converted before he can be admitted to church privileges. Yet, like the Baptist, he believes that if his child had died unbaptized it would have been saved. What was the utility of the child's baptism? What did it contribute toward his salvation, had he died in infancy? What did it contribute toward his regeneration and consequent participation in spiritual privileges when he grew up? If it does not insure salvation in case children die in infancy, and if it does not render their regeneration more probable if they live and reach the years of understanding, what conceivable benefits does it impart? Into what relation to "the general assembly and church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven," does it introduce the child? or how does it determine his status in relation to the visible church on earth? We do not know. The advocates of infant baptism do not tell us. They do not agree, as we have seen in the course of this essay; and, if for no other reason, then, for the very fact of this conceded perplexity of Paedobaptists in determining the status of baptized children — whether they are in the church, or out of it, — Baptists are justified in their opposition to it; for, as Edwards has said of it, "it is a matter liable to great disputes and many controversies."[1] We wait, therefore, until they reach some conclusion satisfactory to themselves, and, in the meantime, shall continue to believe, with Edwards, that "the revelation of God's word is much plainer and more express concerning adults that act for themselves in religious matters, than concerning infants. The scriptures were written for the sake of adult persons, or those that are capable of knowing

[1] Works, Vol. i. p. 90.

what is written. It is to such the apostles speak in their epistles, and to such only does God speak throughout his word. And the scriptures especially speak for the sake of those and about those to whom they speak."[1]

Here, then, we have the "conclusion of the whole matter" at issue between Baptists and evangelical Paedobaptists. It is not the mode of baptism. That is a point of difference; but it is subsidiary and secondary. *The difference lies in the practical realization of the New Testament idea of a visible church composed of regenerate persons.* This conception evangelical Paedobaptists have, and to a very great extent, they act practically upon it; but infant baptism is perpetually coming in conflict with it. The irrepressible child, who has been baptized in infancy, is demanding his place, and the great difficulty is to define the place he is to occupy. He is entitled to certain privileges because baptized; but he knows not what they are. Loyalty to the doctrine of regeneration denies him all privileges in the visible church, and granting him any endangers that doctrine. Paedobaptists are confessedly embarrassed, and must "go forward or backward." They must find "solid ground" for it, or abandon it altogether. So says Mr. Grout; so say many others substantially. Baptists have no such difficulty, and the reason is because their conception of the visible church is essentially different. It is not composed of believers and their children, but of believers only. In the view of Baptists, the dispensation of the grace of God, inaugurated by the coming of Christ himself, and to continue in force until the last elect soul shall be regenerated and saved, is a "new thing in the earth." They see in it no perpetuation of the Jewish theocracy, or of the Judaic ritualistic principles, or of the Abrahamic covenant. To them the present is an elective dispensation, not of parents and their children, or of entire communities, or of nations, but of individuals, "even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Dr. Pressense, though not a Baptist, has so accurately de-

[1] Works, Vol. i. 90.

fined the Baptist conception of the church, that we here quote from him: "Placed beyond the external conditions of Judaism, the church is primarily a moral and a spiritual fact. Born of a miracle, by a miracle it lives. Founded upon the great miracle of redemption, it grows and is perpetuated by the ever-repeated miracle of conversion. It is entered not by the natural way of birth, but by the supernatural way of the new birth. The church, resting on no national or theocratic basis, must gather its adherents simply by individual conviction."[1] This is precisely where Baptists stand, and have ever stood. This is the New Testament ideal, and they have struggled to realize it. It is the practical realization of a regenerated church-membership, and infant baptism can never be made to harmonize with it.

ARTICLE VI.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PULPIT.

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, D.D., PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

THE figures that chiefly occupy the historic field, that move across it with pomp and power, drawing after them great masses of their fellow-men, are kings and warriors. There is one character, however, more quiet and stealthy in movement, more sombre in aspect, in the rear of armies and thrones, deriving its force from the constant fears and hopes of men, that has possessed a stronger influence over the character and destiny of society than these — the stately, long-robed, solemn priest. He has rarely done the bidding of kings; kings have often done his bidding. He has seldom feared kings; kings have frequently feared him. By rarest accident has the spiritual power slipped from his hand; more than once has he found it easy to grasp a temporal sceptre. Dominion has been divided and subdivided, ad-

[1] Apostolic Era, p. 24.

justed and readjusted by kings; but great revolutions of races and religions, the epochs of ideas, have been characterized by his presence.

The priest, who has been casting a shadow, always portentous, often dark and distressful, on human affairs, was displaced in the Christian economy by the preacher. His ghostly functions, his solemn ceremonial, his representative capacity gave way to instruction, guidance, stimulus — a simple participation with others in God's truth. This was the dethronement of the priest, and the birth of power for the preacher. A new power, a new eloquence thenceforward found place in society and in the schools; and sacred oratory stood the peer, and more than the peer, of deliberative oratory in theme and influence. Both arose with liberty, and an influential pulpit seals the largest liberty — that of the mind and heart. But kings do not easily forget their crowns, nor the people their servitude. The horn that was broken began to grow again, and the priestly function came forward in Catholicism with more tyrannical claims and outstretched power than ever before. It bent its new, spiritual force to a secular end, and set up a more pronounced and permanent regency of heaven on earth. In Protestantism there came a second establishment of religious liberty, and a planting of the pulpit once more as the point of contact and diffusion in the spiritual world, the seminal centre of religious truth and influence. So stands the question to-day in the free and progressive portions of the earth. Christianity has its advocates, those who imbue themselves with its truths and its spirit, who administer its simple ritual and strengthen its organizations; who stand ready to do, as they are able, the religious work of the world, whether of evangelization or instruction, of rebuke, stimulus, or consolation. Their commission is the simple one of preaching the gospel. The influence of this class of laborers on the world's well-being is our subject.

The pulpit has been disparaged in various quarters; this partly, perhaps, in revenge for the wrongs of the past. Thus

many, slipping the yoke of kings, have not been content even to take that of republics. In each case alike, the past could not part with what it had, nor can the present live otherwise than in and by its own institutions. Every form of control becomes a tyranny when it lingers too long; yet, in most cases, it must abide till the new bud is strong enough to burst its cerements and grow beyond them. When it was proposed, as a clause in the Constitution of New York, that no minister should be allowed to hold office within her borders, proof was given of an irrational fear and dread, such as make one cautious of eating who has been poisoned in his food. Aside from this resentfulness, which belongs to minds but half emancipated from the past, and still unable to see the service rendered by religion along the road actually travelled by the race, there are other grounds on which the influence of the pulpit is depreciated.

All who under-estimate elementary work and elementary ideas, who fail to appreciate the vast expenditures of force in keeping the world where it is, and thus giving it, as the times favor, the opportunity of further progress, are sure to decry the pulpit. They fail to see that ethical ideas are the foundation of the common weal, and, still more, to see that these do not, cannot hold their own without endless reiteration. It is easy to aggregate the labors of the Sabbath — to say: 'Here are so many thousands of educated workmen, and so many millions of sermons in these United States as their combined annual product. What, we pray, is the result?' No wealth, no new industry or invention being forthcoming in answer, the inquirer holds the field himself, and responds: 'Air; a receiving and giving of common-places, a gathering into words of what their auditors believe, and restoring it to them once more as if it were new truth.' We bid those capable of understanding the answer look at teachers, fourfold more numerous, and able, as the joint fruit of their labors, to show only communities that can read, write, wield in an awkward way the elements of knowledge. So much does it cost to work anew under each generation the merest founda-

tions of intellectual life. If one minister out of a thousand give fresh, onward impulse, his nine hundred and ninety-nine brethren are abundantly and satisfactorily employed in keeping the world up to that common honesty which prepares it to hear and receive these living words.

Even Judaism was a gain to Christianity, and Catholicism to Protestantism. The most zealous and headstrong reformer of our own time would have found nothing to put his foot against, no bracing-point, as he struggled with his adversaries, had it not been for the Christian church, which he may have denounced unceasingly. All the firm ethical ideas, incorporate and immovable, which belong to society are those which religion has inculcated from generation to generation, till they have entered, as it were, the blood, and can be made starting-points for new effort. The breeder will not accept as firm any new phase of life, till it has passed unaltered through repeated descents, and can be relied on as an organic tendency. The organic force of morality in a race is due to its daily religious inculcations; and without this force reform is a vagrant ripple on the surface of society. Every reformer, hostile or friendly, who has wrought a good work, bears willing or unwilling testimony to the soundness of those foundations on which he has built.

Great forces have seized the world, and, though still vacillating in its orbit under manifold attractions, it shows a plain, onward movement. Those powers in which this motion is grounded are the commonplace moralities of life, its hourly attractions of duty, which the ministry methodically perceive and implant. If now and then there comes an apostle to scatter more seed than is the wont of his order, it takes root only because of the many open furrows which patient, plodding labor has turned up to the heavens. Those who can see nothing but the last result, and this only in part, will put a low estimate on that weary effort which keeps the spiritual world movable, flexible, ready for any new force that may reach it.

Another sentiment, with something of the same superficial cast, which leads to a depreciation of the pulpit, is the aesthetical one. Sermons are pronounced dull, proverbially dull; while the exercises of the Sabbath are said to have a sing-song character, fitted only to put the stupid to sleep. Those who are not stupid, who attach no sanctity to sleep because it takes place in the house of God, feel at liberty, therefore, to seek enjoyment elsewhere. This sentiment generally belongs to those who assume very little responsibility as regards religion, whose ethical convictions are all on the surface, and who are thus inclined to hold the minister, like the latest lecturer, to the task of amusing and interesting them. A certain amount of the froth of being is always beat up by the motion of society, and to prevent the increase of this is a portion of the office of that most serious and stern agency, the ministry, which, with no mock solemnities, addresses itself to thoughtful and sober living. Without scorning amusements, it does not conceive its duties to fall in that department; and, though its words may be dull as compared with the achievements of a parti-colored clown, it does not therefore distrust their real value. Though to be needlessly dull is a sin, and a great sin, in the pulpit, what is open to the accusation can only be decided by a consideration of the state of mind in the listener which the theme and place should guarantee. Profound belief and earnest enforcement belong to the pulpit, and if these are dull, then it is the minds and hearts that think them so that are to be assailed. If this indolent, indifferent sentiment were yielded to, the stream of life would at once break into shallow, bubbling, foaming ripples.

When Thoreau says that he would as soon be the post with seared foot, fitted to stand a quarter-century, as to be the farmer who sets it; or the farmer, as he who instructs him week by week in divine things, we are only struck with the pagan pride of the man, his slight estimate of life, and with the blindness of the conceit which leads him to put these first feeble differences between man and man starting

on an endless race above the very being which belongs to them all. The early blossom is thought more highly of than the stem and root, which, though rough and unsightly, have in them an eternal entail of richer bloom than this first burst of life. An aesthetic sentiment, which, snuffing its own fragrance, forgets the soil whence its flowers spring, forgets the hard, patient cultivation which has produced them, is a mere wind-puff, which we may well enough suffer to pass by.

Another ground of disparagement of this established and time-worn agent, the pulpit, is found in a comparison of it with the press. So astonishing has been the outburst here, that all vagrant eyes and thoughts are captivated and swept away. Such busy pens, such a clatter of machinery, such eager agents of distribution — steam-cars scattering the coveted paper as rapidly through the wide country as racing newsboys through the narrow city — give to our mechanical minds a strange sense of power, fill the imagination with a variety of imagery, and lead us to accept this demonstrative, monetary, sensuous force as quite ultimate in the intellectual world. Yet is there here more motion than matter, circulation rather than life-blood. The press does not so much determine social character, as it intensifies it, and bears it rapidly on to its issues. The ease with which we shall spread, press, and iron our paper-pulp into paper will depend on the machinery at our disposal; but the quality of the paper will turn on the material used, and the sorting, rending, and cleansing processes to which it has been subjected. The teacher and the preacher make ready society for the press, and determine whether its activities shall circulate a high-toned morality, or the narrow precepts and low cunning of a life based on pleasures and utilities; whether society shall be in the end mere coarse wrapping for a dinner, or bear a delicate water-mark on a pure page that waits the inspiration of art, religion, or philosophy. There is a personal, elementary, and organic force in the instructions of the pulpit which must always put them earlier in

time, deeper in sympathy, more formative in character than those of the press. Men climb into manhood under the influences of the pulpit; they use their manhood by the aid of the press. As the nurture of the household is closer to the life of the child than that of the community, so the religious instruction of the pulpit, with its intimate social aspects, is nearer the thoughts of man than the paper, coming from remote and impersonal centres. The pulpit to the full retains the ground that has been given it; and we turn to the sources of its influence and to the methods of increase.

The pulpit keeps its hold upon men, because it represents in the world the supernatural element; because the Christian pulpit, resting on the Bible, gives the only constant and distinct utterances concerning the invisible world. Its connection with the spiritual world has always been the power of every priesthood, whether false or legitimate in its claims. The unseen forces in which man so necessarily, so profoundly, so constantly believes have found their contact with society in a priesthood, and have clothed that priesthood with abiding power. This impression religion has striven, hitherto, to enhance to the senses, has withdrawn its immediate servants from the ranks of men; has assigned them solemn places, solemn services, a peculiar form of life, distinct garments, and ever-present badges of office and character. She has sought to make, through her servants, an impression of estrangement and separation, — that these, her chosen ones, come forth from and return to an inner, invisible presence, and are acted upon by spiritual forces with unusual efficiency. Thus Hildebrand, striving to enhance the authority of the church, insisted on the celibacy of the clergy, that they might be distinguished from all others in this most fundamental relation of life, might be wholly committed to each other and to the common cause, and might approach the people from a higher and dissevered position — from a life controlled in its ordinary circumstances by new and strange and exacting conditions. This hold on the invisible has

been the sufficient, the constant, the constitutional basis of a religious order, and will remain so as long as the world is but partially permeated with the divine life, and demands aid and guidance for its weak faith. Men cannot escape this mediation and ministration in spiritual things otherwise than by growth in them. Unbelief can only be a spasm, a sudden and wilful denial, sure to be followed by a correspondingly ardent return even to the superstitions of belief, when the desolation and dreariness of the new position have come to be felt. The soul of man, his hidden fears and hopes, drive him back to bondage, when he has nothing to put in place of it but the blank liberty of unbelief — the liberty not to be nor to aspire — spiritual desire stripped away by the root in his hurried passage into nonentity.

The Christian pulpit has this same time-honored foundation, cleaned off once more for a new structure. It has become, in turn, its office to minister to the faith of men, gathering to its aid the sacred records of all previous time. No amount of previous error, no depth of credulity disheartens the soul of man. It still insists on travelling this invisible road up to God, and believes that all these years of darkness have wrought to make it for him a highway of holiness, a safe path to heaven. Often as men have miscarried, the soul is so far true to itself as to find more hope in these defeats than in victory elsewhere; more light evoked by these failures than by all other successes. Thus Protestantism, gathering from the repeated wrecks of the past the truths that have shattered and survived all systems, works on, under Divine guidance, for the salvation of men; striving to put them in permanent connection with the light and life of a supernatural world. History and the soul of man, and God over both, work with it, bringing in his kingdom.

In the force which underlies the pulpit there has been no change; it is still the same supernatural element. In the manner of dealing with that force there has been the greatest change. Says Taine: "The priest descends from the lofty

position in which the right of forgiving sins and of regulating faith had raised him over the heads of the laity; he returns to social society, marries like the rest, begins to be an equal, is merely a more learned and pious man than others — their elect and their adviser." There is loss in this, doubtless, to the vulgar eye, not, we apprehend, to the penetrating and elevated mind. The priest wielded a power outside of himself; the preacher reaches after his sceptre with an intellectual hand, and wields it with a spiritual force. The truth works in and through him, as an illuminated and inspired source, not blindly by him, as a servant. The preacher, on the one hand, is taken more closely into the counsels and communion of heaven, and on the other, into the affection and trust of men. All distinctions fall away from him — fortunately fall away from him — in garments, life, duties; since it is now his office not to keep in check the rude manners and coarse thoughts of men, to overawe them, to sway and subdue them by fear, but to mingle gently into his own life, and their life as well, spiritual purposes and the sanctity of spiritual sentiments. The nearer, therefore, he comes in the form and substance of his own life to the common life of men, yet holding fast by the life of God, the more certainly does he unite the two, the natural and the supernatural — the spiritual and that which is to be cleansed, lifted, illuminated by it. As windows to the homes of men, so is the pure heart and enlightened mind to those who look through it up to God.

The minister owes his chief influence to his ability to combine in an actual experience, a beautiful life, the truth and the actions that truth was designed to control, the supersensual reward and sensible conduct, this life and the life that is to follow it; so that the one shall be seen to be rooted in the other, and to be growing easily, beautifully out of it. It is this casting about our daily, commonplace experiences a new, a subtiler, more brilliant and blessed atmosphere of spiritual incentives and pleasures that makes the minister to us a messenger of God, and puts us by means

of him, far more than were men of old, into affinity and fellowship with the unseen. The priest was never so clothed upon as the minister; for it is the mantle of his own grace that Christ has dropped upon this latest of his servants. He does not so much come out of an invisible world, as stand in it, when he breaks to us the bread of life. With this inner hold of the heart on Christ, he has the same tranquil and sufficient control that belonged to the ministry of our Saviour.

The pulpit finds a further basis in the sympathetic and progressive character of the religious feelings. Fellowship, organization, propagation are a necessity to them, and the unity and force of the church is largely in its ministry. These are the instruments of its organization, a necessary condition of ever-renewed sympathies and constant evangelization. If religion cannot hold its own in the individual heart without a perpetual proclamation of the supernatural, either springing up in the depths of its own being or coming to it from a revered authority, no more can it control and fashion society without an enunciation of its truths and enforcement of its precepts. As the organic force of a pure society are the ethical sentiments, and the life of these is dependent on the religious truths which are made to underlie them, the church, in organizing itself, gives the most complete and firm nucleus to the community to which it belongs. Nations and societies have been dissolved hitherto, because, lacking justice, sympathy, ethical cohesion, they have not been able to meet any sudden and severe strain put on them. Any state without a coherence of religious ideas, and a ministry through whom that union is made practical and efficient, is necessarily weak, bereft of the most interior and strong of cohesive affinities. This is truer of modern than of ancient society, since conquest and race distinctions are feebler grounds of union now than then, having less weight with the advancing force of civil institutions. There is no nation more compactly, indissolubly one than the English nation, and none in which there is a

more general harmony of ethical convictions. The rebellion which came so near dissolving our government sprang from a fatal divergence on ethical, and thus civil, questions.

A nation pays but a moderate price for its greater unity and coherence in the support of a ministry that knit the people together in churches, and bind churches to implanting general conceptions of the rights of society and the wants of the world.

It is easy to speak against the bigotry that has thus been elicited, and the tyranny of religious opinion which has been incident to this union of churches. First, admit under favor the grand force which society and states have secured, as in the case of the Puritans, by this strength of the moral nature, and we will confess to the incident evils of a headstrong and overshadowing purpose. We shall console ourselves with the thought, however, that the blindness of men does not admit of progress divested of evil, that the choice always lies with us between a forced march and no march at all, between an excess on this side and a deficiency on that. If any choose, *now*, to attack bigotry, we are with them, and trust that they will soften, if not wholly remove, this evil feature of faith; but if they are ready to condemn the religious renovation of the last three centuries, because it has contained so much of this element, then we think they fatally misunderstand the conditions, the necessary liabilities of reform. We are patient under the bigotry of our own day even, because we know it to be in a measure inevitable in securing coherence and strength in religious belief and action among ignorant and wilful men, and that this unity is worth all, and more than all, it costs. There are grit and coarseness in our steel, fibre and flaw; but we cannot as yet get steel without them. When we can, we will; and our present path we believe to be the way to that improvement. Nothing would so dissolve men into the chaos of restless, discordant, half-held ideas as the loss of a religious ministry. The currents and tendencies of society must, for a long time to come, be established and maintained by instruction.

Freedom is only valuable as it ministers to belief, not unbelief; only as it gives opportunity to powerful and earnest minds to pursue their own conclusions, to embrace and maintain their own convictions. This liberty we have in good measure, and shall gain it as we have need of it. We may well urge all men to think, and give them the conditions of free thought; but as long as they insist on cohering by the instincts of a half-developed intellectual and religious life, we may rejoice in these partial attractions which compact them into safe and serviceable bodies. The semi-organization of society is at this moment in all its hopefulness, ethical, religious, involving daily ministrations of truth.

One more ground of the influence of the pulpit we mention, and that is, its identification with progress, with the moral, and thus with the substantial, social victories of the world. It is not necessary to the truth of this inference to show that reforms have always commenced with the ministry, or even been at once heartily sustained by it; it is enough that such reforms have finally been accepted, and found a place in Christian instruction. Christianity is to be distinguished from those who, at any time, and in any place, espouse it. Christianity is in affinity with all morality and all truth; not so the convictions of its disciples at any one period. These often very partially understand the scope and bearing of the truths with which they are dealing; need to be taught, and are taught, much by the criticism of enemies. They win back to themselves, with much conflict, with struggle and resistance on either side, some single principle, some eminent grace, which an adversary or partial friend has uncovered and proclaimed, making its oversight a matter of reproach to the church. They thus often come to know their own, and value their own, only after they have seen it in the hands of another. Scepticism, unbelief in a Christian country assume a Christian form, and base their denials on the partial precepts, unequal truths, and limited dogmas of the church. They thus force the current faith to be more true to itself, more true to Christianity; and thereby Chris-

tianity really gathers in and harvests all the ethical gains of every party. The growing belief, the new enforcement, the enlarged principle are often found with the clergy; but whether, in the first instance, attributable to them or not, the truth at length returns to them, declares its affinities, and is taken into this storehouse of treasured results.

We might wish a more ready and constant response of the avowed defenders of Christianity to its spirit; but these have not always the sharpest intellects, the warmest hearts; nor are they always subject, in the highest degree, to those external circumstances which cast a new light upon truth. It must needs happen, therefore, that there will be valuable developments of opinion and of practice outside of this established circle of a religious ministry, and that these sporadic offshoots of Christianity will meet with a hesitating and reluctant acceptance by those who should have originated them. It still remains true, however, that the final knitting together of truth is at this point, and that Christianity by its own progressive affinities and force compels its servants to drop entirely off, or ultimately to accept, defend, and enforce every true reform. Progress, proportionate and permanent, is rooted in those moral principles which are the outgrowth of the constitution of man and the facts of the Christian revelation; and those, therefore, who really minister in these conjoint truths of nature and revelation, must either first hit upon, or finally recognize, the steps of growth that are incident to them. The solid discipline, the permanent coherence of the race as they march onward rest with those who declare the purpose of the movement, and enforce its conditions and its motives; and these are they who deal wisely with Christian principles. Some bodies of Christians may, indeed, be a loitering rearguard of civilization, whom a truth fails to reach till it has gone round the world and overtaken them in the rear; and yet, if finally received by them, it is nevertheless received as a fruit of their own system. Not till Christianity is compelled in self-consistency to reject what the world, what society are compelled in self-

protection to accept and enforce, will the glory depart from it as the one coherent, complete, and sufficiently-enforced system of moral truth. That it accepts as its own what all wise thinking, all generous sentiment bring to it from all quarters, whatever light any exigency of public or of private experience may have struck out, proclaims not its poverty, but its pervasive wealth. It alone of religions can see the human organizations that support it crumble to pieces, and out of the ruin create a new service, and secure a clearer proclamation. That Christianity is as independent of its followers as of its enemies, and gathers strength and enlargement from both, is its highest testimony to a divine origin, to the possession of a power that is rooted in the laws of mind, in the natural and providential government of God. Those who minister this truth, or who stand nearest to it, will hold in deposit the spiritual treasures of the world, and have most immediate concern with every reform. Reform must enrich or impoverish them. They as a class are bound to its fortunes, and their social and religious equilibrium cannot be restored till the new truth is compacted and harmonized with the old, till all is in their minds, in their preaching and practice, one system again.

The ministry is thus identified with the supernatural element, the organic element, the progressive element in society. We turn from these grounds of influence to the means of its enlargement. The first we mention is increased cultivation, yet a cultivation that is permeated by faith, by spiritual insight. Unless knowledge has this double aspect, unless it looks heavenward even more than it looks earthward, unless it comes, like sunlight, from the heavens to disclose broadly what there is on the earth, it cannot subserve the purpose of a truly influential ministry. It is matter of religious inspiration that men are to seek from the ministry; and though this material is to be taken from the word of God, it cannot be derived thence, unfolded, and applied, without kindred inspiration. To be mighty in the scriptures is to have a deep insight into religious truth, — is

to share that quickening, spiritual influence from which these truths in the outset sprang, and by which alone they can be profoundly interpreted. A vigorous, ethical nature, enlarged and strengthened by much inquiry, by many supplementary branches of knowledge, is the condition of spiritual power. This working of the soul upward toward God, toward the sources of light; this unfolding of it under divine truth, under that agency of the Spirit in the world by which an upward-tending life is begotten and nourished — these are the deep and central sources of a religious ministry. If one is no prophet, no seer, no apostle, and can catch the spirit and inspiration of none of these, he can do but little in this form of labor; since there are no servants, no Levites to do the drudgery of the courts in this calling. Each minister must take under his spiritual tuition minds and hearts; and these can be quickened and renewed only by that which has life in it. As animal life can feed only on organic products, so the soul of man seeks food already made instinct by a spiritualizing thought.

The more this is rightly understood and felt, the less will there be of mere authority, either in rebuke or instruction, on the part of the ministry. Authority, in the vigor, sternness, and brevity of its assertion, is closely allied to force, and is fitted only for more rude, ignorant, and dependent natures. As men increase in cultivation, they must be both invited to think, and left to think, for themselves; and the ministry must keep aloof from that authority which claims anything for itself or its position or its representative power, beyond the force which attaches to the very truth presented. The ministry is lost in this truth, and, having presented it, leaves it to do its own work. The dogmatic spirit is dead, or dying, and the minister must propagate life, — free, bold, intellectual, spiritual life, — or he cannot meet the claims of the times upon him. He cannot transfer the authority of scriptures to his own presentation of them, otherwise than by a spiritual infusion of his words by their force. One cannot even read the word of God without

putting himself in sympathy with it, and tinging it in his emphasis by his own feeling; much less can he expound, apply it without leaving behind him a line of light which is the sole force of his conclusions. A "Thus saith the Lord" is useless, till we have manifestly united our speech to the divine thought, and then it is superfluous. Truth grasps and holds its power by its own vigor, and what it receives from the mind that launches it is a new starting-point and new momentum in its personal belief. The disciples could not have safely, successfully given formal repetition to the words of Christ, till, by lengthened experience, they had learned to measurably comprehend them, and then this instruction gave light in each one of them according to the vigor of the combination taking place in the mind between its own thoughts, affections, and these new elements. Heat and light are evoked by an active, intense affinity, and this measures their force. The conditions of spiritual influence are equally inexorable. Solemn words are not the inexhaustible fountain of solemn impressions; they are only the channels through which deep sentiments can flow, when, by means of them, a living heart has been opened outward. The ultimate source, indeed, of the heavenly impulse is the heart of God, the love of God; but when this finds sluggish transfer, travelling far from the lips of Christ, the relay-battery which can alone quicken and beget anew the current is a Christian heart — a Christlike heart — one that keeps rhythm with the motion by which that truth sprang into being. This is so pre-eminently true of religious thought, because that thought is so thoroughly emotional, owes as much to color as to form, is interpreted on the side of the heart as much as on that of the intellect. Fine art, beauty, is not a thing of criticism merely, of cold, intellectual insight; it is what it is because of the emotion it arouses, and those destitute of the appropriate pleasure look in vain for the grounds of excellence. Experiencing no effects, they can find no causes. Moral truth is always of this double

character, this bipolar aspect; and not to feel is not to know, and not to know is not to feel.

The first preparation for service in the ministry is to work upward into the spiritual force of truth; and this will necessitate the leaving behind of all cant and all authority, and using for one's self, and claiming for others, the boldness and freedom of these higher regions of insight and thought. No soul is so truly pliant as that which seeks for itself, with infinite relish and desire, spiritual truths; and none will have such skill in leading others, or be so patient of their mistakes.

A second ground for increased influence in the pulpit we would find in a broader defence and application of Christian principles. If the minister needs to have a superior hold on the supernatural, he requires none the less to be able to unite it closely and everywhere to the natural, so that the two shall be in perfect union and interplay, as parts of one system. The natural cannot, will not be surrendered, and the supernatural must be able to fuse with it, or it will fail. This union is one of principles and of practice. Science is pressing home on every thoughtful mind that pervasive plan, those close-knit and universal laws which to it represent the natural world, and, oftentimes, the entire world of matter and of mind. If religion cannot meet these conceptions otherwise than by denial and overthrow, it cannot be doubtful where the victory will rest. Natural religion is, in order of time and of thought, prior to revealed religion, and the supernatural elements of the latter must find place with the settled activities of the former, and work with them to the formation of the universe of matter and of mind. That ministry will best retain and extend its influence which can most perfectly unite the new and the old, losing nothing of value from either, that can defend the spontaneity and freedom of mind, while yielding matter to those declared and inexorable forces that so manifestly rule in it.

Many who are stern in their enforcement of rigid dogma within a strictly theological field will themselves entertain,

or readily admit in others, views, theories of intellect or of physical force which, consistently developed, must issue in atheism. Not to know religious truth in its relation to other truths, in its dependence on physical science, and above all on mental science, is to be ignorant of that concerning it which is most important to the guidance, the mastery of our times. To the ministry, as at once an educated and religious class, it belongs to acquire that breadth of knowledge and of sympathies which shall enable them to harmonize the two branches of their single faith, and to lay an equally strong hold on the fruits of science, which are natural religion, and of scripture, which are revealed religion. A good defence of our belief requires a thorough sympathy with all truth, and a profound repose of our faith on the laws of the world — the conjoint laws of the physical and spiritual creation.

Equally necessary is it that religious principles should be so broadened in their application as to meet and comprehend all wise social, practical theories and precepts. If men of science are offended by a supernatural element, that lies apart from nature, or is often found at war with it, yet more are men of active benevolence offended by those presentations of Christian faith which hold it aloof from the forward movements in society. For the immediate influence of the ministry it is not sufficient that they finally yield to foregone conclusions. They, as imbued with fundamental, ethical principles, are under obligation often to strike out and easily to recognize those principles which lie next in order in the progress of society. More breadth, therefore, is the demand made upon the ministry, both in the world of thought and of action. Since Christianity can not only rule in both directions, but is waiting for these adjuncts of science and morality for its own full development, it behooves the ministry to be able, without unnecessary jar and collision, to lay hold of and incorporate every gain into their own system, to unite it integrally to those supreme truths committed to them. This is to give breadth, as well as height, to Christianity — is to allow it to spring freely from the whole life

of man, his every thought and action, and thus to rule without obstruction or conflict in his mind and heart. The ministry are put by the science and the reform of the day under new responsibilities, and can only lead forward the Lord's hosts as they reconnoitre afresh, and choose every position of advantage and power. When the enemy have a commanding point, we should lose no time in shifting our camp, in seeking anew the elevations that should now belong to us.

But that on which most of all the influence of the pulpit must depend is the moral force with which its truths are held, the love and sympathy which they call out toward men. The pulpit is for the many, not for the few. Its purpose is not so much to pioneer the paths of progress, as it is to gather men in them, and urge on those who loiter by the way. No erudition can atone for any want of popular sympathy, of compassion, of Christlike love that goes in search of the lost. Christianity is at the utmost remove from the artistic, esoteric spirit of refinement, from the haughty exclusion, or quiet forgetfulness even, of literary culture. It must strike downward with long and searching and multiplied roots among the sorrowing masses, gather its material from dark places, and, absorbing on every side, lift all that it touches into the sunlight and beauty of its own towering growth. This working downward by love is even more than working upward by faith, or outward by comprehension. As fountains catch the descending water in successive basins, and gather it all in the last reservoir, so the gifts of Christianity are most abundant, its graces in largest volume, as it returns from each upward impulse to fill, beautify, and overflow its lowest receptacles in the rational world. The fulfilment of faith is in love. We look upward to God, only that we may look downward with him as his eye is bent in compassion on the children of men.

It is chiefly needful that the minister should be able to encounter the best thought of his day; that, commanding respect and influence, he may use these not in controversy,

but in the guidance and encouragement of men. It was necessary that Christ should be able to withstand the Pharisees, but chiefly that, holding these at bay, he might have access to the popular mind. While there is some theoretical infidelity in the world, there is much more practical infidelity — an infidelity of the heart, rather than the head, and which must be displaced more by love than by argument. A clear intuition of truth, a fearless, forcible enunciation of it, overawe adversaries, and make way for Christianity; but Christianity itself, the purifying, converting power of love, have yet their entire work to do.

The clergy now rest, more than ever before, on a purely commercial basis in the performance of their labor. While many advantages belong to this form of connection, — advantages which increased intelligence will serve to enlarge, — it in part removes the manifest evidence of Christian love which attaches to missionary labor. Nothing can be more destructive to the true influence of the ministry than a strictly commercial spirit; since this is one whose law is pre-eminently self-love. The minister must know how to penetrate the commercial form which life is constantly assuming with the disinterestedness of the Christian temper. The apostle Paul, following the example of our Saviour, met the suspicious, distrustful spirit of his time by refusing compensation, and making all his labors a gratuity. This, in our altered times, would be to ruin the sense of justice and the rightful estimate of labor in those large bodies of Christians who are the chief recipients of ministerial instruction. Most unfortunate will it be, if both church and minister are led thereby, in large measure, to overlook the gratuitous element of love that must always enter into Christianity, and constitute, for the masses of men, its convincing, persuasive power. Churches that grow into wealth, and therefore come under its liabilities, are most effectually cut off from that demonstration of the Spirit which, opening up in the daily life the love of Christ, proclaims it with a persuasion which men cannot resist. The elegance and wealth of our churches are

the proclamation of a practical infidelity to the gospel of Christ, which cannot but result, in the ranks of those who feel themselves overlooked and deserted, in the stolid unbelief of an aggrieved and censorious heart. For these reasons it is that the power of love — real, undeniable, Christian love — is always sure to outstrip, in practical work, superior cultivation and large intellectual insight. The foundations are more than the superstructure, the heart more than veins or arteries. He preaches Christ best who shows most of his spirit, in whom love has actually wrought the largest salvation. He is able to reach down to the bottom of society, deeper than its thought; to go beyond the cold convictions of men, further than its thought; to mount up, by the secret forces of faith in the soul to God, higher than its thought. We may in many ways get ready for victory; but we conquer, as Christ upon the cross, by love.

These three methods of increasing influence — that of uniting the mind closely in belief to the supernatural, that of widening the supernatural in theory and in practice so that it shall find affiliation everywhere with the natural, and that of permeating our thought and heart with Christian love — are yet one in the intimacy of their interdependence and the manner of their acquisition. We may, indeed, give to one element a relative preponderance; but we are sure thereby in the end to weaken even its hold on the mind, and, by destroying the balance of movement, to give it a wayward, hesitating, and unsafe character. The supernatural acquires orderly and sufficient development, exerts a healthy and invigorating influence on the mind, only as it is closely joined with the natural, and ever issues in it. It is in connection with known, proportionate, constant forces that man can labor and thrive intellectually and spiritually. On the other hand, there is no such dreary waste of thought as the natural alone, separated from a supernatural origin and end, from a ministration to supernatural purposes and a providential management under them. There is in it a concatenation of causes, but no chain; a prolongation, not a continuation; a

motion, yet one that is the mere spinning of a wheel on its axis, giving no progress to the hopes and aspirations. There is need throughout of the same union that we meet with of the human and divine in the person of Christ. Without divinity, we lose even goodness and greatness, and have fanaticism, a strange inebriety of the excited, unsober reason. Without true humanity, we have mere illusive, evanescent, unsubstantial appearance. The God of nature is before the God of revelation, and the God of revelation brings but new distinctness and interpretation to the God of nature. Moreover, both the natural and supernatural will lose their power over the soul, except as they are brought into immediate ministration to a life of Christian love, and are made to yield the conditions of spiritual growth. We understand the work of God, and we work with him, only as we seek in all things the conditions of social progress. Science, even, owes much of its advancement to the care with which it submits its labors to the uses of men.

The ministry also have a united, as well as a separate, influence. While it is desirable that each should be able to meet, in a more or less independent way, the wants of the time, it will inevitably happen that to one will fall one branch of effort, and to another another branch. All may not be able successfully to encounter the various forms of scientific and critical unbelief. It suffices if the ministry furnishes among its numbers those who can wisely confront, attack, and guide thought in each direction; for the household of faith is one, and its defence, enlargement, and nourishment are one interest. Each enters into the labors of every other, and sees his own services at once lightened thereby and made more valuable. The ministry, with all its feebleness and blind work, will meet with justification so long as the kingdom of God is working its way onward by means of it, and finds in it the best, broadest, safest hold of spiritual truth.

ARTICLE VII.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL METHODS OF PREACHING — PREACHING EXTEMPORE.

BY EDWARDS A. PARK.

(Continued from p. 383).

IV. Reasons for Preaching Extempore.

If a military commander conduct a battle without previously forming a plan of it, or if he form an exact and inflexible plan, extending to all the minutiae of the battle, he may have reason to fear a defeat. If, on the contrary, he devise a general scheme of operations, and hold himself ready to change it in order to meet the unexpected details of the conflict, he may have good reason to anticipate a victory. So if an extemporizer begin his discourse without any preceding arrangement of his subject-matter, or if he make a definite and unalterable arrangement of even its minutest details, he may not be justified in anticipating success. But if he make a general schedule of his thoughts, and leave it to be filled out and modified as the incidents of the delivery suggest, he may reasonably hope to speak well. For the sake of convenience the method of preaching without any antecedent plan of thought is called the unpremeditated; the method of preaching with a merely general, but flexible plan, is called the premeditated; the method of preaching with a definite, fixed, unbending plan, which includes the minutest details, is called the predetermined. Having already considered the rules for extemporaneous discourse, we are prepared to consider the reasons for it. Of course these reasons apply to the second of the above-named modes of preaching extempore; not to the first, which, however, may be commended when there is no time for the second; nor to the third, which corresponds to the "exact" mode of preparing

a discourse,[1] and which may be sanctioned when the preacher is undisciplined for anything more free and natural.

1. Several of the reasons for preaching extempore are suggested as soon as we examine the nature of sacred eloquence. If a minister speak according to the principles of oratory; he speaks according to the constitution of the soul, and if he harmonize with the constitution of the soul, he discourses in unison with the laws of nature; and if he utter the truth in consonance with these laws, he obeys the Author of these laws, and may expect aid from on high. The nature of a sermon is the same as the nature of a dialogue. The interlocution being public is of course conducted with a peculiar reserve and decorum. Mere prose is designed merely to instruct the intellect; a sermon is therefore not mere prose. Neither is it a lyric poem; for such a poem is the outgushing of the emotions of a man who utters what pleases him, and does not watch for the effect of his words on other men. It may be said that a veritable sermon is now and then enkindled with a poetic fire, and has the nature of a dramatic poem. While it retains the drama, however, it generally drops the poem. In the main, a sermon is that species of prose which is denominated eloquence. That it is essentially, although blindly, a dialogue may be evident from the following analysis.

A preacher's great aim is to influence the will of his hearers. In order to persuade their will he must convince their understanding. He therefore begins to ply them with argument. Perceiving that they reject his first proof, he brings forward a second, perhaps a third. When their faces express to him their conviction, he proceeds to arouse their sensibilities. He makes one appeal, but the countenances of his hearers tell him that he is unsuccessful. He makes a second or a third. At length he is informed by the attitude (a silent language) of his auditors that they are affected. He then proceeds to address their will. His exhortation fails to persuade them; he continues to exhort until he sees their

[1] See § 5. III. 5. C. above.

eyes kindling with resolution. Now his work is done. He has ploughed the field and sown the seed; the harvest comes from a higher power.

Sometimes he makes *his* part of the dialogue particularly conspicuous. A pulpit orator once varied his discourse with the abrupt words: "My friends, I see that you are not pleased with my subject; I have made a mistake in my selection: I will take a different theme from a different text," and then he began an entirely new sermon, securing the rapt attention of the men whose faces expressed their disregard for his first sermon. In former ages the persons addressed made *their* part of the dialogue eminently conspicuous. They did not allow the pulpit to be called the "coward's castle." They hissed what they disliked, and more frequently applauded what they did like. Chrysostom rebuked his congregation for their tumultuous plaudits.[1] He preferred their tears to their clapping of hands. But their tears were a response to him not less really than the audible applause, and the clapping of hands was a form of language not less expressive than the articulated words. Queen Christina of Sweden had a systematic method of announcing to the preacher in the royal chapel that she was dissatisfied with his remarks. Sometimes we reprove a man who ventures to condemn a sermon: "You have no right to express an opinion about it, for you were asleep during its delivery." We forget the words of a French critic: "Sleep is an opinion." At any rate, the man who in the midst of the sermon adjusts his body for repose, or looks out of the window, or gazes at the frescoed walls, utters thereby what is equivalent to words of dissatisfaction or indifference. An accomplished orator reads whole sentences written on the eyes and lips of his congregation.[2] He replies to those sen-

[1] Augustine, alluding to one of his most effective sermons, remarks: "I did not think that I had accomplished anything when I heard them [the auditors] applauding, but when I saw them weeping. They showed by their acclamations that they were taught and delighted, but by their tears that they were persuaded" (flecti). De Doctrina Christiana, Liber iv. § 53.

[2] When conversing in regard to his audience at Cambridge, Robert Hall said: "Sir, I often have the scene before me. I could always tell when the

tences. His hearers make a rejoinder. He makes a surrejoinder. The layman in the pew may be a still, but he is often an effective, speaker to the occupant of the pulpit. He thus indirectly addresses his fellow-laymen in the pews. A woman and a child need not preach on the platform; they may preach in their manner of looking at the orator. His inspiration comes from the earnest attention of his hearers. It is proverbial that a good listener is to a good talker what steel is to the flint. There will be no scintillation from the flint unless there be a close and sharp contact with the steel. The speaker falls into a monologue, unless he be heard by one who responds by the features of his face, if not by the words of his mouth. As words may be things so may silence be words. Silence is often the most expressive language. The countenance of a deaf mute is more eloquent than the vocabulary of a garrulous man.[1] Hence it may appear that

people were pleased with my preaching." "There is Mr. —, I could always tell when he was pleased; did you ever observe, Sir? he would bend his head forward, accompanied with a nod of approbation and a smile of satisfaction. And there was Mr. —, he used to raise himself and elevate his neck and chin, as if he would not lose a word. And there was old Mr. —, who sat to the right. He was a very pious man, Sir; I always knew when I said anything savory; he would immediately stand up and move his mouth and his lips (describing the motion), as if he were chewing the cud and the words were sweet in his mouth." Greene's Reminiscences of Rev. Robert Hall, pp. 64, 65.

[1] The power of the countenance to utter words is well illustrated in Sprague's Annals, Vol. ii. pp. 50, 51. "During the Revolutionary war, he [Rev. David Sanford, a noted pulpit orator of New England] was called to preach at a place where a company of soldiers had encamped, and whose commander, attracted by his reputation as a popular speaker, marched his men into the galleries of the meeting-house in which Mr. Sanford was to hold his service. While he was speaking, a board by which a shattered window had been replaced, fell, and the exercises were somewhat interrupted by the noise and confusion of putting it back. By a repetition of the occurrence, he was interrupted a second and a third time, when, rushing to seize the board, he cried out to the soldiers, 'Let that board alone.' The officer, on retiring, being asked how he liked the preacher, replied, 'Pretty well, but I should have liked him better if he had not sworn so.' 'Sworn, Captain, I heard no oaths.' 'Yes, he said (here repeating a tremendous oath) "let that board alone."' 'You certainly mistake — he uttered no oath whatever.' 'Well,' replied the Captain, 'if he did not say the words, he looked them.' Hence, in after life, when his countenance was perceived to indicate dangerous displeasure, some anxious, good-natured brother would tell him not to swear so."

in various particulars a minister who preaches extempore has an advantage over men who read or recite their sermons.

A. He has an advantage in speaking to the present condition of his hearers. It is very true that in some degree a writer may anticipate the train of thought into which his auditors will come, and may thus prophetically put on paper his conversation with them.[1] But a present observer has an advantage over uninspired prophets. The actual presence of hearers is more suggestive than their ideal presence. Speaking with his mental as well as bodily eye open and ready to turn either way, he sees (what he could not have foreseen) that his auditors do not give heed to his first topic; for a company of soldiers with a band of music is passing the church. He repeats that topic in a variety of forms, as he finds it to be needed. He perceives (what he could not have predicted) that his hearers are indifferent to his peroration; for they are uncomfortable in their seats, are two warm or not warm enough, breathing possibly too much, or probably too little, of cool, fresh air. He modifies his concluding appeal so as to compel the attention which he did not attract. He not only speaks the word, but speaks the word in season. Hundreds of well-wrought paragraphs have been lost by the preacher as he keeps his eye upon them, because his hearers while present in body have been for a few moments absent in mind.

B. From the preceding topic it follows that a man who preaches extempore has an advantage in preserving the interest of his hearers in his subject. A popular sermon, in the ordinary sense, is one which merely pleases men, or it is a superficial, or a sensational, or a vulgar sermon. But in the scientific sense it is one which appeals to the existing state of the hearers, and aims, first, to secure their adoption of a specified truth; secondly, to found on their intellectual faith an appeal to their sensibilities; thirdly, to found on their excited sensibilities an appeal to their will. It never attempts to erect the edifice until it has laid the basis for it. It presents the arguments when the hearer has been prepared

[1] See § 2. II. 3. H. above.

for them. It presents the motives when he has been made favorable to the acceptance of them. It assumes that the orator and those whom he addresses must have a common ground to stand on, and he is to move them forward only as he sees this ground to be level enough and smooth enough for their easy passage. It makes them appear to convince themselves rather than to be influenced by him. They perceive that he respects their individuality because he lets their own thought move their feeling, and their own feeling move their volition; and he leaves their good resolves to be drawn out of them from within rather than driven into them from without. They do not feel dishonored in being allured forward by the attractions of heaven, but they do feel dishonored when they are dragged onward by the devices of a rhetorician. The "popularity" of a sermon implies the observance of the old rule:

> "Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
> And things unknown proposed as things forgot."[1]

Applying the term "popular" in this scientific sense, as comprehending not merely the agreeableness of a sermon, but also the constitutional ground on which it becomes agreeable, we easily see that an extemporizer has an advantage in making his sermon "popular," because he stands ready to adapt his successive thoughts to the successive wants of those who hear him, and is thus able not only to awaken, but also to perpetuate their interest in truths pertinent to their varying moods, and to lead them forward by the spontaneous co-operation of their own minds. It is often said to be a mystery why one sermon is acceptable to auditors who cannot name a single particular in which the sermon is a good one, while another discourse fails to interest the very men who are loud in applauding its author. The mystery is often solved by the fact that the first sermon keeps pace with the progress of its hearers. The speaker goes before them, and yet continues near them and with them. He keeps a close watch of them, sees where they are

[1] Pope's Essay on Criticism.

in danger of parting from him, and at the moment of peril becomes the more particular to hold them by the hand. As he thus glides along in their company he attracts no attention to his own individual self. They feel no jolt nor jar. Where he can, he does make every statement so clear that it infolds its own evidence in its very words. He adduces no argument unless he sees that it is needed; and when he sees it to be needed, he states it without any parade. Although his logic is strong in substance, it is not syllogistic in form. He is, therefore, not praised as a reasoner. He foists into his style no learned word, unless he sees that his people are prepared to comprehend it. He is, therefore, not praised for his erudition. Indeed, in his sermons there is nothing for which he is praised, even by the men whom he interests. They may say of him, as was said of Dr. Pococke, "He is no Latiner"; but they continue, notwithstanding, to say, "Master Pococke is a very good man."

On the other hand, the second sermon above alluded to is not conformed to the present and peculiar need of its hearers. The preacher does not perceive their existing state, or, perceiving it, is not flexile enough to meet it. He reads what he has written, adapted or not, understood or not. He holds a diamond before his congregation, and while they are admiring its lustre, he is giving the chemical analysis of the gem; and while they are inquiring for its history, he is describing its facets; and when they begin to search for its chemical ingredients, he begins to speak of its lustre; and as they turn their minds toward its facets, he directs their attention to its history; and thus he is ever speaking of that which they have ceased, or not begun, to think of. As he does not time his words to their wants, they do not understand him; and as they do not comprehend his words, they commend him as learned. "Omne ignotum pro mirifico." They are not interested in the sermon as a declaration of truth, but they look up in admiration at the sublimity of the man. They are like some English auditors, in the seventeenth century, of whom Dr. South says, that "the

grossest, the most ignorant and illiterate country-people were of all men the fondest of high-flown metaphors and allegories, attended and set off with scraps of Greek and Latin, though not able even to read so much of the latter as might save their necks upon occasion."[1]

C. From the foregoing topics, it follows that a man who preaches extempore has an advantage in making an impression on the feelings of his hearers. A sermon is properly defined to be a discourse founded on some passage of scripture, and designed to impart religious instruction and make a religious impression on men.[2] Its first design, then, is to teach; its second, to impress. But the two designs are often divorced from each other. When the sermon aims to instruct merely, it becomes an essay or treatise. Its end is gained in doing justice to the truths unfolded, apart from

[1] "Save their necks upon occasion." — George Crabb in his Dictionary of General Knowledge thus defines the phrase, Benefit of Clergy: "In England a privilege in law, at first peculiar to the clergy, but in after times made common to the laity. When any one was convicted of certain crimes, he had a book given him to read, and if the ordinary or his deputy pronounced these words, 'Legit ut clericus,' he reads like a clergyman, or scholar, he was only burnt in the hand and set free for the first offence; otherwise he was to suffer death."

[2] Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, B. V. comprehends these two designs in the structure of a sermon. "So worthy a part of divine service we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteem preaching as the blessed ordinance of God, *sermons* as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of men, unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds."

The word *edification*, like the word "sermon," combines the intellectual with the emotional element. Hooker says, Ecclesiastical Polity, B. V.: "Now men are edified when either their understanding is taught somewhat whereof in such actions it behoveth all men to consider; or when their hearts are moved with any affliction suitable thereunto, when their minds are in any sort stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard which in those cases seemeth requisite.

Sometimes, however, the word "edification" denotes merely the intellectual improvement, as Killingbeck says: "He will discourse to us edifyingly *and* feelingly," etc. Sometimes it denotes merely, or chiefly, the emotional excitement. This is often the German meaning of Erbauung. Thus Professor Schott regards the memoriter preaching in the German pulpit as more *edifying* than the reading of discourses in the English pulpit. Theorie der Beredsamkeit, Th. 3. Abth. 2. ss. 328, 329. According to him the sermons of Zollikoffer are more edifying than those of Bishop Butler.

their relation to the hearers. When it aims to impress merely, it becomes an exhortation, expostulation, or an appeal. Its end is gained in doing justice to the hearers, apart from their relation to the truths unfolded. The written sermon has an advantage over the extemporaneous in the first of the above-named offices, but is in danger of neglecting the second. Hence the word "sermon" has often the limited meaning of an instructive lecture, or a sober, dull, or even stupid essay on theology. The extemporary sermon has an advantage over the written in the second of the two offices, but is in danger of neglecting the first. Hence the word "sermon" is sometimes narrowed down to mean a reproving lecture, an admonitory or stirring address, an expostulatory effusion, or a mere rhapsody or preachment on some religious theme.[1] The tendency of a written sermon to be didactic is so useful, and its tendency to omit the practical element is so hurtful, that the former ought to be encouraged and the latter repressed. So the tendency of an extemporaneous discourse to be practical is so good, and its tendency to omit the doctrinal element is so evil, that the former should be promoted and the latter resisted. By a combination of the two methods the preacher learns to augment the right tendency, and to correct the wrong tendency of each — to do justice to his subject in its relation to the hearers, and do justice to the hearers in their relation to the subject.[2] By his elaborate writing of one discourse he learns to fill several sermons with persuasions that are instructive, and by preaching extempore three or four sermons he learns to fill his written discourse with instructions which are persuasive. His extemporary sermons familiarize him with the methods of appeal to the heart, and prevent his being suspected of "delivering stale indignation and fervor of a week

[1] "Is it a small benefit that I am placed there — where I hear no invectives, no false doctrines, no *sermocinations* of iron-mongers, felt-makers, cobblers, broom-men, grooms, or any other of those inspired ignorants?" — Bishop Hall's "The Free Prisoner," § 2. Howell says: "These obstreperous *sermocinators* make easy impression upon the minds of the vulgar."

[2] See § 1. II. 2, above.

old; turning over whole pages of violent passions written out in German text; reading the tropes and apostrophes into which he is hurried by the ardor of his mind; and so affected at a preconcerted line and page that he is unable to proceed any further."[1]

If a sermon be a kind of dignified conversation, then the extemporary sermon must have peculiar facilities for impressing the feelings. When a preacher adopts an ancient custom of delivering from the pulpit the discourses of other men,[2] his hearers complain: "We long for a sermon fresh from the heart." The borrower replies: "I give you better sermons than I can write. You ought to be thankful for the discourses of Leighton and Baxter. Every sentence is new and fresh to you." This response may confound, but does not convince the hearers. They feel that a sermon written in the seventeenth century is ill-adapted to their individual wants. A man who reads to us a printed epistle from Latimer, Ridley, or Cranmer is not conversing with us. So hearers are apt to feel that a preacher is not holding a dialogue with them when he is perusing aloud what he prepared a week before. His discourse, compared with that of a sagacious extemporizer, does not wind itself into the present sinuosities of their minds. He does not catch their flitting emotion, and give it back heightened and deepened. He has been compared to a book standing on two legs. The teachings of the book are weighty; but they do not chime in

[1] Works of Rev. Sydney Smith, p. 6. The very nature of the mind teaches us, however, that the orator *may* be more affected in reading a paragraph to an assembly than he was in writing it privately, and his fervor of a week old *may* be kindled anew and heightened more than ever when he gives it vent.

[2] "There are some, indeed, who are able to deliver a discourse well, but not to compose (excogitate) it. If these persons should take that which has been eloquently and wisely written by others, and should commit it to memory and pronounce it before the people, they would not do wrong, provided they have a commission." Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. iv. § 62. Before the art of printing from types was practised in England, ministers often availed themselves of block-books, containing "series of skeleton sermons, ornamented with wood-cuts to warm the imagination, and strewed with texts to assist the memory of the preacher."

with the tone of those who listen to it. He is tempted to exhaust the subject; but he exhausts them instead. In aiming to do justice to his theme, he shows no mercy to the men, women, and poor children before him. "The secret of tiring" in conversation, says Voltaire, "is to say everything that can be said on the theme." The secret of impressing the feelings is to say the right thing at the moment when the hearers are waiting for it, and to leave unsaid the wrong thing at the moment when an intellectual man is tempted to say it. A preacher may unfit himself to enlist the sympathies of his audience when he predetermines to use the interrogative tone during the second head of his discussion, the monotone at the beginning of the fourth head, the tremulous voice during the first part of his peroration, and the objurgatory accent in the last part. His hearers are taken at disadvantage, as they have made no similar plan for the dialogue. He awakens their fellow-feeling with him when he speaks as if a new idea had just now flashed upon his mind, and his bosom were struggling with a sudden emotion. The great masters of ancient oratory, even when they had carefully elaborated their orations, were equally careful to speak as if themselves and their hearers were starting together on an untried course of thought, and as if the words striking on the ear were as fresh to him who spoke as to those who listened. Men are wondrously stimulated when they behold wisdom as Minerva springing in full panoply from the brain of one who addresses them.

D. It is involved in the preceding statements, and it also follows from them, that a man who preaches extempore has an advantage in his appeals to the will.

a. His mode of address is adapted to secure the sympathy of his hearers. Their will is influenced by their sympathy, and this is enlisted by the preacher who is in too much haste for stopping to read a manuscript. If he would most rapidly persuade them to act, he must let them see his eye fixed undividedly upon their eyes as Cornelius looked steadily at the angel; he must come near enough to them to let them feel

the beating of his heart. He fails to do this if he hold a manuscript between himself and the persons whom he is entreating to perform a specified act; if he appear to be dealing *directly* with his *papers*, and not with his *hearers*. A man working the telegraph excites but little sympathy in the strangers to whom he sends a message while his eye is fixed on his clicking instrument. If we meet a merchant and would induce him to buy or sell a commodity, or if we meet a philanthropist and would incite him to subscribe money for a school or a hospital we do not pour into his ear written expostulations; we may read some exact statement for his information, but we address his will in words too earnest to be rehearsed from a paper; we converse eye to eye. The crusaders were aroused to their distant marches not by hearing disquisitions perused aloud, but by hearing the tones of a man who spoke such words as he could not retain. When we would persuade our hearers to a right choice we must remember that the Most High blesses those persuasions which are in themselves fitted to secure the choice.

b. The extemporizer's mode of address may induce him to present motives in a practical form, and this is the form for persuading the will. It often tempts him to indulge in rodomontade and extravagance, and herein has a pernicious tendency. It induces a considerate man, however, to regard himself as conversing with his hearers, and to receive instruction from the faces of those who listen to him. When he writes he is apt to be more abstract and theoretical than when he speaks. He reads a sentence because he has proved it to be true, without considering whether or not his hearers have adopted or understood the proof. With his eye fixed upon his paper he repeats calmly or boldly a statement which he would modify if he saw the hints written on the countenances of his auditors. That statement may be more bookish than human. Reasoners may respond to it, but men, women, and children may be repelled by it.[1] An amiable and even diffident

[1] There is more than one element of truth in the paradoxical saying of Charles James Fox: "Did the speech read well when reported? If so, it was a bad one."

preacher supposed in his study chamber that he had sufficiently qualified the remark, and accordingly he declared in the pulpit, that "all impenitent men are as bad as they can be and are growing worse and worse every day." He would not have looked his recusant hearers in the face and said to them in a conversational style: "You are as bad as you can possibly be and continually growing worse." Another is said to have perused aloud the words which had been written and therefore must be read: "As all impenitent men are by nature serpents and vipers, so their little children are little serpents and little vipers." While catching the hopeful glances of the boys and girls before him he would not have addressed them as his little serpents and little vipers, without a prolonged exegesis and epexegesis. In many printed volumes of sermons there are propositions which are corollaries from antecedent arguments and come, because they must, as links welded into a chain. They would never have been suggested by contact with living men; whether true or false they are not in that practical shape which is fitted for touching the springs of action. Nature speaks to nature. In times of high religious excitement the divine who has been wont to read his disquisitions, comes into the lecture-room and talks in a familiar, practical style, on what seems to be not a theological speculation, but a religious business. He is then said to have suddenly *become* forcible, eloquent.

c. The extemporizer's mode of address has certain peculiar aptitudes for the development of his religious purpose, and this development is in its nature persuasive. His purpose may be no firmer than that of other men, but his exigencies in the pulpit may cause him to manifest a temper which, if he were free from these necessities, he might neglect or conceal. Want is the mother of prayer. If there is ever a moment in which a minister feels a reliance on the grace of heaven it is when he rises before a congregation and begins to speak, reflecting on his liability to lose the train of his thoughts, to forget the happy words for expressing them, to sink into a torpor of emotion, to say more or less than

he meant, to utter falsehood for truth, or to make the real truth appear feeble and sickly. Then it is that he strives to bring himself into harmony with the Divine Spirit, invokes the promised aid from on high, and learns to preach trusting in that Infinite Mind which gives a persuasive influence to the words of a good man. The consummate orator is defined to be "vir bonus dicendi peritus," and this man can "do all things through Christ who strengtheneth" him. His feeling of trust in the divine help is the vein of pure water which when struck by his sense of need becomes within him a well of living water. When Charles Wesley first ventured to preach without notes he had and manifested that spirit which is strong because weak, and is fitted to persuade men because it is allied with the strength of God. "Seeing so few present I thought of preaching extempore; afraid, yet I ventured on the promise 'Lo I am with you alway,' and spoke on justification from Romans iii. three quarters of an hour without hesitation. Glory be to God who keepeth his promise forever."[1] Although the first extemporary sermon of a man is often a lamentable failure, yet the instances in which it has been eminently useful seem to be more numerous than those in which his first written sermon has been thus distinguished.[2]

2. Several of the reasons for extemporaneous preaching

[1] Life of Charles Wesley, p. 147, as quoted by Dr. J. W. Alexander.

[2] Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring describes in his Reminiscences his first extemporaneous discourse. He passed a Sabbath at Ashford, Connecticut. He was asked by the resident pastor: "Will you not favor me with your name?" "Excuse me," said Dr. Spring, "I have reasons for desiring to remain unknown." He consented to occupy the Ashford pulpit on condition of his remaining unknown to the pastor and the people. He desired to ascertain whether he could preach without notes before an audience who were entire strangers to him, as he was an entire stranger to them. "And the experiment was full of encouragement." He adds: "I never preached better, nor to a more attentive and affected audience." Some years afterward that Connecticut pastor took Dr. Spring by the hand and said: "Do you remember the Sabbath at Ashford? It was a memorable day to us. That day God made bare his arm; it was the beginning of a work of grace among my people." Such a result we should not have expected from written sermons, especially if preached in the way of a homiletic experiment.

are suggested as soon as we consider its influence on the preacher himself. Much of this influence depends on the principle that an exercise is apt to give what it requires. The habits of a scholar present certain obstacles to extemporary speech; he derives new power from the very fact of pressing against these obstacles. "Difficulty," says Edmund Burke, "is a severe instructor, set over us by the supreme ordinance of a parental guardian and legislator, who knows us better than we know ourselves, as he loves us better too. *Pater ipse colendi haud facilem esse viam voluit.* He that wrestles with us, strengthens our nerves, and sharpens our skill. Our antagonist is our helper."

A. His extemporary efforts may lead a preacher to form habits of introspection; to discipline himself in examining his own thoughts. There is a class of ministers whose ideas are both numerous and rapid; who form just conclusions, but are unable to recall any reason by which they were convinced. They are better thinkers than teachers. They are compared to lamps which cannot burn because they are so full of oil; to scholars who are kept from hard study because they have too much blood in the brain. Some of these men are right in thinking themselves unfit for preaching extempore. Others are wrong in thinking so. They might and they would improve their mental character if they would analyze their thoughts; detain a prominent idea; revolve it in their minds; gather around it the subordinate ideas; keep them in the memory long enough to make their relation to the prominent thought not only obvious but impressive. If they do this they can speak extempore, and this discipline gives them a power over their own faculties, and this power is more than enough to conquer a city.

B. Hence by preaching extempore a minister may be led to fasten his attention upon the great principles, rather than the small details of divine truth. Perhaps he is unduly influenced by chance associations. He is tempted away from his main course of thought by a phrase or a syllable which he happens to hear or to utter. He is flattered as having a command

over words, while in fact his words have a command over him. He abstains from extemporary discourse because he is perpetually deviating from his general plan, and wandering after side issues. But the practice from which he recoils is the very discipline which he needs. In pursuing it he would learn the importance of keeping on the high road and not roaming into by-paths. He sees that his congregation are interested, not so much in the minutiae, as in the great principles of theology. They look at a subject, not in its mathematical, but in its salient points. He feels the necessity of holding up the subject in that light which arrests the vision of his people. Thus he learns to spend more time on the chief idea than on its accessories. He digs down toward the hidden current of water in order to provide a never-failing well. "Surely there is a vein for the silver," and he labors to strike this vein. In it are the treasures; out of it, sand and rubbish.

C. By preaching extempore a minister may gain a quickness, tenacity, and force of thought. Quickness; for what he does he must do at once.[1] He is sometimes not only in conversation but in controversy with his hearers. If one argument or illustration fails, he must instantly try another. He must aim and fire his gun without waiting; and if the gun misses fire he must take to the bayonet, and if that fails he must be ready for an encounter hand to hand. And here he gains tenacity as well as rapidity of thought. He must not

[1] On entering his pulpit at Cambridge Robert Hall was surprised to find many barristers in his audience. Their presence excited him. He had thought of his subject at intervals, and during the preceding night; but his discourse seemed to have been *prepared* for the barristers. It was observed that most of them "appeared to feel oppressed by the closeness of attention which was requisite fully to estimate the weight of evidence" which he produced. "As we were walking home, I said to Mr. Hall, 'What an astonishing sermon you have given us this morning, Sir! I never heard you deliver a discourse with so much rapidity.' 'Why, Sir,' he replied, 'my only chance of getting through was by galloping on as fast as I could: I was thrown on my resources; and had no conception of its being the assizes, till I entered the pulpit and saw the counsellors. I never preached from that subject before, Sir.'" — Greene's Reminiscences of Robert Hall, pp 111, 112. It is well-known that such sermons gave a continued impetus to Mr. Hall's mind.

allow himself to be distracted by stray suggestions; he must keep his eye fixed on his topic, and must not be gazing at the scattered clouds. He must not be overcome by his own emotion, but must hold himself stout against all excess or morbidness of feeling. His mind has been compared to an iron mould; it has an unyielding texture; it has inward configurations alike strong and ornate. The molten silver is poured into it. The liquid must yield to, and receive into itself, the configurations of the matrix; must not melt it nor dissolve it nor overheat it. While the mould remains firm it fulfils the purpose for which it is used, and gives a graceful as well as useful form to the melted silver. Now the very fact that the extemporizer's mind must shape for itself the materials of his discourse puts him under the constant necessity of cultivating the power of attention. This necessity gives him an habitual stimulus to take hold, and keep hold, and resist all allurements for losing hold, of his appropriate subject. Working under this stimulus, he invigorates his intellect.

He acquires not only tenacity, but also force, of thought. "It is in me and it must come out," are the words of Sheridan speaking of an idea, and thus giving a definition of eloquence. The necessity of coming out gives force to the manner in which the idea comes. If a man *confine* himself to the writing of sermons he may feel a disproportionate anxiety about commas and semicolons, the niceties of phrase, the refinement of distinctions. In augmenting his microscopic power he may lessen his ability to use the telescope. While other men are too rapid or volatile he is too fastidious and slow for extemporary discourse. Perhaps the lethargy of his mind causes the hesitancy of his speech. He shrinks from the work of uttering his sentences while he is constructing them. That, however, is the work which will make him elastic and many-sided, "sure as a rifle and quick as its flash." He will receive the right impetus from the double process of originating new trains of remark, and at the same moment addressing men who will not wait for his adjusting

of particles and transposing of monosyllables. Other men need more correctness; he needs more stimulus. Other men need to be steadied;[1] he needs to be fired. "Facit indignatio versum." Standing in the presence of four or five hundred listeners who demand a new thought as soon as they have received the first, he catches an impulse from their expectant faces; his heart as well as intellect is roused, his logic becomes firmer and more forceful than ever, although, in the words of John Milton, it opens its "contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric."

E. By preaching extempore a minister may be led to keep himself familiar with truths and facts needed for his sermons. If he is to deliver from manuscript a series of discourses on the four Gospels, he must understand what he explains; but if he is to compose these discourses while he is delivering them, he must not only understand the Gospels, but must naturalize them in his mind as he has naturalized the English alphabet. If he would write astronomical sermons like those of Chalmers, he must know the truths of astronomy; but if he will extemporize such discourses, he must make himself a more absolute master of those truths — must roll them like playthings over and over in his memory. Hence we find that a wise extemporizer is perpetually on the alert in acquiring, not only such a knowledge of truths and facts as will gratify his own curiosity, but also such a definite knowledge as will enable him to communicate them at a moment's warning to his congregation. He aims to be like Bias, who, when asked why he did not, like his fellow-citizens, carry some of his property with him as he fled from his besieged home, replied that he carried his all in himself. He strives to gain the power of breathing his accumulated knowledge from his memory with as much ease as he breathes air from the lungs. Unconsciously and habitually he is storing his mind with plans, concepts of sermons. They come to him

[1] Speaking of an antagonist who was curious and nice in adjusting his logical "moods and figures," Daniel Webster said: "I can convince the jury that I have all the right on my side, while he is fitting one of his syllogisms."

as new inventions come to a mechanician. He is a perpetual artist as distinct from artisan. One great advantage of this discipline is, that it gives him a clearer view than he would have otherwise of truths and facts. "Thoughts disentangle" when a thinker arranges them so that they may easily pass his lips. He often imagines that he understands what he knows that he cannot explain. He imagines that he can explain in written, what he knows that he cannot explain in unwritten speech. But when he attempts to fix in his mind such precise ideas as can be stated at any time extempore, he finds that he never did understand what he imagined that he did. Like Ixion, he was mistaking a cloud for a divinity. Another, and the greatest, advantage of this discipline is that it enriches his mind. He does not store his memory with truths and facts merely in order to repeat them, but in order to incorporate them with himself. The food of the nightingale is spiritualized into its instinct for singing. The rule is: "Never lose an opportunity for seeing anything beautiful. Beauty is God's handwriting, a wayside sacrament." But the reason for noticing the beauties of nature or art is that they make the soul beautiful, and thus enable it to combine the graces of thought with graces of language.

F. By preaching extempore a minister is led to discipline his mind in the study of words, as well as things. In order to become an accomplished pianist, like Liszt or Thalberg, a man must exercise his muscles, judgment, memory, taste, for days, weeks, months, years. In order to make a fit use of language, which is a far more complicated instrument than the material apparatus of a musician, a man needs a far more thorough discipline of his physical and mental powers. He needs to learn the art of weighing one word by another, of detecting the preponderance of this phrase over that which is supposed to be synonymous with it. In order to learn this, he needs to discipline himself in the science of language, and in the acquisition of those tongues, like the Latin and Greek, which are eminently illustrative of this science. The necessity for such a discipline prompts him to acquire

it. This is the tendency, whatever may be the fact. He must obtain a rare power of comprehension, if he learns to express a great truth with its manifold relations in a few pregnant words, and to make each of those words an index of a distinct line of thought. A skilful extemporizer has been compared to a man who extracts a few drops of oil from thousands of roses, a few grains of quinine from hundreds of pounds of bark. Whoever can originate such metamorphoses must go through an invigorating discipline for it, or else be gifted with a rare genius by nature.

If he conform to the tendencies of his method, he must discipline himself in acquiring not only a large, but also a select vocabulary. His "copia verborum" must be within his easy remembrance, as well as possible recollection. He must, therefore, be at home with the best authors. He must preserve the habit of accurate conversation. He must recoil from those vulgarisms which form the staple of many popular novels. A clergyman, who had caught the contagion of these fashionable books and booklets, was so unconscious of the malaria which he was breathing that he suspected no inconsistency between his thought and his style when he gave this public advice to theological students: "Avoid all familiarity with low idioms. Never allow yourself to use a vulgarism in your conversation; for if you utter a slang term in the parlor, it will, before you know it, *pop* out in the pulpit." We do not mean that, when a man sits in his easy chair with his friends, he should *elect* rather than *choose*, *facilitate* rather than *help*, *purchase* instead of *buying*, *state* a thing instead of *saying* it; never *begin* but *commence;* never *end* but *terminate;* never *live* but *reside;* have a *residence* instead of a *house*, in a *locality* instead of a *place*. The dignity of a sermon is entirely distinct from such prudery; is equally removed from the finical and the coarse.

G. By preaching extempore a minister may discipline himself to conduct well the other services of the sanctuary. There are men who hesitate, recall their words, and finally stammer in appointing a weekly conference or announcing

a hymn to be sung. Many are embarrassed in their public devotions, and either suspend their speech altogether, or slide into unmeaning or confused utterances. If they were skilled in extemporary speech, they would either avoid such perplexity, or if at any time bewildered in public prayer, they would know how to extricate themselves. Dr. Samuel Cooper, pastor of Brattle Square church, Boston, was distinguished for his fluency in unwritten speech, yet was at one time embarrassed in an extemporaneous prayer. We read that "on a special occasion, during the gloomiest season of the [Revolutionary] war, as he was leading in the devotions of an assembly, he came suddenly to a full stop, as if his extemporary powers had entirely failed him. The eyes of the congregation were at once fixed upon him with mingled wonder and apprehension, till he gave utterance to his thoughts, and thus relieved the anxiety of his audience by this solemn appeal to the Eternal: 'Teach us what we shall say unto thee, O God; for we cannot order our speech by reason of darkness.'"

H. The preceding topic has introduced another. The habit of preaching extempore prepares the minister for emergencies. It sometimes enables him to preach when advancing age has affected his vision, and he cannot read what he has written. He need not abandon the ministry in consequence of a change in the lenses of his eye.[1] His memory becomes treacherous; he cannot recall the exact words of his written sermon; but, with the aid of his extemporizing power, he can repeat without notes the substance of what he has prepared. On the mornings of some Sabbaths there are occurrences which may fitly give a new texture, or at least a new tincture, to the discourse which has been excogitated. If the preacher cannot extemporize, he loses an opportunity, and sometimes in losing an opportunity he loses a soul. When the Roman pontiff, in the year 1699,

[1] Some aged pastors whose youthful chirography cannot be deciphered without a magnifying glass of great power, re-wrote their sermons in letters each of which is more than a half-inch high.

had issued his brief condemning twenty-three propositions in Fenelon's "Maxims of the Saints," and when Fenelon, at the moment of ascending the pulpit of his cathedral, was informed of this condemnatory act, he suddenly changed the plan of his sermon, and preached on the duty of obedience to the church. The report of his condemnation had been rapidly circulated among his auditors, and they listened to his fresh thoughts and calm but solemn words with "tears of sorrow, respect, and admiration."[1] President Dwight, of Yale College, when journeying from New Haven to New York, stopped and preached on the Sabbath at Fairfield, Connecticut. Returning to his home a fortnight afterward, he preached again at the same place. As soon as he had announced his text on the second Sabbath, he was startled by remembering that the manuscript sermon lying before him had been preached a fortnight before to the same congregation. Accustomed to extemporary speech, he instantly took a new subject appropriate to the same text, struck out a new plan of thought, and delivered a discourse of which Roger Minot Sherman said: "I have never heard its equal." When Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, had read his text for an evening lecture, he was attacked with a nasal hemorrhage, and, being unable to preach, he requested Dr. (afterwards President) Ezra Stiles to address the people. Dr. Stiles arose at once, and preached extempore on the text which had been read. Although not a man of severe thought, he was a man of many thoughts, and could easily fill a discourse with fresh, while he excluded from it all trite sayings. Similar exigencies often occur, sometimes with mortifying results. A president of a New England College, rising to preach before an association of ministers, read his text, swooned, was carried out of the church; and the people, clergymen as well as laymen, were then blessed and dismissed. Napoleon the First was renowned for his extemporizing power in meeting the sudden emergencies of a battle; but, during his early life, he had no extemporizing

[1] Charles Butler's Life of Fenelon, p. 145.

power in addressing an assembly of civilians. For the want of readiness in speech, he was discomfited before the lawyers, as the Austrians for want of tact on the battle-field were routed before him. When attempting to address the Council of the Ancients, he was so embarrassed that "there was not the slightest connection in what he stammered out." He said, on the day after his meeting this Council, "I like better to speak to soldiers than to lawyers. These fellows intimidated me. I have not been used to public assemblies; but that will come in time."[1]

I. By preaching extempore on fit occasions a man may improve his style of writing, just as by elaborate writing he may improve his style of extemporizing.[2] A predecessor of Dr. Samuel Buell at East Hampton, Long Island, transcribed Willard's "Body of Divinity" eight times, mainly for the purpose of rhetorical improvement.[3] He left, at his death, a hundred volumes of manuscript sermons, all neatly bound. He thus left a paper monument of mis-spent labor. He would have acquired a better rhetoric by *talking out* a body of divinity so that his parish could understand it, than by *writing it out* so many times. The writing would have given him command of the rudder; the talking, of the sails; both combined, of the whole ship.

a. Preaching some sermons without the drudgery of committing them to paper, he may gain time for giving to other discourses their requisite finish. Unless he gain this time, he will be like a dull and weary traveller along a level road. Dr. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, who daily spent fifteen hours among his books, and who published about fifty sermons, and some dissertations, treatises, etc., lamented, at the close of his life, that he had written more than two hundred discourses for the pulpit. If a pastor would comply

[1] M. De Bourrienne's Private Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, Vol. i. pp. 241, 249.

[2] See § 2. I. 1. A. h. above.

[3] "Dr. Buell himself wrote in his diary at the close of a number of the first years of his ministry: 'This year have written all my sermons, and have preached them without notes.'" — Sprague's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 105.

with the advice of Dr. Watts to write not more than three or four hundred different sermons, but to rewrite and improve what he had written once, he would make his sermons memorable. History has recorded little else concerning Dr. Lichfield, a London rector during the first half of the fifteenth century, than that he wrote with his own hand three thousand and eighty-three discourses for the pulpit. A lover of good sermons heaves a sigh when he reads of one preacher in New England who wrote five thousand, of more than one who wrote forty-five hundred, and of several preachers who wrote each four thousand discourses; and his sigh is deepened when he reads that these discourses were "penned without an erasure or interlineation." Even President Dwight, before he composed his celebrated "System," wrote a thousand discourses in twelve years. He would have composed a better System if he had preached eight or nine hundred of his discourses extempore, and concentrated the labor of his pen on the remaining one or two hundred. Richard Baxter is known to have published about two hundred distinct works. His own instructive remarks in regard to them are:

"Concerning almost all my writings, I must confess my own judgment is, that fewer, well studied and polished, had been better. Excepting the Saints' Rest, I wrote them in the crowd of all my other employments, which would allow me no great leisure for polishing and exactness, or any ornament; so that I scarce ever wrote one sheet twice over, or stayed to make any blots or interlinings, but was fain to let it go as it was first conceived. When I do not recollect by what sudden occasions almost all my writings were extorted from me, and how the apprehension of present usefulness prevailed against other motives, I am ready to wish, with some divines who are not thoroughly acquainted with the case, that I had published a few elaborate writings, and had been doing some work of more durable usefulness."[1]

b. By the habit of preaching extempore a man may augment the force and vivacity of his written sermons. He endeavors in his study-chamber to form the right idea of a subject; he expects to succeed; the right idea comes; here is talent; here is not what men call inspiration. He

[1] For a fuller statement see Baxter's Works (Orme's ed.), Vol. i. pp. 775 sq.

searches for the right word; he expects to find it; he does find it; here too is talent, nothing which is termed genius or inspiration. But while he stands in the pulpit and pursues his anticipated course of thought, while his feelings are becoming more and more thoroughly aroused, then, without any foresight of the result, new and clearer ideas, more apposite and expressive words occur to him. They intensify the excitement of his feelings; the excitement suggests still richer ideas; the ideas array themselves in still more affluent language, until at length the man is elevated above his own standard, and does not know himself.[1] Here is something more than talent; here is genius; here is what men call inspiration. Various thoughts which he had expected to utter he omits. Various thoughts which he does utter never occurred to him before, perhaps never will occur again. He suddenly adopts a new plan of discourse; but this plan would not have been suggested to him, unless the old plan had been studied. In his premeditations he accumulated the principal; in his extemporary speech he received the interest. We err to our hurt, if we imagine that his new, living thoughts come forth from nothing. They burst out of the old thoughts which were in his mind when he began his discourse. He pursues the oviparous method and those old thoughts are the egg.[2]

When fresh ideas and felicitous phrases thus suddenly suggest themselves to the mind, they are naturally ascribed to a mysterious or supernatural influence. The pagan ascribed to a divine afflatus the inspirations of eloquence.[3]

[1] "The degree in which, after the most careful preparation for the pulpit, new thoughts, new arguments, animated addresses, often flow into my mind, while speaking to a congregation, even on very common subjects, makes me feel as if I was quite another man, than when poring over them in my study. There will be inaccuracies; but generally the most striking things in my sermons were unpremeditated." — Life of Dr. Thomas Scott, pp. 244, 245. The premeditated substance was the seed; the unpremeditated qualities were the fruit.

[2] Mr. Wilberforce made a different use of this metaphor. He designated Robert Hall's method of producing a discourse as the *viviparous* method, "opposed to the *oviparous* process, of which the written MS. in other sermon producers represented the egg." — Dean Ramsay's Pulpit Table-Talk, p. 34.

[3] Quinct. Inst. Lib. x. cap. 7.

The pantheist ascribes them to the soul of the universe. The Christian, whose philosophy is more exact, ascribes some of them to the influences of the Holy Spirit.[1] It is in this view that the remark quoted by Dr. Frederick Strauss[2] commends itself as the sober truth: "Preaching [the gospel] is the most sublime act which a man can perform." If a man does take thought what he shall speak, something better is given to him while he is yet speaking. Quintilian says: "Fiunt oratores, nascuntur poetae." In a certain degree, in a certain sense, a pulpit orator may make himself; but he who is eloquent in the highest degree, and in the highest sense, is born an orator, and also born again and renewed in spirit whenever he proclaims the gospel. The Spirit of wisdom, however, dispenses his gifts according to the laws of the human soul. He accommodates himself to those influences of nature which are aids to grace. If a preacher compose his sermon while he is preaching it, he enjoys certain aids which the solitary student cannot obtain for his spiritual elevation. Some of these aids escape analysis, others are like the following.

Before he begins his discourse he is impressed by the stillness of the Sabbath-day, by the solemn tolling of the Sabbath-bell, by the aspect and associations of the sanctuary, by the prayers and the songs in which he unites with his hearers. While he is delivering his discourse, he receives a continued stimulus from the countenances of the people — some desiring consolation in trouble, others craving strength to resist temptation, several indicating sympathy with him, many feeling comfort in him, all perhaps looking or longing for aid from him. He divines that they are praying for him. His own heart is enlivened by the sight of their beaming countenances. His lively emotions suggest new ideas; the new ideas express themselves in living words; these words vibrate

[1] "God hath granted me to speak as I would, and to conceive as is meet for the things that are given me; because it is he that leadeth unto wisdom, and directeth the wise. For in his hand are both we and our words." — Wisdom of Solomon vii. 15, 16.

[2] See Reminiscences from the Early Life of a Lutheran Clergyman, p. 171.

on his lips with a power which stirs himself even more than they stir his congregation; they are homelike, simple, but hearty and incisive words. He feels no disgust at his sentences; for he has not been rolling them over in his mind long enough to be nauseated with them. He has no time for rounding off his periods. His spirit is aglow with his theme, and the right words fly to him because he does not search for them. He who seeks a good style as his great concern loses it, and he who loses it as an object of primary care finds it coming to him in the wake of his thoughts.[1]

It cannot be expected that in his solitary chamber a student will rise to that height of ecstasy which he attains in the pulpit. Still what he attains in the pulpit will continue to exert an animating influence upon him. The cask will long retain the flavor of the old wine. A man cannot feel the thrill of his earnest improvisation without being toned up to more impassioned effort afterward. One hour of deep *impression* will affect the habitual style of *expression*. The ship will move forward when the wheels no longer move round. Accustomed to watch in the pulpit the countenances of his hearers, he will the more easily bring them before his mind's eye as he sits at his study-table, and will transfer a certain degree of his extemporary fervor to his elaborate composition. Without this kind of fervor it may be true of even his most carelessly written sermons: "Olebunt oleum, etsi non oleant."

c. The practice of extemporizing may give naturalness to the style of writing. The directness and simplicity of Daniel Webster's style came from his talking on practical themes to juries composed of plain men. A minister, perhaps without thinking of it, writes his sermon with an eye upon his future auditors. He imagines them as they look up to him with interest or apathy. He has a premonition of the tones in which he will enunciate his written words. If he be accustomed to use the tones of dignified conversation,

[1] See Schott's Theorie der Beredsamkeit, Dritten Theils zweite Abtheilung, ss. 339, 340.

his sentences will more probably be written in a facile and unaffected style. A tendency of extemporaneous preaching is to make these tones habitual, and thus prevent his language from becoming abstract, transcendental, or what the old writers termed altiloquent. A man who *converses* in the pulpit sees and feels the inconvenience of having his sentences too long or complex or involved. In an admirable sermon of Jeremy Taylor is a sentence containing six hundred and twenty-eight words; in one of John Milton's philippics against the Established Church of England is a sentence containing six hundred and forty-four words. If either of these writers had been wonted to extemporary speech, he would have felt the need of dividing one period into three or four. Compassion on his lungs would have become instinctive, and would have given simplicity to the arrangement of his words. In earnest conversation a man does not resort to the language of forgotten ages; he does not deck himself out in a showy costume; he uses such terms as are familiar, and perhaps dear, to the interlocutors before him. If he preach extempore he has a special inducement to adopt this natural style, and if he adopt it in his unwritten discourses he may easily transfer it to his written ones. It is very true that if a man adopt the *exclusive* habit of extemporary speech he may be tempted to utter "great swelling polysyllables of vanity"; he may be like a ship with sails and no ballast. If he adopt the exclusive habit of reading his discourses he may fall into a scholastic or pedantic style, and may be like a ship with ballast and no sails. The sure, enduring, gallant vessel cannot dispense with either the force of gravity or the impulse of the winds.

J. It might have been stated under one or more of the preceding heads, but may be more distinctly noted here, that a man speaking extempore has an advantage in making his elocution natural and expressive. He is not on a double watch for his chirography and his auditors. He is compelled to be thinking of his theme; while he is thinking he feels the appropriate emotion; his thought and his feeling give a

certain tone to his voice; it is called the sympathetic tone, expressing sympathy with his subject and with his hearers. Such a tone wins the heart of the audience. The sympathy between the mental state and the larynx is illustrated by the common phrases: "My heart rose into my throat," "My feelings choked my words." The like sympathy exists between the soul and the facial muscles. Its working affects them at once. The speaker appears to be impelled to express his thoughts; his expressions appear to be a relief to him; his words, giving ease to himself, give it also to his hearers. If a man has committed his discourse to memory, he can fall back upon the words as remembered; if he has his manuscript before him, he can fall down upon his words as written; but if he extemporizes, he has nothing to fall back upon or down upon; he must keep up the working of his mind or he will have no words at all; if his mind is active his heart will be likewise; this activity will betray itself in the countenance which is the soul's index. The words themselves constitute one sermon; the tones of voice vibrating in harmony with the ideas expressed are a repetition of it; the language of the facial muscles, especially of the eye and lip, are a third recital of the same discourse. As the dialect of Simon Peter "bewrayed" him, so does the countenance of every true preacher make his inmost feelings known to his auditors. His look is eloquence. He utters words from his shoulder, elbow, foot. An instructor of the deaf and dumb who teaches his pupils to speak, and therefore communicates ideas to them without the aid of artificial signs, is instinctively impelled to make the natural signs of his ideas so much the more full and emphatic. His countenance is the more eloquent because he is not forced to look out for the right motion of his fingers; he thinks of nothing but his subject and his pupils. The finger language, however, would not withdraw the attention of himself and scholars from his main idea so much as the written language withdraws the attention of the preacher and his hearers from the subject of his discourse. The manuscript is laid between him and them.

When he is in a state of high excitement his eye will sometimes fail to catch the words of that manuscript; he is confused by even an instant's loss of the right place; and this fact indicates that the eye of a speaker was made for looking at the persons whom he addresses, and not for looking at the letters of a book while he is endeavoring to rouse his hearers into a sympathy with his own excitement. Lord Chesterfield prescribes that we look at the person with whom we are conversing. He will look at us if we fix our eyes on him; he has an instinctive impulse to listen with his organ of vision; when he fails to hear he will stare. "The eyes of the ignorant are more learned than their ears." On this same principle the pulpit orator should look steadfastly on the men whom he addresses. Their instinct prompting them in return to look at him, he will be the more enlivened in sympathy with them, and his new life will quicken them anew. A minister no less than a naturalist must give specimens of that which he describes. We read of Professor Faraday, that he "sought to reach the mind of every hearer through more senses than one. He never *told* his listeners of an experiment; he always *showed* it to them, however simple and well known it might be. 'If,' said Faraday once to a young lecturer, 'I said to my audience: "This stone will fall to the ground if I open my hand," I should not be content with saying the words, I should open my hands and let it fall. Take nothing for granted as known. Inform the eye at the same time that you address the ear.'" Inform the eye as well as the ear, is the rule for the sacred orator, who is in part a lecturer. Dr. Lyman Beecher said: "A man who cannot dart his eyes upon his audience, is like a gunner who has no balls or bullets." In some degree an *actor* may address the eye; he enters somewhat into the feelings of another. A man who preaches memoriter may address the eye; he enters into the feelings which he had when he committed his discourse to memory. An accomplished reader of his own sermons may address the eye; he enters into the same feelings which he had when he wrote his discourse. A man who

preaches extempore has a peculiar advantage in addressing the eye; new thoughts are entering into him; emotions rushing for the first time into his soul electrify him; he is then more than an actor; he is a man; and a man with emotions just welling up from within may be more eloquent than a man who is recalling an old fervor.

It is not then a merely superficial advantage of having command over his body, having the free use of his arms for gesture, and his feet for this and that attitude; it is the advantage of keeping open the normal connection between the spiritual and the physical system; of giving the soul free play upon the nerves and muscles of the eye, mouth, cheek, hands and feet; this is the main elocutionary advantage of the man who speaks extempore over the man who reads or writes. Accordingly when eminent orators, like Dr. John M. Mason, have preached from a manuscript substantially the same sermons which they had previously delivered without notes, it has been difficult for some hearers to recognize the sermons as the same; the language remained, but the heartiness of it had evanesced.

Here it is asked: "Is not the elocution of the memoriter preachers in the German pulpit more natural and manly than that of the majority of our extemporaneous preachers?" The German clergy are more thoroughly educated than are the majority of extemporaneous preachers, and mental culture refines the oral delivery. "Is not the eloquence of the stage a model for that of the pulpit, and do not the actors speak from memory?" The elocution of the stage is not natural. It is distinguished from natural by the term "theatrical." Besides, on the stage extempore speech is impossible, and the exercise of committing to memory a few brief passages in the drama is far easier than the exercise of recollecting numerous and prolonged discourses. "Do not the sudden emotions of the extemporizer overpower him sometimes, and even silence him?" Yes; but he must control himself. "He must weep with his voice, and not with his eyes; he should have tears in his voice, but so as to be master of them."[1]

[1] The Art of Extempore Speaking, by M. Bautain, p. 15.

The above-named tendencies of extemporaneous oratory to improve the character of the orator become the more obvious when we consider the rules which have been given for attaining perfection in his art. "Studendum vero semper et ubique. Neque enim fere tam est ullus dies occupatus, ut nihil lucrativae, ut Cicero Brutum facere tradit, operae ad scribendum aut legendum aut dicendum rapi aliquo momento temporis possit. Siquidem C. Carbo etiam in tabernaculo solebat hac uti exercitatione dicendi." [1] While yet a boy the future orator must accustom himself to such graceful attitudes of body, to such expressive gestures and intonations, as will make dignified and easy speech a second nature to him. While a youth he must inure himself to think logically sometimes, appropriately always, on the subjects coming within the range of his conversation or study. In his early years he must store his memory with facts for the sake of improving his judgment, with illustrations for the sake of enlivening and refreshing his nature, so that his speech may flow from a fountain rather than a reservoir. He must struggle against all those faults which debilitate his manhood, and he must take especial pains to practise those virtues which invigorate it. The lives of William Pitt and Thomas Erskine illustrate the manner in which a clergyman must enrich and adorn his mind, if "elegant maxims" are to "flower off" from it at once when needed. To train a child perfectly for an extemporaneous preacher is to educate him for a perfect man. Milton is certainly safe in asserting that if *his* system of education were adopted, "there would then appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought than what we now sit under, oft times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us." [2]

K. The reasonable practice of preaching extempore helps to establish the minister's influence. We may consider the bearing of the practice upon his reputation as well as upon his character. Men love to detect the workings of a speaker's

[1] Quinct. Inst. Lib. x. Cap. 7.

[2] Prose Works, Vol. ii. p. 12.

mind, to watch the play of his features as they are lighted up with a new emotion, as a sudden change of thought comes over him, as he begins doubtfully to form a sentence and ends it triumphantly. We feel an admiration for the statue of the god of eloquence standing on a breath of air. A speech at a dinner is the dessert of the feast. It is often a kind of amusement to all at the table, except one man and his particular friends. In England and America it seems to take the place of the Spanish bull-baiting and the Roman gladiatorial shows. Where the mind is free, popular oratory will be cultivated, and in the main will be extemporaneous. Hence among the English and Americans there will be more of this oratory than among the subjects of despotic governments. In the main, therefore, the eloquence of the English and American pulpit will be extemporaneous. The pastor, then, who cannot speak without his papers will so far forth lose the reverence of men who are fluent in the political assemblies of his parish. They will look upon him as the Jews looked upon a son of Aaron who had "a blemish in his eye."[1] To have the extemporary power will not be so much of an honor as the want of it will be a disgrace. If he cannot speak easily when he presides over a meeting of his church, he will be mortified at his inferiority to his lay brethren. Still, a *marked* felicity in his impromptu speech will aid in giving him that good name which the Scriptures regard as of no small value to a bishop. By the dignity combined with the plainness, by the precision combined with the ease of his impromptu eloquence, a democratic community will be electrified. There is something overawing, because mysterious, in his ability to look with a hundred eyes, like Briareus, at the different phases of his subject, at the different expressions on the countenances of his hearers, at the different probabilities of succeeding in different methods of appeal to these different hearers, and in his power of preserving, amid all

[1] "No man that hath a blemish" — "shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord" — "a blind man or a lame" — "or a man that is broken-footed or broken-handed or crook-backed, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye." — Leviticus xxi. 17–21.

this tumult of his thoughts, such a sanctity of religious feeling and such a dominion over himself as will contribute to his sway over his audience. There is something easily mistaken for inspiration in his mental processes, when he is so embarrassed as to be almost unconscious of what he is saying, as to be mortified with the suspicion that he is uttering mere nonsense, and when amid all this confusion he pursues a consecutive train of thought, uses the most apposite words, and exhibits to even his critical hearers not the faintest sign of his wandering or faltering.[1] His mind moves forward, like the rail-car when the engine is detached from it. Such a wonderful power, even if not fully apprehended, will awaken the admiration of the hearers. Their admiration will arouse their sympathy with the preacher. They will yield themselves to the influence of a man while he manifests his superiority to them. One emotion excites another, as one ignited grain of powder fires the whole arsenal. Thus fools who came to scoff at the preacher remain to pray with him. Two actors on the stage would speak to a beggarly show of empty boxes, if each one held before his eyes the manuscript which he was reading to his fellow. They would need a coliseum for the multitude thronging to hear them, if they could utter impromptu such thoughts and feelings as Shakespeare and Schiller have expressed for them. John Wesley is said to have agitated the quarry-men who formed his congregation at Portland, when in the midst of his sermon he struck out an extemporaneous hymn as suddenly as they ever struck fire from a rock. They were amazed and enraptured with the words, ringing like a hammer upon the stone; they looked at him as well-nigh inspired, and then joined with him in the prayer:

> "Come thou victorious Lord,
> Thy power to us make known;
> Strike with the hammer of thy word,
> And break these hearts of stone."

[1] See Ware's Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching, pp. 75, 76.

V. Objections to the Extemporary Method of Preaching.

1. Various objections result from overlooking the fact that the extemporary method has conflicting tendencies — some good, others bad. Thus it is said that this method encourages indolence. Writing is both a means and a result of hard study. If a man cannot preach a creditable sermon without committing it to paper, he has therein a kind of mechanical incentive to work. At the least, he is compelled to think of his subject as long as he is writing upon it. If, however, he can satisfy his people with unwritten discourses, he will be in danger of neglecting his pen altogether; and if he do not write on the doctrines which he ought to preach, he will not thoroughly understand them; for these doctrines require that kind of investigation which is carried on with the aid of a manuscript; and if he do not understand the truths peculiar to his profession, he is like the artist who neglects the sciences on which his art is founded. Such an artist is apt to illustrate the saying that men are as indolent as they can be conveniently. A minister who abandons the habit of writing is tempted to neglect, not perhaps *all* study, but that kind of study which is most appropriate to his calling. He is in danger of being, not perhaps an indolent man, but an indolent minister. Nor is this all. As the Gadarene demoniacs came forth from the tombs, so does a legion of faults come forth from idleness, which is the tomb of a living man.

There is force in this objection. But, while we concede that extemporaneous preaching, conducted in one way, has a tendency to encourage indolence, we need not cease to affirm that, conducted in another way, it is an incentive to intellectual enterprise. Regulated by the principles laid down in the foregoing parts of this Treatise, it calls for a degree of energy which few men are brave enough to put forth. Some ministers do preach extempore because they are indolent; but others are indolent because they do not preach extempore. To proscribe this method altogether, because when unwisely pursued it tends to relax the minis-

ter's discipline is about as reasonable as to proscribe the summer season because one of its varied influences is debilitating. Theological students are now amused, and then amazed, when the advocate of speaking extempore affirms: "It stirs the preacher up to habits of forceful thought," and the opponent says: "It lets the preacher down into habits of lethargy"; and the advocate of writing sermons affirms: "The practice favors intellectual effort," and the opponent affirms: "It satisfies the minister with that kind of easy employment which is one of the worst kinds of indolence." The idlest man is willing to perform labor enough to save him from the workings of his conscience. Easy occupation is often laziness. The truth is, that, as every form of civil and ecclesiastical government has its good and its evil tendencies, so has each one of the fundamental methods of preaching; and if we refuse to adopt either method on account of the perils attending it, we forget that this is a world of peril, and dangers should not deter us from duties. Even a faultless method would have some pernicious influences, unless it were conducted by a faultless man; and such a man, out of Laputa, is yet to be sought.

2. Various objections result from overlooking the fact that one class of subjects needs to be treated in one way, and a different class in a different way. The same garment does not fit all bodies. Thus an objector says that the extemporaneous method, failing to tone up the extemporizer's mind, deteriorates his style of preaching. We are compelled to admit that of two men, one of whom uniformly preaches what he has written, and the other uniformly preaches what he has not written, the former will in mature life be apt to excel the other in depth and comprehensiveness of discourse. There are certain doctrines which must be stated with discrimination, explained with punctilious care, proved by closely-connected argument, defended against subtile objections, applied in "thick-warbled" speech. On these doctrines an ordinary minister ought to write. But there are some themes on which his written sermons prepare him to extem-

porize. There are others on which, ever since he first became a Christian, he has been fitting himself to extemporize. On these topics he urges the laymen of his church to speak without notes in their public conferences. Does he require what he himself cannot perform? The same religious experience which qualifies him to offer an unwritten prayer qualifies him equally to deliver a certain class of unwritten discourses.

There are particular themes introduced so often into familiar conversation that, here and there, a man writing upon them will feel an undue impulse to avoid the usual method of treating them, and in aiming to be original will become unnatural. A young novelist, who had contracted an artificial style of composition, was overheard talking to a favorite animal. "Write as you have now been talking," were the words which burst on the ear of the novelist, who had not suspected that a human friend was listening to him. He understood the criticism, conformed the style of his writing to the style of his conversing, and thus gained the hearts of his readers. As there are some pastors whose first thoughts are their best on many themes, so there are many pastors who on some themes will not write so well as they can speak impromptu.[1] To demand that they use the pen on these familiar themes, because they ought to use it on others less familiar, is like demanding that a pedestrian carry an Alpine stock on the paved sidewalk of a city, because he needs the stock on the Faulhorn or the Matterhorn.

3. Various objections result from overlooking the fact that a method of discourse which is the more appropriate to one minister may be the less appropriate to another.[2] The one has

[1] In like manner "there have been organists whose abilities in unstudied effusions on their instruments have almost amounted to inspiration, such as Sebastian Bach, Handel, Marchand, Couperin, Kelway, Stanley, Worgan and Keeble, several of whom played better music extempore than they could write with meditation." — Rees' Cyclopaedia, Art. Extemporaneous Playing.

[2] Many preachers have failed in their extemporaneous discourses by making Andrew Fuller their standard; by imagining that ordinary men, who are not engaged in writing theological treatises, can safely attempt what an extraordi-

a peculiar fitness for reading a compact sermon: the other has an equal fitness for extemporary speech; it is a positive joy to hear his improvisations. An objector says: The extemporaneous method is unsuited to the dignity, authority, and permanent usefulness of the pulpit; it lets men see meteoric flashes of light but no continued shining of a sun. Professor Schott intimates a doubt whether a man's inability to preach memoriter be not sometimes a valid reason for his being debarred from the pulpit altogether.[1] Other rhetoricians are confident that a man's inability to write a sermon ought to prevent his preaching one. If this were true, we should not infer that he ought always to write the sermons which he could as well preach without writing them. A known ability to pay a debt is often a reason for a man's not being called to pay it. There are men, however, who are born rather than trained into the college of apostles. They are Masters of the Arts of discourse by a divine right. They are like the preacher in the "Bethel for Seamen" who, when tossed on the waves of his own parentheses, exclaimed: "I have lost the track of my nominative case, but, *one thing I know*, I am bound for the kingdom of heaven." They are ordained Doctors of Divinity, even while they are blind, unable to see the letters of a manuscript, or are novices in the science of orthography, or are so untutored as to find a "pen weightier than a sword," or by some nervous malady are unfitted for written composition. The objector continues: A man who preaches extempore loses his sermons in

nary man and a writer on scientific theology was able to accomplish. It is said of Mr. Fuller that "the composition of a sermon seldom cost him much trouble; owing to his constant habits of thinking, it was generally the easiest part of all his labors. An hour or two at the close of the week would commonly be sufficient for his purpose, and when much pressed for time, as he often was, his preparations would be made on the Sabbath during the intervals of preaching; yet it required more than common strength of mind to digest such discourses as he was in the habit of delivering." His "sketches for the pulpit consisted only of a few brief sentences, committed to memory and enlarged at the time of preaching. He never filled up any written discourse, except when it was intended for the press, and after it had been delivered." — Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, by J. W. Morris, p. 70.

[1] Theorie der Beredsamkeit, Th. iii. Abth. 2, § 33.

delivering them; like a pleader at the bar he can make no second use of his first speech; when he is old, he fails in his extemporizing power and has no reserved manuscripts to which he can resort for the edification of his people. The objector is right in regard to many clergymen, wrong in regard to some. There are men who preach impromptu and afterward commit their discourses to paper, in whole or in part, keeping them as life-preservers for the day when their inventive powers are wrecked. There are men who retain their ability to extemporize when they have lost their ability to read or to remember a discourse. One of the many-sided preachers in New England discontinued his habit of preaching from manuscript and began to preach extempore in the eighty-seventh year of his life.[1] A physician, eminent for his learning and caution, was wont to prescribe for his patients with great accuracy and readiness, when he could not remember on one day the prescription which he gave on the day before. He had outlived his power of ready vision and of remembering events of recent occurrence, but retained his power of exact judgment and precise diction. These *extreme* cases illustrate the fact that there are *intermediate* cases in which one class of men may continue in old age to bring forth the fruits of their extemporaneous discipline.

The objector proceeds: A man is spurred by the extemporaneous method into an undue violence of expression; he betrays more feeling than is consistent with strength or trustworthiness. We agree with the objector, if he will limit himself to exceptional cases. We are prone to forget that the canons of sacred rhetoric proscribe the display of exuberant feeling. Christian art, far more than Pagan, illustrates the conquest of the soul over the body, and also the conquest of the sanctified will over the other powers and the sensibilities of the soul. In Guido's picture of "Michael and the Dragon" the angel appears calm, self-poised, dignified, while the dragon seems to be wild with passion. The Pagan

[1] See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. xxviii. p. 77.

orators of Greece and Rome indulged themselves in an impetuosity of style irreconcilable with the sober genius of Christianity. The Mediaeval preachers, not so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the gospel, were not so temperate in the pulpit as are their successors in France and England. Hamlet's advice to the players[1] illustrates with remarkable vividness the Christian rule that a minister 'in the torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of his passion should acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness.' Some, not many, are incapable of this temperance unless they keep their eyes fixed on the words which they have written.

The objector continues: Men injure their health by preaching without notes. Some men do. Against the practice of reading discourses we say: The eyes of many preachers are weakened by rapidly or earnestly deciphering a manuscript, especially in a pulpit which is darkened with religious light.[2] We cannot deny, however, that the eyes of some preachers are weakened by the rapid, anxious, complicated, intense working of their minds while they speak without the aid of notes. Against the method of reading discourses we say: The act of speaking with the head bowed, the throat and chest inclined downward, is often injurious to the larynx, bronchia, and lungs. We cannot deny, however, that sometimes these organs are as much or more injured by the sudden starts, the fears, mortifications, and general excitement of men speaking without help from a manuscript. When the fluent Pearce of Birmingham was in impaired health, "he proposed writing his sermons, that his mind might not be at liberty to overdo his debilitated frame." We mean to be sarcastic when we call the reader of discourses "an *incumbent* of the sacred desk"; but we should remember that his semi-recumbent attitude is a kind of safeguard against those violent commotions of mind which may exhaust an extemporizer. We complain that the reader may consume himself as he bends over his writing-desk; but we should bear in mind that the extemporizer must discipline himself in writing

[1] Hamlet, iii. 2.

[2] Life of Henry Ware, Jr., Vol. i. pp. 165, 166.

and thus expose himself to a similar, if not equal, peril of consumption. We need not contend that the same method of discourse is always both a stimulus and a sedative. The proper reply to the objection is that great exuberance of feeling is not a common fault of ministers, and the men whose health requires them to read rather than extemporize their sermons, are like the angels who visit us but seldom. The author of Springdale Abbey has expressed much truth in saying: "You ask me if you may *read* your lectures. Sir,

> 'Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
> And throats of brass inspired with iron lungs,'

I would say, *No!* At the same time I would frankly admit that some men are much more effective in reading than in free speech."[1]

4. Numerous objections arise from overlooking the fact that a method of discourse which is well adapted to one audience may not be well adapted to a different one. Thus an objector says, and in hundreds of instances says the truth, that the extemporary sermon is not instructive, and therefore neither edifies nor dignifies the church. The following words are often quoted from Mr. Thackeray:

"The preacher by putting aside his sermon-book, may gain in warmth, which we do not want, but lose in reason, which we do. If I were Defender of the Faith, I would issue an order to all priests and deacons to take to the book again; weighing well, before they uttered it, every word they proposed to say upon so great a subject as that of religion; and mistrusting that dangerous facility given by active jaws and a hot imagination. Reverend divines have adopted this habit, and keep us for an hour listening to what might well be told in ten minutes. They are wondrously fluent, considering all things; and though I have heard many a sentence begun, whereof the speaker did not evidently know the conclusion, yet, somehow or other, he has always managed to get through the paragraph without any hiatus, except perhaps in the sense. And as far as I can remark, it is not calm, plain, down-right preachers who preserve the extemporaneous system for the most part; but pompous orators, indulging in all the cheap rhetoric — exaggerating words and feelings to make effect, and dealing in pious caricature. Church-goers become excited by this loud talk and captivating manner, and can't go back afterwards to a sober discourse read out of a grave old sermon-book, appealing to the

[1] Springdale Abbey, p. 136.

reason and gentle feelings, instead of to the passions and the imagination. Beware of too much talk, O parsons! If a man is to give an account of every idle word he utters, for what a number of loud nothings, windy, emphatic tropes and metaphors, spoken not for God's glory, but the preacher's, will many a cushion-thumper have to answer."

We need not deny that hearers like Mr. Thackeray will derive more information from many a written, than from many an unwritten discourse; but some hearers do not worship in the same house with Mr. Thackeray. The multitude of thoughts which edify him would only confuse them. There is another reason why they are not edified by the reader of a thoughtful sermon. They will not listen to him. In order to indoctrinate men, a teacher must induce them to hear what he says. The instructiveness of his services depends not merely on what is given out, but also on what is taken in. While he uniformly reads his discourses, he may be uniformly trying to fill a cracked bottle or a bottomless tub. It is said by John Mason: "The inaccuracy of diction, the inelegance, poverty, and lowness of expression which is commonly observed in extemporaneous discourses will not fail to offend every hearer of good taste."[1] "The extemporizer will run into trite, commonplace topics; his compositions will be loose and unconnected, his language often coarse and confused," says Dr. Gerard.[2] There is weight in the objection; but, as all men have not faith, so all men have not culture. There are thousands, as, for example, among the negro slaves or freedmen, to whom we would give their "portion in due season," whom we would "save with fear, pulling them out of the fire," and who would obtain more knowledge of the truth from a talker uttering only three ideas than from a Mason or a Gerard uttering three times three. The ideas of the extemporaneous talker would be expressed in an unclassical idiom. This is an evil, but not so dire an evil as would be the uttering of them in classical phrases, to which the hearers would not attend. The ideas of Mason and Gerard would be ex-

[1] Mason's Student and Pastor, chap. ii. [2] Treatise on the Pastoral Charge.

pressed in untainted English. This is an advantage, but not so great an advantage as the uttering of them in a diction which would be at once intelligible and impressive. Modern apostles would rather have an unlearned man speak his ten thousand words with the understanding, than a learned man speak his five words in a tongue which the hearers would not listen to. Dr. Charles Backus, of Somers, visiting his parishioners from house to house, was astonished at the discovery that so many of them had *not received* the carefully-written instructions which he had *offered* to their ears. Equally astonished have been inquiring tourists at the discovery that unlettered negroes, who had been listening to the "crude vagaries" of an extemporizer, had really learned the way of salvation. Their consciences had filled out the *lacunae* of the preachment. A word of the sermonicator had been a symbol, suggesting more than he himself could explain. As in heaven there are various orders of hierarchies, one rising above another, so on earth there are varying orders of preachers, one falling below another; and as some congregations demand sermons more distinctively instructive, so other congregations demand sermons more exhilarating and impulsive. They will have either extemporaneous commonplaces in the pulpit or baudy songs in the tavern. The alternative is a sad one, but the latter branch of it more sad than the former. It is the duty of all men to "covet earnestly the best gifts"; but we should be thankful if we could induce some men to accept any gift which is good. "What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth," whether with scholastic lore or with grammatical solecisms, "Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

"These are *extreme* cases." So much the better for illustrating the fact that there are *intermediate* cases, in which a learned man may extemporize in order to gain hearers whom he can interest in no other way. "We desire a learned ministry." By all means; but some men are so fond of letters that they will not accommodate themselves to

their hearers; they have more literature than common sense; their affluent learning ought to flow forth in such forms of address as their people need. The Greeks and Romans suspected an orator of dishonest artifice when he read his oration to them; therefore he laid aside his manuscript. Shall not a Christian orator become "all things to all men," if by this adaptation he may gain some?

In certain States of New England there was formerly a "standing order" of clergymen supported by law. They were educated men; they generally read their discourses. They were annoyed by preachers whom they termed "sectarians." These preachers were often uneducated; in the main they spoke without notes. They were ridiculed for their "nonsense," "platitudes," "crudities," "vagaries." But they filled the barns and tavern-halls and groves in which they discoursed. Their congregations were multiplied and enlarged. They became powers too mighty to be treated with sarcasm. One of the reasons for their triumph was their extemporary form of address. It met the wants of their hearers. Their style was open to criticism; but it exactly suited the men who came to hear, and not to criticise. "Our minister does not read; he preaches. He does not stare at his paper; but he communes with us face to face, heart to heart." This was the common feeling. The sailors in our sea-ports, when they hear any preaching, choose to have it come to them fresh as a west wind. During the last forty years there has been in Massachusetts a seaman's minister whom Edward Everett characterized as "an Institution, a walking Bethel"[1]; whom Daniel Webster, in the Senate of the United States, extolled as a phenomenon; and who was admired as an orator for seamen by Methodist bishops, Unitarian divines, authors like Charles Dickens, Harriet Martineau, Frederika Bremer, Anna Jameson, Catherine Sedgwick. This minister "never wrote a sermon, not a skeleton, hardly a text." When he entered the ministerial office he was obliged to depend on others for reading to him

[1] Everett's Orations, Vol. iv. p. 733.

his text and hymns. Mrs. Jameson writes: "Until he was five and twenty he had never learned to read; and his reading afterwards was confined to such books [very few] as aided him in the ministry. He remained an illiterate man to the last."[1] Miss Martineau says of his preaching: It "exerts a prodigious power over an occasional hearer, and it is an exquisite pleasure to listen to it; but it does not for a continuance meet the religious wants of any *but those to whom it is expressly addressed.*" The peculiarities both of the audience and the speaker demanded the extemporary style.

It was interesting to compare his manner of presenting an idea with the manner of an Edwardean divine. That divine might read a sermon at a funeral, and prove that every man is bound to love his neighbor as himself; that all men who love "being in proportion to its amount of being" "are the body of Christ and members in particular," and "the members should have the same care one for another," and if "one member suffer, all the members suffer with it," for "they are all included in being, *as such.*" But this preacher for sailor-boys is described in the following manner by Miss Frederika Bremer, in her "Homes of the New World":

> Father Taylor, who usually entered the church looking to the right hand and the left, bowing kindly to his friends, entered, on the occasion described here, without any such kindly greetings. All wondered what could be the cause of the sorrow depicted on his face. "He mounted the pulpit, and then, bowing down as if in the deepest affliction, exclaimed: 'Lord, have mercy upon us, because we are a widow!' And so saying, he pointed down to a coffin which he had had placed in the aisle below the pulpit. One of the sailors belonging to the congregation had just died, leaving a widow and many small children without any means of support. Father Taylor now placed himself and the congregation in the position of the widow, and described so forcibly their grief, their mournful countenances, and their desolate condition, that at the close of the sermon the congregation rose as one man; and so considerable was the contribution which was made for the widow that she was raised at once above want. In fact, our coldly moralizing clergy, who read their

[1] Common-place Book of Thought, Memories, and Fancies. By Mrs. Jameson, p. 169.

written sermons, ought to come hither, and learn how they may touch and win souls."[1]

5. Many objections arise from overlooking the fact that some of the preachers who are exposed to criticism for their faults in speaking extempore would be equally exposed if they should read or recite their sermons. The fault is in the men, not in their method. A French critic thus describes a class of preachers speaking impromptu:

"They give utterance to all which comes into their minds. They altogether omit, or only half present, their proofs. They lose themselves in detail. Their manner is injured by the conflict in the mind seeking that which is wanting to complete a sentence already begun; they repeat themselves, wander into digressions, without action, without movement; or, if they have a lively temperament, their action is turbulent, their eyes and their hands fly about here and there, and they contradict themselves. I have seen men who, as if drowning, throw out their hands and their feet to catch hold where they can and save themselves. To what ridicule do not those expose themselves, who, under the poorly-conceived pretext of apostolic simplicity, appear in the pulpit without having studied their discourse, imagine that they preach naturally because they shout with all their strength, perspire a great deal, speak often of the devil and hell, bewilder their hearers by all the devices that their imagination can suggest, and pretend they are converting all the people. I wonder equally at the patience of the hearers who listen in silence to these ranting preachers, and at the insufficiency and coarseness of these pretended orators, who give forth with boldness and a pretended apostolic manner all that a fiery zeal excited by a pious frenzy can dictate."[2]

Among the freedmen of our Southern States there are preachers whose eloquence is marvellous, and still their faults are ridiculous. Would not these men sink into worse faults if they should commit their sermons to memory? Would any one advise them to read their discourses? We admit that an extemporizer often disgusts his hearers with a sing-song or hesitating or drawling or boisterous or blatant delivery; but are there not well-educated preachers who murder in their reading what they have enlivened in their writing? Are there not many persons who can talk well but cannot read well?

[1] Incidents, etc., of Rev. Edward T. Taylor, pp. 354, 355.

[2] Dinouart sur L'Eloquence, pp. 60, 61.

6. Several objections come from overlooking the fact that variety in the ministrations of the pulpit has in itself a value. We have seen that one style of discourse is more appropriate to one clergyman, to one audience, to one class of subjects, than to another. But this is not all. The same preacher, addressing the same audience, on the same class of topics, may augment his power by varying his methods of address. The objector says: Of the three fundamental methods of preaching, that which in itself is the best ought to be adopted uniformly; the extemporary method ought not to be the uniform one; therefore it is not the best. The dietetist might as wisely say: If a certain kind of meat is more nutritious than a certain kind of fruit, the meat should be taken to the exclusion of the fruit. As a change of food from the more to the less nutritious is sometimes healthful, so the style of preaching may be wisely changed from the more to the less elaborate, the more to the less exciting. A man's hearers should not always know exactly what to expect. Dr. Emmons devoted four and twenty days to his sermon entitled "The Law of Paradise," but not half so many hours to his sermon entitled "The House of the Grave"; still the last-named (which might well have been an extemporary) sermon was more interesting than the first-named to a majority of his hearers, and each was more interesting than it would have been without the other.

7. A class of objections comes from overlooking the fact that the good, as well as the evil, tendencies of the extemporaneous method have been developed in the pulpit. The objector points us to the learned clergymen who have sadly failed in adopting this method, and to the unlettered exhorters who have brayed when they fancied that they were preaching, and have mistaken "the perspiration for the inspiration of oratory." But the objector should remember that the practice of reading an entire sermon from the pulpit prevailed nowhere before the Reformation, and since that period has prevailed only in Great Britain and America.[1] Many homi-

[1] In 1712 Bishop Burnet said: "Reading is peculiar to this nation and is endured in no other." — The Pastoral Care, p. 189.

lies of Origen, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Atticus, were not written until they were taken down from the lips of the preachers by the *ταχυγράφοι* who heard them. Historians tell us that Chrysostom often preached *σχεδιαστικῶς*.[1] Augustine sometimes preached on themes suggested at the moment by other persons, by the reader of the scriptural lesson, who himself occasionally chose the lesson on which the Father was immediately to discourse. On a certain occasion Augustine requested a particular psalm to be read, but a different psalm was read by mistake, and he preached upon the latter instead of the former on which he had prepared himself. His homiletical rules intimate that he favored the extemporaneous method. Thus he remarks that the hearers of a sermon are accustomed to signify by their movements whether or not they understand it; and until the preacher perceives that they do understand it, he should repeat in various forms what he has said already; but adds: *Quod in potestate non habent, qui praeparata et ad verbum memoriter, retenta pronuntiant.*"[2]

Tully's celebrated Address to Cataline was not more obviously extemporaneous than were many passages in the Mediaeval sermons. Of the Reformers, Calvin frequently, Luther

[1] In proof that he spoke extempore they often quote some of his allusions to the incidents occurring at the time of his preaching. Thus in a Homily on Genesis he made an allusion to the lamplighter: "I am expounding the scriptures, and ye all turn your eyes from me to the lamps, and him that is lighting the lamps. What negligence is this, so to forsake me, and set your minds on him? For I am lighting a fire from the Holy Scriptures, and in my tongue is a burning lamp of doctrine. This is a greater and a better light than that. For we do not set up a light like that moistened with oil, but we inflame souls that are watered with piety, with a desire of hearing." — See Bingham's Antiquities, Vol. vi. Book 14. We presume that the homily containing this passage was extemporaneous, but many a reader of sermons intersperses such off-hand remarks with what he has written.

[2] De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. iv. § 25. Several passages in this Work indicate the author's habit of preaching extempore. Thus he says of the reward promised to him who gives a cup of cold water to a disciple: "When it has happened that we spoke to the people on this subject, *and God was present that we should speak not inappropriately*, did there not arise from that cold water a kind of flame which, with the hope of a reward in Heaven, set the cold hearts of men on fire for performing works of mercy." — Lib. iv. § 37.

still more frequently, preached without notes. Among the French orators, Bossuet in large part, and Fenelon almost altogether. dispensed with the manuscript. Of the English and American divines nearly all the most eloquent preachers in the Baptist and Methodist denominations, and many among the Presbyterian and Congregational have abstained occasionally or habitually from reading their discourses. The extemporaneous eloquence of the bar and the senate is not necessarily either superficial or puerile. With few exceptions that of the ancient pulpit was equal to that of the Bema or the Rostrum. There is no reason why that of modern preachers should not be as instructive and dignified as that of modern civilians and jurists.

8. A large class of objections results from overlooking the fact that the extemporaneous preacher can and should habitually discipline himself for his extemporanous efforts. The objector says: If a man deliver his sermons extempore, he will not carry 'beaten oil' into the sanctuary; he will 'offer to the Lord that which costs him nothing.'[1] Our first reply to this objector is: The right habit of preaching extempore implies that the preacher is a student, and that he pursues all his studies with the intent of fitting himself to compose a sermon while he is delivering it. Our second reply is: In writing one sermon, the preacher is disciplining himself to extemporize more than one. When the objector adds: You contradict yourself in representing the extemporaneous method as the true one, and yet recommending that a preacher spend the greater part of his time in writing his sermons, we rejoin: The time which the minister spends on his manuscript is really spent in preparing him to speak without a manuscript. The objector might as well say that a pyrotechnist is inconsistent with himself because he spends a whole day in adjusting his nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, and spends only a few minutes in igniting them. Our third reply is: While the extemporaneous method presents many incitements to habitual toil, it does present some temptations

[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; 1 Chron. xxi. 24.

to intermit this toil; but a preacher may and should yield to the incitements and resist the temptations. Our fourth reply is: In the general a preacher may and should so intermingle the three fundamental methods of preaching as to secure his best possible preparation for the entire series of his sermons; to secure likewise such an amount of immediate preparation for each one of his sermons as that one proportionally requires. A French rhetorician adopts the following language in allowing the preacher to speak on some themes impromptu:

"You are accustomed to consult nature, to study it, to follow it. Practised in writing and speaking upon different subjects in private, you cultivate your memory by oft-repeated reading on the same subjects. It is a fund of eloquence that you have always at command. You have good rules upon every theme; you are acquainted with morals; the best authors are familiar to you; you repeat the scriptures and the writings of the Fathers as your mother-tongue; you express yourself easily and with grace; you have accurate and profound judgment, much order and precision in the arranging of arguments, uniting the different parts by natural transitions, saying all and only that which is exactly appropriate to your theme. Take, then, only a day, only an hour, to meditate on your theme; arrange your proofs; consult your memory; choose, prepare a certain number of figures; so appear in public. I consent to it; the common expressions which ought to make the body of your discourse will come to you of themselves; things will flow from their source. Your periods will be perhaps less harmonious, your transitions less fine, a misplaced expression may escape you. I will pardon it; the vehemence of your action will atone for these irregularities; you will be the master of your movements. A certain disorder will perhaps reign; but these negligences will not prevent me from being pleased and touched; your action, as well as your words, will appear to me the more natural."[1]

Apparently, but by no means necessarily, inconsistent with the graphic words of Dinouart are the following remarks of Lord Brougham and Robert Hall; and these words may fitly conclude this Treatise. Lord Brougham had said, in his Inaugural Address, at Glasgow:

"I should lay it down as a rule admitting of no exception, that a man will speak well in proportion as he has written much; and that, with equal talents, he will be the finest extempore speaker, when no time for pre-

[1] Dinouart Sur L'Eloquence, pp. 58, 59.

paring is allowed, who has prepared himself the most sedulously when he had an opportunity of delivering a premeditated speech. All the exceptions which I have ever heard cited to this principle are apparent ones only, proving nothing more than that some few men, of rare genius, have become great speakers without preparation; in nowise showing that with preparation they would not have reached a much higher pitch of excellence. The admitted superiority of the ancients in all oratorical accomplishments is the best proof of my position; for their careful preparation is undeniable: nay, in Demosthenes (of whom Quintilian says, that his style indicates more preparation — *plus curae* — than Cicero's) we can trace, by the recurrence of the same passage with progressive improvements in different speeches, how nicely he polished the more exquisite parts of his compositions. I could point out favorite passages, occurring as often as three several times, with variations and manifest amendment."

Robert Hall spoke in "glowing terms of this address," and added:

"Brougham is quite right, Sir. Preparation is everything. If I were asked what is the chief requisite for eloquence, I should reply: *Preparation.* And what the second: *Preparation.* And what the third: *Preparation.*" Then (with a sigh): "If I had prepared more for the pulpit, I should have been a much better preacher. There are, Sir, heights and depths and breadths and lengths in eloquence, yet to be attained, that we know nothing about."[1]

[1] Greene's Reminiscences of Robert Hall, p. 138.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTES ON EGYPTOLOGY.

BY REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., BERLIN, GERMANY.

THE war between Germany and France has left an ineffaceable mark even upon the literature of archaeology. In September 1870 the *Revue Archéologique* came to a sudden pause, and the Number for that month was not distributed to subscribers until the close of 1871. When finally delivered it brought with it the announcement that the two years, 1870–1871, would be merged into one, and the Numbers for October, November, and December 1871 would fill out the subscription lists for the year preceding. Happily the leading contributors to the *Revue* have survived the calamities of the seige of Paris, and Mons. F. Lenormant continues his Memoir upon the Ethiopian Epoch in Egyptian History, and Mons. Jacques de Rougé completes his analysis of the Geographical Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfou. Lenormant's essay has relations to Biblical history and chronology, the definitive results of which will in due time be laid before the readers of the Bibliotheca Sacra.

Among the tablets brought by Mariette from Djebel Barkal in Ethiopia, and now deposited in the Museum at Boulak, is one containing a decree of excommunication from the king against certain evil and heretical priests who had profaned the temple and corrupted the sacrifices, the language of which reminds one of the imprecations of David and the denunciations of Jeremiah against the false prophets. Not content with forbidding these prophets and priests of evil deeds to enter the temple, and denouncing against them the severest penalties, his majesty prays that God may utterly destroy them; that he may not suffer their feet to walk the earth, nor permit them to have a posterity still to pollute the temple with their errors and their crimes.[1] How like all this is to David's outbursts of holy indignation in Psalm lxix: "Let their table become a snare before them, and their welfare a trap. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living. Let their habitation be desolate; and let none dwell in their tents." The Ethiopian decree belongs probably to the sixth or seventh century before our era, and well illustrates the style in which religion was vindicated by eastern monarchs. It is reproduced in the decree of Germany against the Jesuits.

The development of the arts in ancient Egypt and the influence of Egyptian art upon later nations are discussed by Dr. Lepsius in two essays read before the Berlin Academy of Science, and now published as inde-

[1] G. Maspero in Revue Arch., Dec. 1871.

pendent monographs: "*Ueber einige aegyptische Kunstformen und ihre Entwickelung*"; and "*Die Metalle in den aegyptischen Inschriften.*" In the last edition of his "History of Architecture" Mr. Fergusson gives it as the result of his studies in comparative architecture, that "the Greeks borrowed nearly every peculiarity of their arts from the banks of the Nile. We possess tangible evidence of peristylar temples and proto-Doric pillars, erected in Egypt centuries before the oldest known specimen in Greece. We need therefore hardly hesitate to award the palm of invention of these things to the Egyptians, as we should probably be forced to do of most of the arts and sciences of the Greeks if we had only knowledge sufficient to connect them. Taken altogether, we may perhaps safely assert that the Egyptians were the most essentially a building people of all those we are acquainted with, and the most generally successful in all they attempted in this way. The Greeks, it is true, surpassed them in refinement and beauty of detail, and in the class of sculpture with which they ornamented their buildings, while the Gothic architects far excelled them in constructive cleverness; but with these exceptions no other styles can be put in competition with them. At the same time, neither Grecian nor Gothic architects understood more perfectly all the gradations of art, and the exact character that should be given to every form and every detail. Whether it was the plain flat-sided pyramid, the crowded and massive hypostyle hall, the playful pavilion, or the luxurious dwelling — in all these the Egyptian understood perfectly both how to make the general design express exactly what he wanted, and to make every detail, and all the various materials, contribute to the general effect. They understood, also, better than any other nation, how to use sculpture in combination with architecture, and to make their colossi and avenues of sphinxes group themselves into parts of one great design, and at the same time to use historical paintings, fading by insensible degrees into hieroglyphics on the one hand, and into sculpture on the other; linking the whole together with the highest class of phonetic utterance. With the most brilliant coloring they thus harmonized all these arts into one great whole, unsurpassed by anything the world has seen during the thirty centuries of struggle and aspiration that have elapsed since the brilliant days of the great kingdom of the Pharaohs."[1]

These generalizations of Fergusson — in which he was partly anticipated by Julius Braun in his *Geschichte der Kunst*[2] — are borne out by the details which Dr. Lepsius has given of the development of Art-forms in Egypt, and the influence of these upon the growth of art in Greece. The artistic feeling in ancient Egyptian works shows itself, in the first instance, in the adaptation of material to conditions and ends. The country and its surroundings furnished varieties of stone, clay, wood, metals, precious stones, available for the purposes of art; and in their buildings, their

[1] Vol. i. pp. 114, 125, 126.

[2] See Vol. i. pp. 137–139 (ed. 1856).

monuments, their decorations, the Egyptians exhibit a nice sense of the relative uses and values of these crude materials — limestone, sandstone, syenite, granite, alabaster, serpentine, porphyry, each being employed in its turn according to the demands of strength, durability, or luxury. For purposes of luxury also the precious metals and precious stones were used, as appears not only from the mention of these in inscriptions, but from specimens to be seen in the collections of the Louvre, the Berlin, and the British Museums. Gold (*Nub*), Silver (*Hat*), Electrum (*Asem*), Lapis-lazuli (*Xesbet*), Emerald (*Mafek*), Ruby (*Xenem*), Turquoise (*Nesem*), Topaz (*Tehen*), often occur in the inscriptions, and the processes of working in them are delineated in pictures. Iron, copper, and lead are named, but no hieroglyphic equivalents have been ascertained for tin, though mirrors and other articles of bronze are found to contain as high as fourteen per cent of this metal. Neither is there any mention of zinc in the hieroglyphics. Gold and silver appear in the form of coins, rings, dishes, plates, vessels of divers shapes, and are pictured also in the lump and in large masses, ready for the artificer. Electrum, a compound of gold and silver, was used for coins and rings. The lapis-lazuli was imitated in glass, in various shades of blue; as were also the emerald, malachite, and other greens. Brilliancy of effect, which their climate favored, was studied by the Egyptians in their decorative arts, through variety and combination of colors.

In the next place, even the rigid conventionalism which presides over all the monuments of ancient Egypt, had its origin in a feeling kindred to that of the modern pre-Raphaelite school in painting — the desire to copy nature servilely in the minutest details without idealizing or harmonizing for general effect; — each particular member of the human body, for instance, being drawn independently of its relations to other members, the head in profile, the hand with its five fingers always visible, the two shoulders made to appear even when the legs were drawn in profile. But these peculiarities were transmitted to the earlier forms of Greek art, and may still be seen in coins, vases, and bas-reliefs prior to the free and graceful handling of the human figure as a whole in sculpture. And moreover somewhat of the same conventionalism holds its place in modern art, and justifies itself upon artistic grounds, as in bas-reliefs, heraldic symbols, and also upon the stage of the theatre.

But with all their conventionalism of style, the Egyptians observed a *canon of proportion*, which is a third mark of their devotion to art as a study. This canon of proportion was based upon a network of squares, which answered to the measurements of a modern sculptor when modelling in clay a bust from life. A fine example of the Egyptian method is to be seen in one of the three sepulchral chambers which Dr. Lepsius caused to be transported from Gizeh and set up in the New Museum at Berlin. Upon one wall of this tomb are the completed figures of animals, cut with

remarkable truth and spirit; upon another are tracings of unfinished figures, the outline visible in red or black colors, with the latest corrections from the hand of the artist; and in a third portion may be seen the network of squares which was his scale of measurement.

Nor are there wanting instances, in the fourth place, of the treatment of individual subjects by Egyptian artists in a creative, ideal style worthy of later Grecian art. Such is the sitting statue of Amenophis IV., of Egyptian alabaster, now in the Louvre, and the statue, also sitting, of king Safra, in the Museum at Cairo, pictured by Count Rougé in his *Recherches sur les Monuments historiques*. These occasional works show a capacity for a higher range of art than the average of conventional monuments would indicate. And as many a prophecy of Raphael's Madonnas beams from the faces of the figures draped in the old Byzantine forms, so may one detect in stiff, old Egyptian sculptures hints of the unfettered life and beauty which Greece was yet to bring to perfection in the kingdom of the ideal.

Not only in the proto-Doric pillars of *Benihassan*, and the round brick arches of temples and tombs, was Egypt the pioneer of Greece and Rome in architectural forms, but in the sense of adaptation, in the use of color and material, in the canon of proportion, and in hints and essays toward the ideal in painting and sculpture, was Egypt the pioneer in art as in science for nations whose later splendors eclipsed her dawn.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

The Immortality of the Soul.[1] — The title of this work, translated into English, is: "The Idea of Immortality in the Faith and the Philosophy of the Nations." Its author is a learned Roman Catholic. Its compass is nine hundred and eighty-nine pages, and though it possesses a pretty complete table of contents, it lacks, as is only too usual in German publications, a good index.

The discussion is divided into three main parts. In the first part the author expounds his own views regarding the origin and nature of man; body and spirit; the essence of the soul; human personality; consciousness and self-consciousness; mental disorders; sleep and dreams; images of death and immortality; death and its phenomena; death from an ethical point of view; rise of the idea of immortality; the idea of God and that

[1] Die Unsterblichkeitsidee im Glauben und in der Philosophie der Völker. Von Dr. Leonhard Schneider. Regensburg. 1870. Price, 2 Th. 24 sgr.

of immortality; the ethical element therein; proofs of immortality, and a critique of the same; and other related topics. In the second part we have a review of the idea of immortality among non-Christian peoples. Special attention is here given to Greece and Rome, though other nations are included in the survey so far as information regarding their conceptions is attainable. This section concludes with a particular glance at the Mohammedan notions of immortality and eschatology in general. In the third part Christendom is passed in review. The first chapter of this part touches on such subjects as myths, faith, reason, theology, and philosophy; Christian eschatology — death, judgment, heaven, hell, purgatory, intermediate state, resurrection. The second exhibits the views of the Apologists, the Fathers, the Gnostics, the Scholastics, the Mystics, and the Middle-Age Jews. The third reviews the philosophers and literary men of modern times, and concludes with notices of recent works on the immortality of the soul.

This brief and bare account of the contents of the work will be sufficient to show its interest and value. It is a perfect storehouse of information on the great and important question with which it deals. Perhaps the best sections are two on the proofs of immortality and on recent works devoted to the subject. Dr. Schneider classifies the proofs as follows: the theological, the logical, the metaphysico-psychological, the teleological, the moral, the cosmological, and the historical, from the consensus gentium. In criticising these proofs he arrives at the conclusion that the most powerful is the one from the existence of the belief in immortality. This fact, especially when taken in conjunction with the reaching forwards, the sense of the incompleteness of the work begun, the feeling that as it were merely a beginning, a preparation had been made, which we find in the greatest minds as they approach death even in old age, is perhaps the strongest argument that can be adduced.

We need scarcely say that in view of the conflict now raging between the assailants and adherents of the old-fashioned idea of immortality, it is very necessary for Christian teachers to make up their minds on the subject. For ourselves we cannot help thinking that the advocates of the "Life in Christ" theory, much as we admire their sincerity and earnestness, are theologically, philosophically, and ethically on the wrong track. But a wide survey of the questions in dispute will alone conduce to the certitude which teachers need; and as an aid to such a survey we cordially recommend the work to which this notice is devoted.

Feticism.[1] — Feticism is one of the strangest phenomena of human history. It exhibits in juxtaposition perhaps more marvelously than any other phenomenon, the grandeur and degradation of man. So far as we

[1] Der Fetischismus. Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie und Religions-geschichte. Von Dr. Fritz Schultze. Leipzig. 1871. Price, 1 Th. 10 sgr.

can see, the essence of Feticism lies in this: that individual men endow objects with, or deprive them of, divine functions at pleasure. It is known that negroes make fetiches of objects for the most capricious reasons; and if the expectations with which the fetiches are constituted are not realized, they unceremoniously depose their fetiches from the position into which they had been placed. A fetich is a something which is believed to wield divine powers, though in itself it is in no respect fitted to make a divine impression. To ascribe divine powers to an object that is in itself grand or beautiful or mysterious is a stage higher than feticism. Now the procedure referred to has two aspects: first, it is man constituting deity! What a sublimely presumptuous assumption of power! What a grand exercise of his liberty, even though unconsciously put forth! But, secondly, it is man bowing down to, putting his trust in, fearing, that which owes to his caprice what constitutes it worthy of reverence, trust, fear! What an absurdity! What unfathomable degradation!

The author of this treatise does not take exactly the view of Feticism that we have just hinted at; but, at the same time, in the main, confirms it. He discusses the subject under the following heads: 1. the various views of Feticism; 2. the state of mind of savages in a logical and ethical respect; 3. the behavior of the savage mind to the objects of consciousness; 4. Feticism as religion; 5. the various objects reverenced as fetiches; 6. the highest stage of Feticism; 7. the final goal of Feticism. A monograph of this kind, even though it fall short of a high standard, is of very great use.

Handbook of Philosophy.[1] — The work whose title is given below is not a History of Philosophy, but a complete System of Philosophy in outline. It embraces the following subjects: Introduction to the Study of Philosophy; Empirical Psychology; Logic and the Theory of Knowledge; Metaphysics; Ethics; the Philosophy of Society and Law; Aesthetics. The last-mentioned subject is treated in the form of an Appendix to the rest, and fills a third small volume. The first two volumes contain 1075 pages, besides the ample tables of contents and indexes. Dr. Stöckl is Professor of Philosophy at the Roman Catholic college at Münster, which is a recommendation for an orthodox Christian, inasmuch as it is a certain guarantee that he will not endeavor to philosophize all the significance and substance out of the facts of Christianity.

Under the head of Empirical Psychology, Dr. Stöckl deals, first, with what he terms the vegetative and animal organs; then with the faculties of knowledge and desire and activity or will; thirdly, with the inter-relations between the psychical and corporeal in man. The first part he introduces as preparatory to the rest of the section. We should prefer the heading

[1] Lehrbuch der Philosophie. Von Dr. Albert Stöckl. 2d ed. 3 vols. Mainz. 1869. Price, 4 Thaler.

Anthropology, and the division into Somatic, and other functions of the force commonly called the psyche, or soul, or ego.

Logic is divided into Formal and Material Logic. The former deals with the laws of Judgment, i.e. Conception, Judgment, Reasoning; the latter with the Fontes Veri and the Criterium of Truth and the Principle of Certitude.

Metaphysics is divided into General and Special. The former treats of Ontology, in three sections: 1. The Beënt in itself; 2. The Categories of the Beënt; 3. The Causes of the Beënt. The latter treats of, 1. Metaphysical Cosmology; 2. Metaphysical Psychology; 3. Natural Theology. Under the first two of these subdivisions such questions are discussed as Creation, Miracles, the Soul in the Image of God, and the Immortality of the Soul. This seems to us the right course to take. We confess that we think writers on systematic theology ought not to discuss the arguments for the existence of God and the like; but ought to relegate such arguments to a system of philosophy or to religious philosophy; and to restrict themselves to the teachings of the Bible regarding the God whose existence and chief attributes are established on independent grounds.

History of Editions of the Greek Testament.[1] — Dr. Reuss, the celebrated Strasburg theologian, took occasion, at the opening of the new Strasburg University, to publish the work whose full title is given below, and dedicated it Almae Argentinae e cineribus renascenti. He has been engaged on it, of course, for years, and must have devoted prodigious care and industry to its production. The work, while bibliographical, is mainly concerned with the history of the text. To this end its author has compared the various editions and arranged them in groups or families. Hence he has not observed a purely chronological order. The plan adopted is this: One thousand passages remarkable for different readings were selected, and relatively to these a comparison was instituted between the various editions. The headings of the chapters, which will give exegetes an idea of the compass of the work, are as follows: Praemonenda; Edd. Complutensis, Erasmicae, Compluto-Erasmica, Colinaei, Stephanicae, Erasmo-Stephanicae, Compluto-Stephanicae, Bezanae, Stephano-Bezanae, Stephano-Plantinianae, Elzevirianae, Stephano-Elzevirianae, Elzeviro-Plantinianae, criticae ante-Griesbachianae, Griesbachianae, Matthaeianae, Griesbachio-Elzevirianae, Knappianae, criticae minores post-Griesbachianae, Scholzianae, Lachmannianae, Griesbachio-Lachmannianae, Tischendorfianae, mixtae recentiores, nondem collatae, dubiae, spuriae. Index chronol. editionum, nominum, siglorum, locorum N. T.

The following notices of various collections of editions are curious:

[1] Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Gracci, cujus editiones ab initio typographiae ad nostram aetatem impressas, quotquot reperiri potuerunt, collegit, digessit, illustravit E. R. Brunswick Schwetschke. 1872. Price, 2 Thaler.

Münter, in Copenhagen, possessed 56 editions; Griesbach, 69; Mörl, 77; Lork, a Copenhagen pastor, 346, including doublettes, editions of single books, etc. Professor Reuss has 484 distinct editions, besides 98 title-editions, in his own library. Besides these he compared 48 distinct and 18 title editions belonging to other collectors, and got friends to compare further 5 distinct and 4 title editions. So that the chronological list with which the work closes comprises 584 distinct and 151 title editions. Professor Reuss has the largest collection in the world; for the Berlin library has only 114, that at Wernigerode upwards of 140, and the Hamburg library 180.

Converts to the Romish Church since the Reformation.[1] — This is the tenth and closing volume of the great work of Bishop Räss, of Strasburg, on *Converts*, or, as we Protestants say, *Perverts* to Rome. Räss concludes with the year 1798, at which point another Roman Catholic writer took up the task — a writer by the name of Rosenthal. The work consists of memoirs and accounts of the conversion and controversial writings of some twenty-six perverts, among whom are such names as, Frederik Prince of Hesse Cassel, Winckelmann, Gordon of Huntley, Elizabeth Pitt, and others.

It is somewhat remarkable that so many excellent and distinguished Protestants should have become Romanists, and comparatively so few really good Romanists have become Protestants. Romish converts to Protestantism are not often in good repute; the Protestant converts to Rome are among the most zealous and best members of the church they have joined. A Protestant would account for it by saying that Protestantism breeds a higher style of man, and this the perverts carry with them. Romanists would probably give another explanation.

The Indo-Germanic and the Semitic Races.[2] — The author of this work, a Saxon pastor, deals with his important theme from the theological point of view, and not from what is too often arrogantly called the purely scientific point of view. Justly enough too; for no writers are more theological in their discussion of subjects of this kind than those who repudiate and denounce the theological bias. They are theological in the anti-Christian sense. It is really, too, one of the gratifying features of the time that men are compelled to theologize in the one direction or the other; it is a sign that Christianity occupies so large a space in the world that thinkers must either accept or stumble against it. Pastor Röntsch, unlike Professor Grau (whose *Semiten und Indo-Germanen* was noticed in the Bibliotheca Sacra) and some others, denies the fundamental position of Renan

[1] Die Convertiten seit der Reformation. Von Bischof Räss.

[2] Ueber Indo-Germanen-und Semitenthum. Eine Völker-psychologische Studie. Von Pastor Röntsch. Leipzig. 1872. Price, 1⅓ Thaler.

and those who share his views, namely, that the Semitic races had a special instinct for monotheism and religion, whilst the Indo-Germanic races were naturally of a reverse tendency. The following are the headings of the chapters of his book: 1. Modern Representations of Semitism; 2. The Indo-Germanic Races; 3. Epic Poems as the Source of our Knowledge of the Nature and Character of Indo-Germanism; 4, 5, 6. Exposition of the three great Indo-Germanic Epics — the Iliad, the Nibelungenlied, and the Mahabharata; 7, 8. The Unity of the three Epics as to their Mythical substance, and as to their Fundamental Thoughts; 9. Their Unity as to Detail; 10. Mythology of the Indo-Germans; 11. Ethics of the Indo-Germans; 12. Critique of the Modern Representations of Semitism; 13. Japhet in the Tents of Shem; Paul. The work will be found useful, and, though specialists will probably be able to find flaws here and there, the main ideas are certainly well founded.

Christian Apologetics.[1] — Herr Baumstark founds his apology for Christianity on anthropology, i.e. the nature and constitution of man as revealed in consciousness, science, and history. This is unquestionably, too, the right starting-point. All, of course, depends on the subsequent mode of procedure. There is no very great novelty in the idea; for we have been used to popular defences of Christianity on the ground of its adaptation to human nature. All depends on the carrying out of the idea. Generally speaking, too much is taken for granted, and the apologist does not work on the same plane as the inquirer whom he is endeavoring to convince. Accordingly, the two never meet. There is some difficulty, it is true, in ascertaining the precise plane on which many of our modern doubters do move; for their movements, when they meet a Christian defender, are more like wriggles than the steady, onward march of a logical and conscientious thinker. Still, more may be done than sometimes is done to see that the points of view and departure are as nearly as possible the same both for believer and unbeliever. In this volume Herr Baumstark first lays his anthropological basis by considering man: 1. As a Spiritual Being; 2. As an Individual Being; 3. As a Religious Being. In a second section he discusses the non-Christian religions, under the two heads of Heathenism and Mohammedanism.

In the chapter on man as a spiritual being, the author seeks to controvert the views of Büchner, Moleschott, and the whole materialistic school, by vindicating, first, for force the position of an independent element in the world of phenomena alongside of matter, denying its being a mere accident of matter; then, for the soul an existence distinct from the brain, on the ground of its acknowledged influence on the body, and of the unity of consciousness; and, lastly, for the human soul an essential difference

[1] Christliche Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage. 1 Band. Von Chr. E. Baumstark. Frankfurt. 1872. Price, 2 Thaler.

from the animal soul. The work would have been more successful if the author's point of view had been more completely that of his antagonists. Sill, it is an able production.

B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

SUGGESTED EMENDATIONS OF THE AUTHORIZED ENGLISH VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Elias Riggs, Missionary of the A.B. C.F.M. at Constantinople.

We depart from our custom in this instance, and notice a work which has not yet appeared in print. A volume with the above-named title is now in press, and will soon be published by Mr. Warren F. Draper. Its author, Dr. Riggs, is well known as a learned missionary, skilled in the Oriental languages. He has already published a Manual of the Chaldee Language; a Brief Grammar of the Modern Armenian Language; a Vocabulary of Moods used in Modern Armenian, but not found in the Ancient Armenian Lexicons; Notes on the Grammar of the Bulgarian Language; Outline of a Grammar of the Turkish Language as written in the Armenian Character, etc., etc. His "Suggested Emendations of the Authorized English Version of the Old Testament" will be examined with interest by biblical students, and will serve important purposes. We insert a note on 2 Kings xix. 24, which was sent for publication in the Bibliotheca Sacra, and will be found in the forthcoming volume.

DOES THE WORD מָצוֹר EVER SIGNIFY EGYPT?

Gesenius gives it this sense in 2 Kings xix. 24, Isa. xix. 6, and Isa. xxxvii. 25 (the first and last passages are the same). He seems to have overlooked Micah vii. 12, where the word occurs twice, and will equally well bear this sense. Fürst translates *Egypt* in all these cases. But,

1. מָצוֹר everywhere else is a common noun, which appears primarily to signify *straitness;* then *siege*, as in the phrase בּוֹא בַמָּצוֹר, etc.; then *fortification*, as in the phrase עִיר מָצוֹר *a fortified city.*

2. In the passages cited no one of the ancient versions in Walton gives the rendering *Egypt.* Had this word been a name of Egypt in Hebrew, it seems hardly conceivable that neither the authors of the Targum, nor the Seventy (who resided in Egypt), nor the Arabic translator (in whose language the name مصر is in the singular number) should have known it.

3. I can find no evidence that Sennacherib had conquered Egypt, as Gesenius's rendering of 2 Kings xix. 24 implies; on the contrary, xviii. 21 seems to imply that he had not. If he had done so, he could hardly have failed to mention Egypt with Hamath, etc., xix. 12, 13. Compare also vs. 9.

4. In Isa. xix. מִצְרַיִם occurs more times than there are verses in the chapter. Twenty times it is translated *Egypt*, and six times *Egyptians* or

Egyptian. Is it not strange that among these an *unusual* name of Egypt should be *once* introduced without apparent motive, and that name a word usually having a different signification, which it will bear here also?

5. The expression עָרֵי מָצוֹר, which Fürst renders *cities of Egypt*, in Mic. vii. 12, occurs also in 2 Chron. viii. 5, where it cannot have that meaning, being used of the Upper and Nether Beth-horon, cities built by Solomon in the Land of Judah, and being further explained as cities with walls, gates, and bars. In like manner מֵי מָצוֹר, Nah. iii. 14, can have no other meaning than *waters of siege*, or water for use in siege.

These considerations render it so doubtful in my view whether the sacred writers ever use מָצוֹר as a name of Egypt, that I do not place that rendering in the text, though I retain it (as a possible one) in the margin.

THE PSALMS: with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical; designed for both Pastors and People. By Henry Cowles, D.D. 12mo. pp. 554. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1872.

This volume contains a Preface (very brief), a General Introduction (too brief), and an Appendix, but not the needed Index. It thus devotes 543 pages to the Commentary. It is not the best Commentary which we have for pastors, but is perhaps the best for well-instructed laymen. The statements of Dr. Cowles are sometimes remarkably clear, terse, and concise, compressing into a brief space the results of prolonged thought and of no little reading. The student who is familiar with the difficulties attending the explanation of the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, will see in the following quotation the signs of Prof. Cowles's acquaintance with the literature of that Psalm, and of the processes by which he has reached his own conclusions. In Robert Young's Literal Translation of the Bible we have the following translation of the eighth and ninth verses of this Psalm:

> "O daughter of Babylon, O destroyed one,
> O the happiness of him that repayeth to thee thy deed
> That thou hast done to us.
> O the happiness of him who doth seize
> And hath dashed thy sucklings on the rock."

Without noticing any other than our received translation of these verses, Dr. Cowles remarks:

"These words will suggest, even to candid minds, the query whether they are not open to the charge of cruel vindictiveness? In answer to this question it has been said: These words were simply reported by the Psalmist as having been wrung from the lips and souls of the crushed captives, but not indorsed as right. But this leaves the question still unanswered: Why then do they stand in a song for the Hebrew sanctuary with no exception taken to their spirit? Would there not be danger lest

their spirit, supposing it to be wrong, would be contagious and morally bad? A deeper view of the case will suggest that this idea of retribution, even in its most specific form, was *not original* with these captives. They must have known the 'burden of Babylon' as given by Isaiah (xiii. 16, 18). 'Their children shall be dashed in pieces before their eyes; they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children.' Also the words of Jeremiah, sent expressly to them during their captivity. 'Take vengeance upon her; as she hath done, do unto her. Recompense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her" (Jer. l. 15, 29). Remarkably, the Targum represents these words of our Psalm as uttered by the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Wordsworth remarks that 'this view of them has its value as showing that in the opinion of the Hebrew church these expressions were not regarded as coming from the mouth of men speaking their own feelings, but as derived from a higher source. This is the true view of them. They are the words of the people of God accepting and re-echoing the judicial decrees revealed in his word.' It seems to me that no just opinion of their moral character can be formed without taking into account the prophecies on the subject, a part only of which are cited above, and which must have taught them unmistakably God's purpose of retribution upon both Babylon and Edom, and, in fact, which must have suggested to them the very ideas which seem to our view most exceptionable — the dashing of their infants upon the rocks. The question in its moral aspects amounts therefore to this: Is it, or is it not, morally right for God's people to accept his purposes of retribution upon their enemies when those purposes are definitely revealed? Can they with moral uprightness say, 'Even so, Father, for so it has seemed good in thy sight'?"

THE BOOKS OF THE KINGS. By Karl W. F. Bähr, D.D., Ministerial Counsellor at Carlsruhe. Translated, enlarged, and edited, Part I. by Edwin Harwood, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, Ct.; Book II. by W. G. Sumner, B.A., Rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Morristown, N. J. pp. 572. 8vo. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co. 1872.

The name of Dr. Bähr is sufficient to insure a thorough study of this volume. The textual and grammatical Notes of Professor Gardiner considerably increase the exegetical value of the Commentary. Mr. Sumner's Appendix, Chronological Table, and Notes on the contemporaneous history of the kings form also a valuable addition to the original work. Some of these notes impart an almost modern aspect to the history. Thus the results of the latest Assyrian and Egyptian researches give a living reality to it. "The long inscriptions found by M. Botta in the palace of Khorsabad make us even better acquainted with the details of his [Sargon's, B.C. 718–704] reign than with more than one of the Roman emperors" (Part

ii. p. 189). We think that in this volume, as well as in some other parts of Lange's series, the homiletical and practical notes taken from the English authors are superior to those taken from the German. All such notes, however, constitute the least valuable part of the series.

While noticing a volume of Dr. Lange's extensive series of Commentaries, we ought to state that the revised edition of Mr. Barnes's series is still in progress, with the well-known title:

NOTES EXPLANATORY AND PRACTICAL ON THE GOSPELS: Designed for Sunday-School Teachers and Bible-Classes. By Albert Barnes. New York: Harper and Brothers.

We have received the first three volumes of this edition. Before his lamented decease, in 1870, Mr. Barnes introduced into these volumes various improvements on the preceding editions. The best recommendation which need be given of these volumes is found on p. iv. of the Preface to Vol. i.: "In the revision the essential character of the work has not been changed. It would have been easy to have enlarged [to enlarge] it very greatly, and by one competent to the task it might have been made much more learned; but it was supposed that the fact that since the first edition of the Gospels was issued more than five hundred and fifty thousand volumes have been sold in this country, and probably a larger number in Great Britain, and that it has been translated, in whole or in part, into the Welsh, French, and Tamil languages, and that numerous imitations of the general form and style of the work have been made in different religious denominations in this country, has shown that the plan of the work met a *want* in the public mind, and was adapted in some measure to supply that want, and that no essential change in its plan and character should be attempted. As the usefulness of the work, it is believed, has been much promoted by the fact that it was at first issued in small and convenient volumes, especially adapted to the use of Sabbath-schools and Bible-classes, that form of publication has not been changed."

THE BREMEN LECTURES, on Fundamental, Living, Religious Questions. By various eminent European Divines. Translated from the original German by Rev. D. Heagle. With an Introduction by Alvah Hovey, D.D., President of Newton Theological Institution. 12mo. pp. 308. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Co. 1871.

These Lectures were delivered in Bremen, in the early part of the year 1871. They were listened to by large audiences. Their original purpose was of a kindred sort with that of the "Boston Lectures"; being meant to resist the sceptical tendencies prevailing in Germany and in countries outside. Some of the themes discussed are, the Biblical Account of Creation, Miracles, the Person and the Resurrection of Christ, and the

Scriptural Doctrine of Atonement. Apart altogether from the general interest which these Lectures will have for American Christians from the nature of the subjects discussed in them, the wish to know how these subjects are viewed by German thinkers will be likely to awaken a more special interest. There will be found, we think, in the Bremen Lectures, a substantial agreement with the views of our own evangelical writers. We say *substantial* agreement; for sometimes the reader will detect a want of agreement in certain details. The answer given, on page 84, to the question, What is a miracle? differs in form, at least, from that given by Prof. Fisher, in his work on "The Supernatural Origin of Christianity."— The translation, done by a native German, strikes us as unusually good.

Prophecy a Preparation for Christ: Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1869, on the Bampton Foundation. By R. Payne Smith, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 12mo. pp. 397. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard and Co. 1870.

This book is one which should be of great interest to all intelligent Christians. Its object is to prove that there exists in the Old Testament an element — prophecy — which naturalistic criticism cannot explain away; that prophecy includes not only prediction, but religious instruction and the right of interference in civil and military affairs; all this for the purpose of preserving the national existence of Israel, and so of preparing the world for the introduction of Christianity. The nature of propehcy, furthermore, is such, especially when one takes into account the miraculous element contained in it, as to show that it must have been a divine institution. An institution of this character, embracing so much that is supernatural, cannot be conceived to have existed, unless that for which it was evidently a preparation, namely Christianity, was also of divine origin. The argument of the book is somewhat analogous to that adopted by John Howe for proving the immortality of the soul, in his memorable sermon on "The Vanity of Man as Mortal."

The style of this volume is vigorous; more vigorous, perhaps, than elegant. We imagine the "heads of colleges" must have stood aghast at hearing it said by an Oxford professor that "the Bible *ages* not." Its faults of style, it may be, are due in part to the fact of the book's being a collection of lectures.

The Resurrection of Christ. A Series of Discourses by Eliphalet Nott, D.D., LL.D., late President of Union College. With an Introduction and Notes by Tayler Lewis. 12mo. pp. 157. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co. 1872.

Fifty years ago a volume of sermons from Dr. Nott would have attracted

general attention; especially if the volume included several of his discourses like that on the death of Hamilton. At that time his tones of voice, his rhetorical pauses, the general style of his delivery, were well known to the public. Now they are forgotten. His volume suggests to us the evanescent nature of popular oratory, as an influence to be definitely traced. Its power is swallowed up in the character of the men affected by it at the time. Those, however, who retain a remembrance of Dr. Nott's elocution, and those who can imagine it will read his posthumous works with engrossing interest. The sermons, as a discussion of the doctrine of the Saviour's Resurrection, have a value. They are very well characterised in Professor Lewis's Introduction, which is an appropriate and suggestive commentary on Dr. Nott's style of preaching. He reduces the argument of the sermons to the four following propositions.

"*First ground:* That the disciples and other witnesses of Christ's resurrection should have been imposed upon in regard to a fact, or series of facts, falling so directly under the observation of the senses in their most familiar exercise — *is incredible.*

Second ground: Designed imposture on their part, when considered in connection with their subsequent lives, is — *still more incredible.*

Third ground: The sudden change in the spiritual character and in the corresponding action of the first preachers of Christianity, demands for its credible cause no less an event, or one no less superhuman and miraculous, than that assigned, — namely, the resurrection of Christ, showing its first effects in a *revivifying* of their souls, and an entire remoulding of their lives.

Fourth ground: The great spiritual miracle of the early and rapid spread of Christianity, or of the *new life* — as truly new as any physical revivification — coming from no previous human development, and continuing, even down to the preacher's time, to *reanimate* and renew the souls of men." pp. ix, x.

The Ten Commandments. By R. W. Dale, M.A., author of "Weekday Sermons," etc. Second edition. 12mo. pp. 258. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1871.

This is an unambitious, but altogether praiseworthy attempt to expound the Ten Commandments with reference to the moral condition of our own age. We like the forcible manner, verging even on sternness, with which it deals with certain forms of vice. It takes the ground that moral distinctions are eternal, and independent of the will of God. It places moral obligation on a sure basis. The work is written throughout in a fresh and energetic style, and, while not distasteful to the scholar, it is especially fitted to take hold of the popular mind. Its author, readers will scarcely need to be informed, is the successor and biographer of Rev. John Angell James, of Birmingham, England.

Sermons from 1828 to 1860. By the late William Cunningham, D.D., Principal and Professor of Church History, New College, Edinburgh. Edited, with a Preface, by Rev. J. J. Bonar, Greenock. 8vo. pp. 416. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1872.

Principal Cunningham was pastor of a church in Greenock, Scotland, for thirteen years; and it was during this time that nearly all the sermons in this beautifully printed volume were written. The fact that Dr. Cunningham was trained under the influence of "Moderatism," and only after leaving the university adopted more evangelical views, gives a high value to the earnest and uncompromising defense of old-fashioned Calvinism contained in these sermons. Though we should hesitate to accept some of the statements to be found in them, we cordially commend the candid temper, as well as decided ability, by which they are marked. Their style is grave and dignified, enlivened by few illustrations, yet pure and perspicuous; and, if delivered in an earnest manner, the sermons must have been heard with much satisfaction by an audience trained to listen to such preaching, as we could wish were the case with more congregations in America.

The Sermons of Henry Ward Beecher, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. From verbatim Reports by T. J. Ellinwood. "Plymouth Pulpit," Fourth Series: March, 1870 — September, 1870. 4 Vols. 8vo. pp. 456. New York: J. B. Ford and Co. 1871.

Our notice of these volumes cannot vary substantially from that, given in a former number of the Bibliotheca Sacra, of the first two volumes of the series. We do not wish to abate at all the praise to which we then gave utterance. In the general it may be said that these sermons contain neither statement nor defense of the doctrines of either old or new fashioned Calvinism, but are adapted in a peculiarly happy manner to meet the wants of men busied in the ordinary employments of life. The composition of such sermons, we are persuaded, is a more difficult task than the composition of such sermons as those of Principal Cunningham. It is an important defect of those sermons — on the supposition that they give a specimen of the writer's general style of preaching — that they do not show the applicableness of the doctrines they set forth to the actions of men's every-day life. It is an important fault of Mr. Beecher's sermons that they possess in a disproportionate degree the merit in which those of Principal Cunningham are deficient. The gospel, as every one knows, may be looked at in two aspects: as giving, on the one hand, the conditions of the pardon of sin and eternal life; and, on the other hand, as prescribing the dispositions and modes of conduct pertaining to the present life. Baxter and Edwards kept in their eyes the first of these aspects not absolutely but relatively too much. Others have gone toward the opposite extreme. The great problem in preaching is, how to combine these two

elements in just proportions. Mr. Beecher has not solved this problem. We do not think that any preacher has ever effected a perfect solution of it. But an approach to such a solution a good deal nearer than either Edwards or Beecher has reached would seem not impossible.

Were we to engage in criticising Mr. Beecher's productions, we would ask whether it would not be well for him, even if he does not admire the Assembly's Catechism and does not choose to engage in doctrinal discussions, to refrain from the disparaging style in which he speaks of them? If a preacher must abstain from doctrinal discussion, is it not as important to avoid condemning as commending the doctrines of Calvinism?

Lecture-Room Talks: A Series of Familiar Discourses on Themes of General Christian Experience. By Henry Ward Beecher. Phonographically reported by T. J. Ellinwood. 12mo. pp. 378. New York: J. B. Ford and Co. 1872.

The religious addresses of many men, it is a fact of familiar observation, lose when printed a large portion of their effectiveness. This remark, however, is not true of Mr. Beecher's lectures. We have read them with nearly the same interest with which we should have heard them. Private Christians, we know, peruse them with much profit; though it must be owned the judicious reader will sometimes fall upon ideas which he cannot but wish had been suppressed.

A History of the Corruptions of Christianity. By Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S. 12mo. pp. 336. London: The British and Foreign Unitarian Association. 1871.

This volume is reprinted from Rutt's edition of Priestley's works, with added notes. Appended to the History are "Considerations in evidence that the Apostolic and Primitive Church was Unitarian." These are taken from Dr. Priestley's "Letters to Bishop Horseley, the Bench of Bishops, and others, and from his work called 'An History of the Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ.' The above volumes are out of print and very scarce" (p. 319). Dr. Priestley regarded his volume on the Corruptions of Christianity as "the most valuable of all [his] my writings." We think that his philosophical writings will be generally esteemed as far more useful than his theological. He reasoned on the basis of Tertullian's statement: "That is the true faith which is the most ancient, and that a corruption which is modern." If by the most ancient faith he meant the faith of the apostles, the statement of Tertullian is of course correct. But if the statement represents the early Christian Fathers as a standard of truth, it is far from being sound. With their Jewish and Heathen prejudices clinging to them, they are unsafe guides. Still, even they are often misunderstood, we think, by Dr. Priestley. He was a great man. His literary and scientific career is admirable. His patient and scholarly temper is beyond all

praise. If he had not prepared twenty-five octavo volumes for the press, and a large part of those the result of strictly original investigations, if he had concentrated his studies on a more select class of topics, he would have been more trustworthy than he is now. We revere him not as an authority in sacred learning, but as a scholar who has given a marked impulse to the scientific discussions of the past and present centuries.

The Science of Aesthetics; or, the Nature, Kinds, Laws, and Uses of Beauty. By Henry N. Day. 12mo. pp. 434. New Haven, Ct.: Charles E. Chatfield and Co. 1872.

The youthful student of aesthetics has been subjected to great inconvenience by his want of plain treatises on the science. Many of the German works, like those of Vischer and Hegel, are too abstruse for his benefit. Many of the English works are too superficial. It is remarkable that comparatively so few books, either good or bad, have been written, either in England or America, on a science so fascinating and important. It is also wonderful that the principles of art are at present so imperfectly understood. "Mr. Fergusson, in his History of Architecture, remarks that while in every nation the art was successful whenever practised up to the sixteenth century, since then 'not one building has been produced that is admitted to be entirely satisfactory, or which permanently retains a hold on general admiration'" (Prof. Day's Preface, p. v.). For this lamentable failure Professor Day assigns the true reason. Modern artists have "overlooked the vital element of old art — the actual incorporation of the idea into the material" which they have had at command. We are glad to see a revival of interest in aesthetics, and to welcome this new work of Professor Day. We think that his style might in many passages be more simple and perspicuous; but we regard his thoughts as in the main correct and sound. The whole of the fourth book might be made more vivid, but as it stands is well fitted to commend aesthetical study.

The Elements of Intellectual Science. A Manual for Schools and Colleges. Abridged from "The Human Intellect." By Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 12mo. pp. 565. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1871.

There ought to be found in our higher schools, as well as in our colleges, a class of minds so well-trained and so inquisitive as to be able to study with advantage a judiciously-written work on intellectual philosophy. It is almost self-evident that a book suited to the wants of such minds can be best prepared by one who has already executed a larger and more exhaustive work on the same subject. One cannot but be gratified, therefore, that President Porter has given to the world this abridgment of his treatise on the Human Intellect. It is unnecessary to speak further of its merits. Every one who has read the larger work will readily acknowledge

the excellence of this abridgment. No student, whose mind is sufficiently cultivated to enable him to read profitably any work on the subject, will find difficulty in mastering this, or will fail to be benefited by it.

The Wonders of Water. From the French of Gaston Tissandier. Edited, with numerous additions, by Schele De Vere, D.D., LL.D., of the University of Virginia. Author of "Studies in English," "Americanisms," etc. With 64 Illustrations. 12mo. pp. 350. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1872.

This is one of a series of useful and pre-eminently entertaining volumes. They have already been highly commended in the Bibliotheca Sacra. We have a satisfactory proof of their excellence in the eagerness with which we have known them to be read by a class of boys. It is most earnestly to be wished that these volumes might take the place of the worthless, not to say hurtful, books which exist just now in such profusion.

Memoir of Robert Chambers; with Autobiographic Reminiscences of William Chambers. 12mo. pp. 313. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co. 1872.

Mr. Robert Chambers was author of the "Traditions of Edinburgh," "History of the Rebellion of 1745 and 1746," and other works, but is chiefly known as a conductor of "Chambers' Journal," and a generous patron of a literature for the people. He sustained an excellent character, and the present memoir of him is eminently rich in practical suggestions.

History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America. By Henry Wilson. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 670. Boston: James R. Osgood and Co. 1872.

The present History will instruct the present generation of readers. The next generation will require a history written at a later period than this. Mr. Wilson is a fair specimen of an American. Self-made, emerging from poverty, diligent, persevering, he seems destined to secure a permanent place in American history. He writes in a luminous style, and leaves the impression that he is honest and truth-loving.

Insects at Home. Being a popular Account of Insects, their Structure, Habits, and Transformations. By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S., etc.; author of "Homes without Hands," "Bible Animals," "Common Animals of the Sea-shore and Country," etc. With upwards of 700 Figures by E. A. Smith and J. B. Zwecker, engraved by G. Pearson. 8vo. pp. 650. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1872.

The author of this book is a clergyman of the Church of England who has found leisure to pay much attention to entomology. As it "is not a

work on comparative anatomy, but treats of 'Insects at Home,' a greater stress is laid on the habits of insects than on their anatomy." We have had to judge of its merits not from the point of view of a professed naturalist, and we can truly say of it that it gives much entertainment as well as instruction. It is written in an easy style, with as little technical language as the case would allow. Its perusal will be by no means without use to that class of readers to whom the Bibliotheca Sacra is especially devoted.

The book is uncommonly well printed, and the engravings are very beautiful. Though aiming to describe only such insects as are found in Great Britain, American readers will recognize many of their old friends, some of which it were better to forget than remember.

PRINCETON COLLEGE DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Samuel Davies Alexander, an Alumnus. 8vo. pp. 320. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co. 1872.

The attachment of a student to his Alma Mater may be excused even though, in the judgment of a cooler reader, it may be somewhat in excess. The graduates of most of our older colleges will be less inclined to dispute the truth, than to smile at the naïveté, of the following expression of Mr. Alexander's affection for Princeton College. "Read the sketches that follow, and the conviction will be irresistible, that the *Country*, the *Presbyterian church*, and the cause of *high Christian culture*, owe their present exalted position in the land to the noble men who went forth from Princeton during the last century."

The book is made up of biographical sketches of the graduates of Princeton College during the last century. It is on the whole well executed. Most readers will be tempted to ask why anything at all was said of some men, and much more not said of others. The book is a gratifying proof of the increasing, rather than lessening, regard which American scholars cherish for the colleges at which they were educated.

[NOTE OF THE EDITORS. — Having inserted in a previous Number an Article favoring the proposition that the infants of professing believers ought to be baptized, and are constituted by their baptism members of the visible church, and having inserted in the present Number an Article favoring the proposition that infants are not members of the visible church and ought not to be baptized, the Editors of the Bibliotheca Sacra expect to insert, in a future Number, an Article favoring the proposition that the infant children of church-members ought to be baptized, but are not made members of the visible church by that ordinance].

INDEX.

A.

Anderson, William, LL.D., Treatise on Regeneration, noticed, 394.

Anderson's Rufus, D.D., Gospel in Bible Lands, noticed, 571.

Augustine's Works, noticed, 561.

B.

Bähr's, K. W. F., Book of the Kings, noticed, 782.

Ballou's, Maturin M., Treasury of Thought, noticed, 569.

Barnes's, Rev. Albert, Notes on the Gospels, noticed 783.

Barrows, Prof. E. P., article by, 39, 427, 640. Sacred Geography and Antiquities, noticed, 564.

Bascom, Prof. J., article by, 401, 698.

Baumstark's, Ch. E., Christian Apologetics, noticed, 779.

Beecher's, Rev. H. W., Sermons, noticed, 786; Lecture-Room Talks, noticed, 787.

Bruce's, Rev. A. B., Training of the Twelve, noticed, 203.

Butler's, Rev. William, Land of the Veda, noticed, 582.

C.

Casper's, A., Footsteps of Christ, Translated by A. E. Rodham, noticed, 394.

Chaplin's, Jeremiah, D. D., Life of Henry Dunster, noticed, 573.

Characteristics of the Growth of Christ's Kingdom, article on, by Samuel Harris, D.D.; the progress is spiritual, 459; it is by the instrumentality of the gospel, 460; Christianity should not be regarded as philosophy, 461; progress not to be promoted by force, 463; progress without observation, 464; progress providential, 465; removing of obstacles, 466; the growth of certain interests and customs favorable to the growth of God's kingdom, 467; lessons taught by this, 468; the progress of the kingdom by epochs, 469; the epochs not the growth, but the results of the growth, 470; an epoch not necessarily by violence, 470; the kingdom not responsible for the violence incidental to the epochs in its progress, 471; this violence an evil, 473; epochs not always recognized as such, 473; the progress usually further than the agents had intended, 474; epochs necessitate new ideas and a new policy, 475; progress cumulative, 476; a demonstration of Christianity by its life-giving power, the great want of the age, 478.

Christ as a practical Observer of Nature, Persons, and Events, article on, by Rev. Selah Merrill, 510; the mind of Christ intensely practical, 510; few things escaped his notice, 512; Christ a man of correct observation, 530.

Christian Law of Service, The, article on, by Samuel Harris, D.D., 310; the principle on which the Christian law of service rests, 310; the first aspect of this principle, greatness for service, 311; greatness carries in it the obligation to service, 311; the ability, the measure of the service, 311; the applications of the law, both to the choice of business and to the use of its gains, 312; every legitimate business a service to humanity, 313; exchanges under the law of reciprocity give scope to Christian service, 314; legitimate business a service because productive, 315; a man renders service in business by improving its methods, 316; by exhibiting strict integrity and a high sense of honor, 317; a man's influence outside of his business affected by his character in his business, 317; the Christian law of service as applied to his use of the gains of business, 317; reasons for the Christian law of service, 318; the example of the Saviour, 318; the law, in accordance with our best instincts, 318;

greatness comes by service, 319; a man by service attains the most intrinsic greatness, the most influence, 319; the law accords with enlightened self-interest, 320; the character expressed in service the noblest type of character, 320; such service brings into action all the energies, 321; great responsibilities develop greatness, 322; society attains its best condition only as governed by the law of love, 323; a man does business most thoroughly when he does it as a service for God, 323; evil effects of work only for gain, 324; especially to society, 325; the dividing line between selfishness and Christian benevolence, 327; worldly business not necessarily worldliness, 327; the law of service not fulfilled by giving merely a part of one's income, 329; the line not to be drawn between what one expends on himself and what he gives away, 330; is a Christian justified in expending money on himself beyond the necessaries of life? 330; a life of indulgence, 331; a life of service 333; blessedness possible only in the realization of moral ideas, 333; this type of life sometimes one-sided and defective, 334; in Christian civilization the moral forces predominate, 325; the Christian life springs from the sense of sin and condemnation, 336; the advancement of Christ's kingdom, diffusive, 336.

Church Creeds, article on, by Enoch Pond, D.D., 538; creeds necessary to a church, 538; objections to creeds, 538; not an infringement upon Christian liberty, 539; objection that they cannot be understood, 540; creeds important as a testimony to the great truths of the gospel, 541; as promoting unity and confidence, 541; as a means of preserving the purity of the church, 541; adopted by all denominations, 542; how much shall be embraced in a creed? 543; not the same in all cases, 544; can a church change its creed? 545.

Collyer's, Rev. Robert, Sermons, noticed, 587.

Cowles, Rev. H., article by, 623.

Cowles, Rev. Henry, Revelation of John, noticed, 204; Psalms, with Notes, noticed, 781.

Cremer's, Hermann, Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek, noticed, 562.

Czerwenka's, B., History of the Evangelical Church in Bohemia, noticed, 386.

D.

Darwinism, article on, by Frederic Gardiner, D.D., 240; the works in which Darwin's peculiar theories are set forth, 240; his theory to be distinguished from the theory of evolution, 242; statement of his theory, 242; reception, on the part of the public, of Darwin's theory, 243; total absence of reference to the Scriptures, 245; theologians have stood aloof from the discussion of Darwinism, 246; public reception of Darwin's subsidiary theories of "pangenesis" and "sexual selection," 248; the reception of his theory of sexual selection a matter of prediction rather than history, 250; consideration of the theory of evolution, 252; in the general in harmony with the Mosaic account of the creation, 252; the theory of evolution more precisely defined, 255; argument in its favor drawn from the manifest gradation of rank in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, 256; from the analogy between evolution and embryonic development, 257; from the prevalent similarity in points of structure and constitution, 258; "rudimentary structures" as seen in animals, 258; the argument from "homology," 260; the geographical distribution of animals, 260; the argument from "abnormal reversions," 260; the cumulative force of these arguments, 261; the truth of the theory of evolution to be assumed in the argument on Darwinism, 262; arguments in favor of Darwinism, 262; it alone gives a rational account of the

process of evolution, 262; the variability of all plants and animals, 262; the geological succession of plants and animals, 265; "mimicry," explained in the Darwinian theory only, 266; the general harmony and adaptation of nature accounted for, as is claimed, by Darwinism, 268; examples of Darwin's mode of reasoning, 269; examples of petitio principii, 271; apt to take as the basis of an argument what has not been proved, 272; proof of the descent of man by Dr. Maudsley, 274; Darwin's theory of the origin of man, 276; the intelligence of man different from that of brutes, 276; language as used by men and by brutes, 277; the applicability of Darwinism to man denied by some of the most powerful advocates of Darwinism, especially by Mr. Wallace, 279; was man's original state that of the savage? 282; evidence of the antiquity of man, 282; calculations as to the antiquity of man resting on an insecure basis, 283; a past period, indefinitely long, required for the development of man, 285; argument of Sir W. Thompson on this point, 286; Mivart's arguments against Darwinism, 287.

Delitzsch's, Franz, Biblical Commentary on the Psalms (Translation), noticed, 201, 576.

Destructive Analysis in Theology, article on, by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin, 419.

Deutsch's, Solomon, Key to the Pentateuch, noticed, 202.

Dorner's, Dr. I. A., History of Protestant Theology, noticed, 206.

Dr. Hodge's Systematic Theology, article on, 553; merits of the work, 553; Hodge's views of the origin of the idea of God, 553; he supposes the existence of God can be proved, and also that it is self-evident, 553; he has not shown that the perception of God's existence is so immediate as to prove it innate, 554; has not shown that the knowledge of God is so universal as to prove it innate, 556; does not show that the scriptures and history prove the knowledge of God to be innate, 558; he has not shown that the belief in the divine existence is so necessary as to prove it to be innate, 559.

E.

Egyptology, article on, by Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., 771; Revue Archéologique, 771; Lenormant's Memoirs upon the Ethiopian Epoch in Egyptian History, 771; de Rouge's Analysis of Geographical Inscriptions at Edfou, 771; Monographs of Lepsius on Egyptian Art, 771.

English Eloquence and Debate, article on, by George Shepard, D.D., 22; sketch of eloquence as exhibited in the English Parliament, 22; little eloquence more than two centuries ago, 22; period of the civil war in 1640, 23; time of Queen Anne, 23; of George the First, 24; three periods of English debate, 28; Irish eloquence, 29; American eloquence, 30; comparison of ancient and modern eloquence, 31; few valuable principles to be deduced from the history of English eloquence, 33; the power to reach men an admirable power, 35; the purpose of the speaker modifies all that comes from him, 37.

F.

Frank's, Dr. F. H. R., System of Christian Certitude, noticed, 196.

G.

Gardiner, Prof. Frederic, articles by, 240, 593.

Girdleston's, Rev. R. B., Synonyms of the Old Testament, noticed, 400.

Grätz's, Prof. H., Book of Ecclesiastes, noticed, 386.

H.

Harris, Prof. Samuel, articles by, 114, 310, 459, 602.

Heard's, Rev. J. B., Tripartite Nature of Man, noticed, 577.

Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography, article on, by Rev. George H. Whittemore, 547; merits of Gesenius's Student's Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon, 547; the historical survey of the Hebrew

language contained in the Grammar, 548; changes that have affected the sounds of the language have affected its vowel system, 548; substitution of the English *w* for the German *w* or *v* as the equivalent of the Hebrew *vav*, 549; origin of the vowel sounds, 549; the treatment of the verb and of participial and infinitive forms of nouns, 550; merits of the Student's Hebrew Lexicon, 551.

Hefele's, Dr. Chas. J., History of the Christian Councils, noticed, 507.

Hengstenberg's, E. W., Book of Job, noticed, 387.

Herrick, Prof. J. R., article by, 209.

Hoffmann's, Dr., Deutschland, noticed, 199.

I.

Infant Baptism and a Regenerated Church-Membership Irreconcilable, article on, by Rev. W. H. H. Marsh, 665; prevalent vagueness of conception in regard to the relation of baptized children to the church, 667; the subject of personal regeneration related to all theories of the church-membership of baptized children, 678; reasons for which infant baptism and a regenerated church-membership are irreconcilable, 687; the great difference between Baptists and Paedobaptists, in the realization of the idea of a regenerated church-membership, 697.

Influence of the Pulpit, The, article on, by Prof. John Bascom, 698; power of the preacher in general, 698; the pulpit often disparaged, 699; the pulpit undervalued, 702; sources of its influence, 704; the identification of the pulpit with progress, 709; means of enlarging the influence of the pulpit, 711; increased cultivation permeated by faith, 711; broader defence of Christian principles, 714; moral force with which religious truths are held, 716.

Influence of the Press, The, article on, by Prof. John Bascom, 401: the printing-press a powerful agent in civilization, 401; glance at the history of newspapers, 401; the popular element in the press gaining ground rapidly, 403; results of the newspaper growth, 404; on the privacy of life, 404; it intensifies in a high degree the passing impressions of the hour, 406; loss of individuality, 407; the press unfavorable to moral integrity and soundness, 408; the press a constant means of reaching private ends, 410; exclusion of articles of real merit, 411; the press a strong incentive to personal vanity, 412; reason for dwelling on these evils, 412; the levelling down of literature and science to the popular mind inevitable, 414; excessive pride of Americans in their newspapers, 415: the energetic character of our reforms due to the press, 415; two sorts of influence belonging to the press, involuntary and designed, 416; injurious effects of the publication of the details of crime, 417.

J.

John i. 26, Ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι. Exegesis of, article, by Rev. J. Tracy, D.D., 532; alleged error in using *with* in the place of *in*, 532; σύν not understood where no preposition is used, 532; ἐν primarily expresses locality, 533; it cannot be rendered *into*, 534; still uncertain whether John baptized by immersion, 537.

Jowett's, B., Dialogues of Plato, noticed, 392.

K.

Keim's Dr. T., History of Jesus of Nazareth, noticed, 197, 384.

Krauth's, Charles P., D.D., Conservative Reformation and its Theology, noticed, 204.

Kubel's Social and Economic Legislation of the Old Testament, noticed, 200.

L.

Lange's, Dr. J. P, Life of the Lord Jesus Christ, noticed, 564.

Lawrence's, Rev. E. A., D.D., Life of Joel Hawes, D.D., noticed, 573.

Lecky on Morals, article on, by Prof. J. R. Herrick, 209; relation of the principles of ethics to

theological opinions, 209; design of Lecky's History of Morals, 210; his views of ethical principles important to be understood, 211; his classification of theories, 211; the ethics of interest, 212; objections to the ethics of interest, 213; his views of intuitive morals, 215; the argument in favor of the ethics of interest drawn from the diversity of moral judgments, 216; his exposition of the intuitive theory of morals faulty, 216; he does not recognize an objective standard of morals in the divine reason, 218; nor in the human reason, 219; the perpetual change in the standard of morals and in the relative value of particular virtues, 220; his account of moral types unsatisfactory, 221; treatment of Christianity unsatisfactory, 223; as shown in his account of the condition of the Roman empire, 223; account of Pagan morality, 224; his glorification of stoicism, 225; his account of the moral character of Christian Rome, 226; he is unjust to Christianity because he does not recognize the cycles of civilization from a true historic point of view, 228; his false assumption that Rome was converted and Christianity propagated by simply natural agencies, 230; comparison of his positions with each other, 231; manner in which he regards miracles as connected with the introduction of Christianity, 233; comparison of the Pagan and Christian systems of morals important, 236: Christianity a system of instruction of a peculiar character, 236; the facts of the gospel history inseparable parts of the Christian system, 237.

Lyell's Student's Elements of Geology, article on, by John B. Perry, 479.

M.

"Man of Sin," 2 Thess. ii. 3–9, The, article on, by Prof. Cowles, 623.

Marriott's, Rev. W. B., Testimony of the Catacombs, noticed, 396.

Marsh, Rev. W. H. H., article by, 665.

McCosh's, James, D.D., Christianity and Positivism, noticed, 207.

Merrill, Rev. Selah, article by, 510.

Müller's, Max, Lectures on the Science of Religion, noticed, 580.

Murphy, J. C., LL.D., articles by, 74, 289.

N.

Nott's, Pres. Eliphalet, Resurrection of Christ, noticed, 784.

Noyes's, Prof. Daniel J., Memoir of N. G. Upham, noticed, 568.

O.

Organic and Visible Manifestation of Christ's Kingdom, and the Human Agency in its Advancement, The, article on, by Prof. Samuel Harris, 114; the church the organic outgrowth in human history of the life that is in Christ, 114; the Spirit present where the church is, and the church existent only where the Spirit is, 115; the true idea of the church as the outgrowth of the life that is in Christ, 117; the Spirit acts primarily on individuals, 117; the church an organized association of persons renewed by the Holy Spirit, 118; the individualism of the church, 119; this statement historically proved, 120; the constitution of the church has furnished an important principle of political and social progress, 121; the church as an organization subordinate to the life, 122; the organization the outgrowth of the life, 122; the organization exists for the life, 122, the church not mediatorial, 123; this idea of the church has penetrated political and social institutions, 123; the church not a mediator between God and man, 125; the truths of Christianity uttered in the hierarchial church only in monstrous forms, 125; the unity of the church the unity of the spirit, 127; the church local and congregational, not national, 127; the church has no authority to govern, 127; the national or ecumenical unity of the churches, the unity of the spirit, 129; the method by which the fellowship of the churches

shall be determined not prescribed in the New Testament, 130; the Christian church necessarily catholic, 131; the continuity of Christ's kingdom in history the continuity of the spirit not of the organization, 132; the organization an expression of the life, 133; the organization has a continuity that is historical, 134; this continuity through the Spirit, 134; the church transforms and purifies society, 135; the church in all generations as much connected with Christ as in the beginning, 136; the church adapted to human progress, 137; the necessity of human agency for the growth of the church, 138; this only one form of the general question of the manifestation of the infinite in the finite, 138; dependence on human agency involved in the historical character of redemption, 139; this dependence evident from the very nature of redemption, 139; this agency an effective instrument in training Christians to love like Christ, 140; characteristics of this human agency, 140; its spontaneity, 141; the prominence given in it to the individual, 143; Christianity opens spheres of action adapted to every Christian, 145; the Christian work of woman, 146; it must be domestic and social, 147: the human agency demands wise forethought in adapting means to ends, 148; the choice of a profession, 149; every man's work a calling, 149; the work of Christian missions performed best by associations, 152; the necessity of this, as enabling the churches to meet changes of time and peculiarities of place, and as a means of preserving Christian liberty, 152; voluntary associations accordant with the apostolic constitution of the church, 153; and with the prominence given to the individual, 153; in accordance with the methods of apostolic missions, 154; with the common practice of the church, 154; the peculiar efficacy of this mode, 154.

P.

Park, Prof. E. A., article by, 157, 339, 720.

Patristic Views of the two Genealogies of our Lord, article on, by Frederic Gardiner, D.D., 593.

Perry, John B., article by, 479.

Physical Basis of our Spiritual Language, The, article on, by W. M. Thompson. D.D., 1; divine revelation possible only by means of a peculiar spiritual language, 1; the promotion of such a language beyond the powers of man, 2; the spiritual language preceded by the natural and the mundane, 3; Palestine necessarily the theatre of this process, 3; man not endowed originally and miraculously with a spiritual language, 4; language of very slow growth, 5; the physical mundane basis of language easily misunderstood, and may teach ruinous error, 7; the growth of a spiritual language, an argument for the reality of divine revelation, 8; the general course of the argument on this point, 9; the plan for forming a spiritual language begun at the creation, 9; Palestine early chosen and fitted up as the scene of this work, 10; the social and civil condition of the Hebrews as related to this work, 12; an accurate acquaintance with Palestine not indispensable for understanding the Bible, 14; the language of the poetry of the Bible has its basis in Palestine, 15; the scenery of the Holy Land poetic, 16; why has Palestine produced no great poet? 18; extent to which our religious vocabulary has been enriched from this poetic source, 18: illustrated in the case of the first Psalm, 18; the "threshing floor" and "fruit," 20; and "chaff," 21.

Pond, Dr. E., article by, 538.

Porter's, Pres. Noah, Elements of Intellectual Science, noticed, 788.

Potwin, Prof. L. S., article by, 419.

Pressel's, W., Commentary of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, noticed, 198.

Progress of Christ's Kingdom in its Relation to Civilization, The, article on, by Samuel Harris, D.D., 602; civilization not a product of Christianity, but an independent existence, 602; Christianity gives the forces essential to a permanent civilization, 604; civilization in itself destitute of these forces, 607; Christianity gradually creates a Christian civilization, 608; the progress of Christ's kingdom modified by the existing civilization, 608; the applications of Christianity to the progress of society disclosed only in the progress of Christ's kingdom, 609; men prepared to appreciate these applications only as the exigencies to which they are pertinent arise, 610; Christian life always modified by the existing civilizations, 612; Christianity sometimes comes into alliance with imperfection and error, 614; Christian truth often suffocated by the error associated with it, 616; Christianity always begets a purer and more Christian spirit, 616; the present always the outgrowth of the past, 618; Christianity produces a homogeneous civilization, 620; duty of the missionary in relation to civilization, 620.

R.

Reuss's History of Editions of the Greek Testament, noticed, 777.

Revelation and Inspiration, article on, by E. P. Barrows, D.D., 39: Revelation considered in its End, 39: — Jesus an infallible teacher, 39; the relation to Christ held by the writers of the New Testament, 42; they were qualified to preach and to record the doctrines of the gospel, 43; proved by the analogy of the Old Testament record, 43; the whole Old Testament received by Jesus not merely in accommodation to the belief of the age, 45; the qualifications of the apostles proved by the necessity of the case, 47; proved by Christ's express promises to his apostles, 49; the promises found in John's Gospel, 51; by the miraculous gifts bestowed on the apostles, 53; the miraculous element now too much disregarded, 54; claims to divine authority made by the apostles themselves, 56; inspiration of the associates of the apostles, 58; miraculous gifts not imparted to them all, 60; writings of Mark and Luke, 62; Epistles of Mark, 62; of Luke, 65; Epistles of James and Jude, 66; the Epistle to the Hebrews, 68; the Epistles of the apostolic Fathers, 69; testimony of the primitive churches important, 70; importance of the question of the contents of a book claiming to be inspired, 71. Inspiration considered in its Mode, 427:—different forms of revelation, 428; the objective forms, 428; the subjective forms, 429; other forms, 430; proper application of the term "inspiration," 430; distinction of inspiration as affecting the mind of the writer and as affecting the words, 431; this distinction untenable, 432; the extent of the application of the term, 433; illumination of the mind in respect to truth already known, 435; meaning of the term "plenary inspiration," 437; the question of verbal inspiration, 438; Eleazar Lord's modification of this theory, 440; sense in which we are conscious of thought independently of words, 442; language necessary to discursive thought, 443; the office of language to make our thoughts objective to ourselves, 444; the essential nature of language, 444; the end proposed in inspiration the main thing, and not the particular method, 446; the case of new revelations, 447; the case of emotions and purposes, 449; case of narratives of events before known, 449; objection to the theory of verbal inspiration from diversity of style, 450; answers of Carson and Lord, 451; argument for verbal inspiration from congruity, 452; objection from the various forms in which the same words of our Lord are recorded, 453; in-

spiration in relation to versions, 455; the possibility of God's presence being so revealed as that there should be no doubt of the reality of the revelation, 456; gift of tongues, 458. Revelation considered in its Sphere, 640:—the limitation of this sphere as to the phenomena of nature, 641; as to the natural endowments of the sacred writers, 645; their matter, 646; their style and diction, 649; limitation in respect to unessential circumstances, 652; the question of plenary inspiration has respect to the end in view, 656; limitation as respects the amount of light given in the scriptures, 658; the six days of creation, 661; chronology of the Bible, 663; longevity of the antediluvians, 663; antiquity of man, 663; unity of the race, 664; commerce with the dead by modern spiritualists, 664.

Riggs's, Elias, D.D., Suggested Emendations of the Authorized English Version of the Old Testament, noticed, 780.

Romang's, I. P., More Important Questions of Religion, noticed, 386.

Röntsch's Indo-Germanic and the Semitic Races, noticed, 778.

S.

Schultze's, Dr. Fritz, Immortality of the Soul, noticed, 774.

Shepard, Prof. Geo., article by, 22.

Speaker's Commentary, noticed, 200.

Spiritual Language, its Physical Basis, article on, by W. M. Thomson, D.D., 1.

Stöckl, Dr. Albert, Handbook of Philosophy, noticed, 776.

Stuart's, Prof. M., History of the Old Testament Canon, noticed, 395.

Sufferings of Messiah (a German work), noticed, 199.

T.

Taylor's, S. H., LL.D, Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language, noticed, 565.

Thomson, W. M., D.D., article by, 1.

Thompson, J.P., D.D., article by, 771.

Three Fundamental Methods of Preaching, The, article on, by Prof. Edwards A. Park, 157: The Public Reading of Sermons:—not all sermons that are written, to be read, 157; the reading of sermons not to be indiscriminately condemned, 158; the prospect of reading an entire discourse, an incentive to careful writing, 158; the occasional reading of a discourse gives a needed variety to the services of the pulpit, 159; it adds emphasis to a preacher's words, 159; writing may be particularly appropriate to the subject and style of a sermon, 160; sometimes particularly appropriate to the relation of preacher and audience to each other, 162; appropriate to the mental or physical state of the preacher, 163; appropriate to the preacher's constitution and general character, 164; the reading of a sermon may be more natural and impressive than speaking extempore or memoriter, 167; the reading of sermons more or less useful as more or less intermingled with extempore or memoriter preaching, 169; the practice of reading sermons cannot become the general practice without lessening the preacher's influence, 170; it requires too much writing for the health, 170; disqualifies the minister for the full use of his corporeal powers, 171; reading degenerates into an inapposite stupid delivery, 171; reading liable to deadening forms of abuse, 172; rules for the public reading of sermons suggested by the fact that it should be modified by the other methods of delivery, 174. Preaching Memoriter, 176:—it has high authority in its favor, 176; some men have a call from heaven to preach memoriter, 177; the majority of preachers may wisely cultivate the power of so preaching, 179; a sermon may be forgotten the next day after it is preached, 179; advantages of preaching memoriter, 181; it incites to the making of the discourse a rich one, 181; the preacher enriching himself by treasuring up the sound thoughts and well-chosen expressions of written discourses,

182; he may avoid the bad habits of uniform reading or uniform extemporizing, 183; preaching memoriter gives a useful discipline of mind, 184; need of caution in preaching memoriter, in proportion to the weakness of the preacher's memory, 186; rules for preaching memoriter, 188; opportunities to be taken for improving the sermon, 188; sympathy to be kept up between the preacher and the doctrine of the sermon, 189; methods of committing a discourse to be diversified, 189; the attention to be riveted upon the sermon, 191; a hearty interest in the truth as the truth to be cultivated, 191; discourses to be learned for a lengthened period, 192; discourses should be committed in short sections, 192; the aid of an artificial or local memory, 193; the manuscript should be taken into the pulpit, 194; one's own idiosyncrasies to be consulted, 194. Preaching Extempore, 339: — the extemporaneous element in sermons, and its varying degrees, 341; qualifications in their varying degrees for preaching extempore, 343; rules for extemporary preaching: — an earnest religious spirit should be cherished, 345; one should think more of doing good than of doing well, 348; a deeper interest to be cherished in the approval of God than of man, 349; a healthful view to be taken of one's own talents, and the speech to be regulated in accordance with them, 350; a morbid spirit not to be yielded to, 351; a few failures not to be viewed as proving one's unfitness for free speech, 351; the practice of elaborate writing to be persevered in, 353; the mind to be rigidly disciplined in such exercises as will be of immediate advantage to one's sermons, 355; the Bible to be studied with special care, 356; the truths of theological science to be studied, 358; the habit of reading religious truth in the book of nature and in history to be cultivated, 359; one should accustom himself to speak extempore on the more difficult themes of sermons, 361; methods to be used for regulating the instinct and gaining the art of expression, 364; preparation to be made for each extemporary sermon, 367; the mind should be taught to work naturally and easily, 372; the body to be taken especial care of, 372; a subject to be chosen on which one can speak with safety and interest, 373; the mind should be kept sacredly under the influence of the subject, 373; literary or elocutionary blunders not to be over-estimated, 375; one should not scruple to borrow aid from the other methods of preaching, 376; the extemporary element in a man's sermon to be graduated according to his fitness for meeting the just demands of his hearers, 378; a successful extemporary sermon to be made the basis of a written one, 381; there can be too much, too little, correction, 382. Reasons for preaching extempore, 720; many reasons suggested by the nature of sacred eloquence, 721; the extemporaneous preacher has an advantage in speaking to the present condition of his hearers, 724; in preserving the interest of his hearers in his subject, 724; in making an impression on the feelings of his hearers, 727; in his appeals to the will, 730; he presents motives in the practical form, 731; he has peculiar aptitudes for the development of his religious purpose, 732; reasons for preaching extempore arising from its influence on the preacher himself, 733; he is led to form habits of introspection, 734; he gains quickness and force of thought, 735; led to keep himself familiar with truths and facts needed for his sermons, 737; led to discipline his mind in the study of words, 738; led to discipline himself to conduct well the other services of the sanctuary, 739; the

minister prepared for emergencies, 740; he may improve his style of writing, 742; augments the force and vivacity of his written sermons, 743; naturalness given to the style of writing, 746; the elocution made natural and expressive, 747; the minister's influence increased by preaching extempore, 751. Objections to preaching extempore: it encourages indolence, 754. Objections resulting from overlooking the fact that different subjects should be treated in different ways, 755; that different methods are adapted to different minds, 756; are adapted to different audiences, 760; that the same faults are in written as in extempore discourses, 765; that variety has a value, 766; that good as well as evil tendencies of the extemporaneous method have been shown in the pulpit, 766; the extemporaneous preacher should discipline himself for extemporaneous efforts, 768.

Tracy, Rev. J., D.D., article by, 532.

U.

Ueberweg's History of Philosophy from Thales to the Present Time, noticed, 579.

Underwood's, Francis H., Handbook of English Literature, noticed, 570.

V.

Vibbert's, Rev. W. H., Guide to Reading the Hebrew Text, noticed, 562.

Volck's, Dr. W., Chiliasm, noticed, 198.

W.

Weiss's, Dr. Bernhard, Gospel of Mark with the Synoptical Parallel Passages, noticed, 389.

Weekly Sabbath, The, article on, by J. C. Murphy, LL.D., 74; ground of the weekly Sabbath in the history of the human race, 74; the nature of the Sabbath, 74; the Sabbath a day of rest, 77; no work to be done on the Sabbath, 79; this feature of the Sabbath adapted to the physical constitution of man, 80; works of necessity and mercy allowable, 81; the seventh day "the Sabbath of the Lord," 81; the Sabbath in every man's home, 82; liberty as a characteristic of the Sabbath, 85; the Sabbath a holy convocation, 86; to be observed as such in all places, 87; origin of synagogues, 89; the change of the Sabbath in the economy of grace, 90; the coming of the Messiah the great central point in the history of the human race, 90; meat and drink and the new moon shadows of the things of Christ, 91; the holy day or Sabbath foreshadowing Christ, 93; these ritual observances not formally abrogated by the apostles, 95; ceremonial forms secondary in importance to moral principles, 95; no necessity for ritual forms in the case of one who has Christ, 97; the church of the New Testament was to have a festive Sabbath of rest, 97; the Sabbath as binding as the Lord's Supper, 98; the Christian Sabbath, 99; the Sabbath made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, 100; the perpetuity of the Sabbath, 101; Christ Lord over the Sabbath, 102; history of the first day of the week as recorded in the scriptures, 103; the first day after the feast of unleavened bread, 104; the first day the feast of weeks, 105; the last seventh-day Sabbath, 106; the first day of the week after the crucifixion, 107; the first day, the pentecost, 108; practice of the apostles regarding the first day of the week, 110; assembling for worship, 111; "in the Spirit on the Lord's day," 112.

Whittemore, Rev. George B., article by, 547.

What is Truth? article on, by J. C. Murphy, LL.D., T.C.D., 289; importance of the question, 289; an adequate answer must rest on some general principle, 290; three facts to be gathered by reason from intuition and experience, the guilt of man, the holiness of God, exposure to death, 291; what does reason learn from revelation? 301; it gets the idea of mercy, 301; revelation invites man to return to God, 309.